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REPORT

on the Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union

On March 11, 1985, the CPSU Central Committee held an extraordinary plenary meeting.

On the instructions of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee, the Plenary Meeting was opened by Mikhail Gorbachev, a member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

In connection with the death of the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, Konstantin Ustinovich Chernenko, the participants in the meeting honoured the memory of K. U. Chernenko by a minute of silence.

The Plenary Meeting noted that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the entire Soviet people had suffered a grave loss. An outstanding Party leader and statesman, a patriot and internationalist, a consistent champion of the ideals of communism and peace on earth has passed away.

Konstantin Chernenko devoted his whole life to the cause of the Leninist Party, to the interests of the Soviet people. To whatever post he was assigned by the Party, he invariably worked with characteristic selflessness in an effort to translate the CPSU's policy into reality.

Konstantin Chernenko paid much attention to the consistent implementation of the course toward perfecting developed socialism, carrying out major tasks of economic and social development, improving the well-being and cultural level of the Soviet people, further heightening the creative activity of the masses, improving ideological work, and strengthening discipline, law and order.

Konstantin Chernenko made a great contribution to further developing allround cooperation with fraternal socialist countries, implementing socialist economic integration, and strengthening the positions of the world socialist community. Under his leadership the principles of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems were unswervingly and consistently implemented, a resolute rebuff was given to the aggressive schemes of imperialism, and a tireless struggle was waged for ending the arms race imposed by imperialism, averting the threat of nuclear war and ensuring the reliable security of the peoples.

Konstantin Chernenko attached great importance to the unity of our Communist Party, the collective character of the activities of the Central Committee and its Political Bureau. He was always striving to ensure that the Party worked at all levels as a close-knit, efficient and dynamic body. He considered the unity of views and actions of Communists as essential for all our successes, for surmounting shortcomings, for achieving steady advance.

The Plenary Meeting stressed that in these sorrowful days the Communists, the entire Soviet people, are rallying even more closely round the Party's Central Committee and its Political Bureau. The Soviet people with good reason regard the Party as the leading and guiding force of society and are fully determined to work selflessly for the implementation of the Leninist domestic and foreign policies of the CPSU.

The participants in the Plenary Meeting expressed deep condolences to the family and relatives of the deceased.

The Plenary Meeting considered the question of electing a new General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

On the instructions of the Political Bureau, Andrei Gromyko, a member of the Political Bureau, delivered a speech on this question. He proposed that Mikhail Gorbachev be elected General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

The Plenary Meeting unanimously elected Mikhail Gorbachev General Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU.

Then the Plenary Meeting was addressed by General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Mikhail Gorbachev. He expressed deep gratitude for the great trust placed in him by the CPSU Central Committee and said that he was well aware of the great responsibility that this entailed.

Mikhail Gorbachev assured the CPSU Central Committee that he would do his utmost to faithfully serve our Party, our people and the great Leninist cause, and to make sure that the CPSU's programme directives would be implemented unswervingly, that there would be continuity in carrying out the tasks of further strengthening the economic and defence capacity of the USSR, of improving the well-being of the Soviet people and of strengthening peace, and that the Leninist domestic and foreign policy of the Communist Party and the Soviet state would be resolutely translated into reality.

The Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee thereby ended its work.

Biography of General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Mikhail GORBACHEV

Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev was born on March 2, 1931, in the village of Privolnoye, Krasnogvardeisky District, Stavropol Territory, into a peasant family.

Soon after the Great Patriotic War of 1941-1945, at the age of 15, he went to work. He was a machine operator at a machine-and-tractor station. He joined the CPSU in 1952. In 1955 he graduated from Moscow State University (Department of Law) and in 1967—from the Stavropol Agricultural Institute, where he received the training of an agronomist-economist.

Mikhail Gorbachev has been engaged in Komsomol and Party work since 1955. Working in Stavropol Territory, he was First Secretary of the Stavropol City Komsomol Committee, then deputy head of the department of propaganda, and after that Second and then First Secretary of the Komsomol Territorial Committee.

In March 1962, Mikhail Gorbachev was appointed Party organiser of the Stavropol territorial-production board of collective and state farms, and in December of the same year he became head of the organisational department of the CPSU Territorial Committee.

In September 1966 he was elected First Secretary of the Stavropol City Party Committee. In August 1968 he became Second Secretary of the Stavropol Territorial Committee of the CPSU and in April 1970 was elected the Committee's First Secretary.

Mikhail Gorbachev became a member of the CP\$U Central Committee in 1971. He was a delegate to the 22nd, 24th, 25th, and 26th Party Congresses. In 1978 he was elected Secretary of the CP\$U Central Committee, and in 1979—an alternate member of the Political Bureau of the CP\$U Central Committee. In October 1980 Mikhail Gorbachev became a full member of the Political Bureau of the CP\$U Central

Committee. He has been a deputy to the USSR Supreme Soviet of the 8th through 11th convocations, and was Chairman of the Foreign Affairs Commission of the Soviet of the Union. He has also been a deputy to the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation of the 10th and 11th convocations.

Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev is a prominent figure in the Communist Party and the Soviet state. In all the posts entrusted to him by the Party he works with characteristic initiative, energy and dedication, giving all his knowledge, vast experience and organising talent to implementing the Party's policy, selflessly serving the great cause of Lenin, the interests of the working people.

For his services to the Communist Party and the Soviet state Mikhail Gorbachev has been awarded three Orders of Lenin, the Order of the October Revolution, the Order of the Red Banner of Labour, the Badge of Honour and several medals.

Philosophy History Economics Politics Sociology Law

Philology

Psychology

Ethnography

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Archaeology

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To the Reader

Following our tradition of publishing materials relating to major international forums we devote this issue to the 16th International Congress of Historical Sciences to be held in August-September 1985 in Stuttgart. The materials in this issue deal with the themes that will be discussed at the Congress and which were prepared jointly with the Soviet National Committee of Historians.

For the 16th International Congress of Historical Sciences

The opening article was contributed by Academician S. Tikhvinsky, Chairman of the Soviet National Committee of Historians, who shows what has been achieved by Soviet historical science since the last Congress.

Academician A. Narochnitsky notes that the historical experience of diplomacy between the two world wars can facilitate understanding of what needs be done to consolidate security under present conditions. Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences Z. Udaltsova analyses the unique typological features of Byzantine culture; Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences P. Zhilin shows the scale of the Soviet people's resistance movement on the Soviet territory temporarily occupied by the nazi troops during the Great Patriotic War of 1941-1945, which effectively helped the Soviet Army to defeat the nazi invaders; Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences Yu. Polyakov discusses the relationship between history and cinematography.

K. Ashrafyan studies various aspects of the European colonial expansion in the Indian Ocean in the 16th-18th centuries, while M. Barg analyses in his article, in the "Critical Studies and Comment" section, the legacy of Max Weber, the eminent bourgeois historian and sociologist of the 20th century.

Chairman of the Soviet Women's Committee V. Tereshkova tells about the weighty contribution made by Soviet women to the struggle for peace. The efforts undertaken in the USSR to improve nature protection and utilisation of natural resources are described by Deputy Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers Z. Nuriyev.

V. Kumanev shows how representatives of Soviet culture participated in the anti-war and anti-fascist movement of the 1930s. A. Vtorov devotes his article to the 10th anniversary of the Helsinki Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

Law

V. Tumanov compares different types of legal systems in the contemporary world. Leading Soviet Orientalists study "State and Law in the Ancient Orient".

Literary Criticism. Linguistics

To mark the 800th anniversary of The Lay of Igor's Host, outstanding cultural monument of Old Rus, we publish an article by A. Robinson, Deputy Chairman of the Soviet Committee of Slavists. Yu. Marchuk treats of the problem of overcoming language barriers in modern society.

Interdisciplinary Research

The prominent Soviet scientist P. Anokhin (1898-1974) shows the scientist's creative process on the example of his theory of functional systems. He offers a unique opportunity to look into the researcher's mind, teeming with unstable, undemonstrable and often "crazy" ideas which, as a rule, do not see the light of day.

The information and bibliography sections of the journal cover the work of Soviet historians between the 15th and 16th International Congresses of Historical Sciences, tell about other international and regional meetings of scientists as well as those held in the USSR. The issue carries book reviews of Soviet social scholars and an annotated list of books by Soviet historians put out between 1980 and 1984.

The Editors

Soviet Historical Science in 1980-1985

SERGEI TIKHVINSKY

Before beginning this survey of the present stage of Soviet historical science the author would like to refer to some propositions which characterise our conception of the role of the science of history in society—a conception which in itself explains the status of the historian and the significance of historical research in the Soviet Union. As is known, history is a science which studies the past of human society in all its concreteness and diversity with the aim of furnishing an understanding of its present and its future.

The materialist understanding of history—one of the most important discoveries of Karl Marx—forms the fundamental methodological basis of historical science opening up broad possibilities for the study of history, which, in Lenin's words, is "a single process which, with all its immense variety and contradictoriness, is governed by definite laws".

Man has long since been giving thought to the meaning and significance of history. Each new step of mankind and each new stage in the development of society poses ever more complicated questions. The search for answers to these questions inevitably makes us turn to the past and, although we do not always find them in it, historical experience makes it possible to understand and make a deeper assessment of our times and of the prospects for further development. The anti-historical method of thought and action can lead to very tragic consequences, especially when disregard of the experience of the past and reluctance to understand and take into account the laws of history, and the interconnection and conditionality of past and present events in the world become habitual with certain influential forces as well as with statesmen and political leaders whose decisions and actions affect the lives of whole nations and the world situation.

Knowledge of history is an element of culture. Without this knowledge a modern-day harmoniously developed individual is inconceivable. Creatively interpreting the heritage of the past, man draws from it thoughts and ideas, worthy examples and aspirations consonant with his interests, character, inclinations. In the words of the great Russian poet Alexander Pushkin, knowledge of, and respect for, the past is the feature which distinguishes educated society from savage. In contemporary conditions this presupposes the necessity of enhancing the scientific and educational role of historical science, called upon to enrich man's spiritual world, bring within his reach the aggregate experience of mankind, ensure his living connection with the history of his people so as to make all the best to be found in historical traditions the "launching pad" for new accomplishments, and for bracing his determination to maintain world peace.

Naturally it is not easy to encompass in one article all that has been and is being done by Soviet historical science in recent years.²

Soviet historians have been giving great attention to developing questions of the methodology of history, and especially to evolving a general conception of world and Soviet history. These efforts take the form of generalising studies on world history, the history of individual countries and regions, of works which show the place and role of our country in the world-historical process. Much is also being done in the course of generalisation of the accumulated concrete material pertaining to individual global problems of history. These problems have been analysed in published works dealing with the methodology of history, in a basic 12-volume work on the history of the Second World War, studies concerned with the history of individual countries and regions, a 13-volume survey of world history, publications treating of the history of the USSR and the Far East from early times to the present day, of the international working-class movement, the archaeology of the USSR in the Archaeology of the USSR from Ancient Times to the Middle Ages series. They will also be discussed in generalising works on the history and ethnography of the countries of Latin America, the United States and Europe from ancient times to our days, etc., which are being prepared for publication.

In the course of the preparations to publish these works important conclusions of a general methodological nature have been made with regard to the principles of periodisation of world and Russian and Soviet history, the characterisation of the socio-economic formations, the transitional periods between them and the socio-class structures, including the regularities and specific features of their formation and of the history and typology of the early states, among them those located on what is now Soviet territory, and also with regard to the definition of the role of individual peoples, states and classes in world development.

At the same time, many problems of the theory and methodology of the historical process require deeper study. The chronological framework of the history of West European feudalism, for example, needs specifying. Problems such as the subject-matter of historical science, historical fact, historical source material, the general and the specific in the historical process, causality and regularity in history, historical time and its evolution likewise call for deeper research. Among the insufficiently studied questions are those connected with the revolutionary form of the world-historical process such as the relationship between the world-historical and world-revolutionary processes, between the notions of "industrial revolution", "social revolution", "scientific and technological Methodologically topical is the study of the revolutionary form of the progression of history and of the conditions of its disappearance with the worldwide establishment of a communist society. There are all too few integrated studies dealing with the socialist revolutions which have taken place from the point of view of the general and the specific, the national and the international, the concrete-historical and the world-historical, from the point of view of the subjective factor in revolutions of different types and its interaction with the objective conditions, of the relation between the peaceful and non-peaceful forms of revolutions, of the dialectics of revolutions and wars in different periods, etc.

There is need for further typology of the phenomena and processes of the historical development of the Eastern countries. Still unclear, for instance, are questions of the stadial-formational evolution of the Eastern countries in the world-historical process (in particular, the reasons for the lag in their development at the boundary of the Middle Ages and modern times, the set of problems connected with what is known as the Asiatic mode of production, the specific features of the genesis of capitalism, etc.). The solution of these and a number of other problems is of enormous theoretico-methodological importance in clarifying the rates and directions of historical development in the East and the West, without which there can be no correct evaluation either of the internal processes now under way in these countries or of the results of, and prospects for, their relations with other countries. That is why in the next few years, Soviet historians will prepare, along with basic generalising works dealing with Eastern history, a series of academic histories of the leading countries and regions of the East in which all the main historical periods will be represented: ancient times, the Middle Ages and the modern and contemporary times.

As regards the study of the history of our country, the history of the Great October Socialist Revolution, which stood at the sources of the spectacular present-day worldwide liberation process, remains an inexhaustible theme for Soviet historians. In the focus of their research are problems of the economic, social and political prerequisites for the revolution, the role of the classes and parties in it, the preparation and carrying out of the revolution, its general and specific national features, and its international significance. Many interesting works have appeared in the past few years enriching the historiography of the role of the working class and its vanguard, the Bolshevik Party, in the struggle for the victory and consolidation of Soviet power and for a democratic peace, of the class struggle in the countryside during the preparation for, and the carrying out of, the socialist revolution, and of the worker-peasant alliance during the years of proletarian dictatorship.

An extensive study is being made of Lenin's theoretical legacy and activity as the leader of the Soviet state. Research continues into the role of the Soviets (in particular, the Petrograd Soviet) in the organisation of the revolutionary creative activity of the masses and in the struggle for Soviet power in different parts of the country. For the first time an integrated study has been made of the events in Soviet Russia in 1918: the emergence of Soviet statehood, the laying of the foundations of socialism and the defence of the achievements of the October Revolution against the internal and external counter-revolutionaries in the Civil War.

The experience and regularities of the October Revolution are of enduring significance. The study of the general and the specific national in this revolution has acquired particular topicality today, when a stubborn struggle is being waged between labour and capital, between the forces of national liberation and those of imperialism, the forces of peace and progress and those of reaction. The research carried out by Soviet historians, including that made jointly with their colleagues in other socialist countries, has revealed new aspects of the international significance of the Great October Socialist Revolution, of its influence on the contemporary world. On a comparativehistorical plane, the revolutionary socio-economic transformations effected in the Soviet Union and in other countries have been surveyed. This has made it possible to trace the influence of the ideology of scientific socialism on the processes involved in the development of national liberation revolutions into social liberation revolutions.

Lately the attention of Soviet researchers has been attracted by the historical experience of the Civil War and the struggle against foreign military intervention. A study of the history of the struggle against world imperialism brings out one of the laws of contemporary world development: every people is able to deal with its internal enemies, and only imperialist intervention can jeopardise its successes in the revolutionary struggle. This is of topical relevance in present conditions, for intervention remains a tool of the state policy of the imperialist circles and the experience of combating it is of importance to all progressive forces. Soviet research into these problems analyses Lenin's conception of the defence of the gains of the revolution, the

Party's guidance of the armed struggle against internal and external counter-revolution, the formation of the Red Army, the role of the Soviets in defeating the White Guards and the forces of the intervention. The accumulated factual data and their interpretation have made it possible to prepare for publication a special encyclopaedic edition and a two-volume history of the Civil War.

The process of socialist and communist construction is constantly in the focus of the Soviet historians' attention. The 60th anniversary of the formation of the USSR was marked by the publication of a number of works which survey the concrete ways, forms and methods of national-state development, the main stages of the formation of the internationalist features of the moral, political and spiritual make-up of the Soviet people, the forms of fraternal cooperation and interaction in the integral national economic organism of the USSR, the role of federal and national statehood in solving the nationalities question. An important place is assigned to analysis of the socio-political development of the Union republics, their economic cooperation and spiritual community, the constructive role of the CPSU in strengthening their fraternal unity, the history of the Soviet constitutions in general and the historical prerequisites and significance of the Constitution of developed socialism in particular.

A notable contribution has been made to the comprehensive survey of the period of transition from capitalism to socialism in the USSR. Its main problems are discussed in a two-volume collective work, which generalises the experience of socialist development over the period from 1917 to 1937 and in a number of other publications. The next two-volume edition, Main Problems of the History of the Strengthening and Development of Socialism in the USSR (1938-the Early 1960s), shows the regularities of the Soviet Union's advance along the road to mature socialism, the development of the Soviet people as a new historical community, the formation of the socialist way of life and other questions.

Much attention is given to the history of the Soviet working class and Soviet industrial development. Research of recent years shows the leading role of the working class at different stages of socialist and communist development, its numbers, composition, cultural level, living standards, the principal forms of its political and production activity, the strengthening of its alliance with the peasantry, and its international contacts. Analysed are questions of the industrial development of different regions of the Soviet Union, its scientific and technical progress, the activity of the CPSU and the Soviet state in creating the material and technical basis of socialism. At present Soviet historians are concentrating their efforts on preparing for publication a nine-volume History of the Soviet Working Class, which for the first time in historiography will examine the general regularities and specific features of the development of the Soviet working class chronologically spanning the period from its

emergence and up to 1980, as well as on the publication of multi-volume works on the history of the working class of Siberia, the Far East and individual Soviet republics.

Over the recent few years the political, economic and social aspects of agrarian transformations in the country have been described in books devoted to the history of the collectivisation and technical reconstruction of agriculture, the class struggle in the countryside and the elimination of the kulaks. A study is being made of the peasant economy of the pre-collective farm countryside, its socio-class structure, the formation, strengthening and further development of the public sector. In the focus of attention is also the present stage of agrarian transformations. The conclusions drawn concern the country as a whole as well as its individual republics and regions. Intensive work is under way on a generalising 10-volume history of the Soviet peasantry and on preparing for the publication of collective works, dealing with the history of the peasantry of the republics and regions of the USSR.

As regards the study of Soviet cultural history, there has been a noticeable expansion of the scope of subjects. Alongside research into the traditional questions of the essence, character, stages and international significance of the cultural revolution in the USSR and the role of the CPSU and the Soviet state in cultural development, a study has been made of the role of the people in the development of a socialist culture, of the shaping of the moral and political standards of Soviet society, of work and everyday life and of national cultural development. A solid basis for a concrete study of the diverse problems of Soviet cultural history has been laid by the publication of a chronicle of Soviet cultural life—a collection of the most important facts showing Soviet cultural development over the 60 years. Work has also been started on a publication of many volumes dealing with Soviet cultural history.

In connection with the 40th anniversary of the defeat of fascist Germany, special attention centred on providing a comprehensive history of the period of the Great Patriotic War of 1941-1945. Apart from the many-volume History of the Second World War, Soviet historiography was enriched by new studies giving a general picture of the events of the Second World War, of the political, military, economic and ideological significance of the major battles fought in the Great Patriotic War, the contribution to Victory made by individual arms and services, the people's volunteer corps and the partisans; analysis has been also provided of the Soviet Union's military-economic potential during the war, of the assistance of the rear to the front, of the role of individual republics in defeating the enemy.

Over the recent years an intensive study has been made of such complicated key problems of the history and theory of mature socialism in our country as the development of the Soviet economy

and socio-class relations, the drawing together of town and countryside, mental and manual labour, the social implications of scientific and technical progress, the moulding of the new man of a communist society. The study of the main problems of the history of mature socialism in the USSR over the past two decades and, more specifically, of the socio-economic results of the transformation of the technical and material basis of the national economy in the relevant period has been completed. A number of works showing different facets of the history of developed socialism have been published. However as a whole, the history of socialism, in the recent decades of which large-scale complex national economic, social and political tasks have been accomplished, and numerous difficulties have been overcome, calls for a more comprehensive, allround study.

Soviet historians are continuing their deep research into theoretical problems of the history of Soviet foreign policy and international relations, including the Leninist principles of foreign policy. A considerable contribution has been made to the scientific elaboration of the history of the Soviet Union's struggle for peace, international security, detente and disarmament, and of its multilateral and bilateral relations with other countries. The study of different aspects of the history and present state of international relations embraces a variety of subjects.

Research into pre-revolutionary Soviet history, covering a wide range of theoretical, methodological and concrete historical problems is also successfully continuing. The notable features of the new works are their expanded primary source material base, indepth source analysis and the intensified comparative-historical and typological study of the historical processes which took place on the territory of our country from early times to the Great October Socialist Revolution. New important observations and conclusions, which show the general regularities and specific features of the history of the peoples of the USSR have been drawn into scholarly circulation.

In the study of the history and typology of the early states on the territory of the USSR, particular mention should be made of the planned systematic publication of a relevant code of early source materials and of the annuals *Early States on the Territory of the USSR*—editions based on a thorough study of all the extant source materials making it possible to form a more precise idea of the early history of the peoples of the USSR.

Of great importance for the further amplification of the general conception of the early phases of the history of our state were the publications of a fundamental monograph by B. Rybakov in which he traces the early stages of Russian statehood, the formation of Kiev Rus, the first feudal state of the Eastern Slavs, and of a collective work devoted to the role of the Old Russian heritage in the historical destinies and development of the Eastern Slavic peoples. The Soviet public know of the outstanding results of the archaeological

excavations of many years in Novgorod, which have already made us revise many of our notions regarding the level of development of the culture, educational standards, trade, crafts and political structure of old Novgorod.

The history of the feudal formation is reflected in a wide range of studies concerned with the socio-economic, political and cultural development of and interconnections between the peoples and individual regions of the Russian Empire. Attention is also focused on complex problems such as the territorial formation of the Russian state, the genesis and development of feudal and early capitalist relations, the emergence of the estate-representative and absolute monarchy in Russia, the class struggle. A number of studies have been completed dealing with Russia's agrarian system, the social strata of feudal society in different regions and of their contribution to material and non-material culture, the struggle of the Russian and other peoples of our country for state independence and social and national liberation. The historiography of the feudal formation on the territory of the Soviet country has been amplified by a series of works treating of the destinies of the Southern Ukraine after its incorporation into Russia, of the economic activity and social organisation of the peasant community, the structure and functioning of the home market, Russia's foreign trade, the social and cultural consequences of the reforms of Peter the Great, the struggle of ideas in Russia's socio-political thought.

At the same time, as regards feudal history, there is still a need to study individual lands and principalities of the period of feudal disunity. An allround analysis of their socio-economic development could help to obtain a deeper and clearer picture of the laws which governed Rus' transition from early feudal relations to developed feudalism. The study of individual social categories of feudal society, primarily of the class of feudal lords and of that of the peasantry, should be continued. The same applies to problems of the development of the crafts and of all forms of industrial production, including the manufactories, of the interdependence of commercial capital and the production sphere, all of importance to the study of the genesis of capitalist relations. More attention should be paid to elaboration of the history of Russia's pre-proletariat. As yet, the internal policy of the Russian government in the 17th-18th centuries has not been studied sufficiently. The history of the church as a political and ideological institution of feudal society also awaits deeper research.

Considerable progress has been made in the study of the history of the period of capitalism and imperialism. In the field of socio-economic history efforts are concentrated on research into the consolidation of capitalism in the country's socio-economic structure, the capitalist evolution of the peasant and landlord economy, the history of industry and trade, on an analysis of the quantitative,

national and social composition of the population of the country as a whole and of its individual areas. Important results have been obtained in the study of the political structure and social basis of the Russian autocracy.

A traditional area of Soviet research is that of Russia's revolutionary liberation movement. Much is being accomplished in the publication of primary source materials, particularly those relating to the Decembrist uprising. Further collections of articles on the history of revolutionary situations in Russia and studies dealing with the formation and essence of the ideology of the revolutionary liberation movement at its different stages and characterising its individual representatives are being prepared for publication. Special attention is being paid to the formation of Russia's proletariat and its development into the leading force of the revolutionary liberation movement. A number of studies give a detailed picture of the socio-economic and political make-up of the Russian proletariat and its struggle to improve its economic situation and political rights, of the ideological trends in the working-class movement and the historically inevitable victory of revolutionary Marxism over opportunism. Shown in this way is the enormous experience accumulated by Russia's working class on its way to the October Revolution, its impact on other sections of the working people and the prehistory of the realisation of its historic mission.

The historiography of economic, diplomatic and cultural relations of pre-revolutionary Russia with various other countries has been enriched by new conclusions and facts.

In the field of the history of other countries the efforts of Soviet researchers are concentrated on summing up the historical experience of the people's democratic and socialist revolutions, of the formation and development of the world socialist system, the growth of the international working-class, national and revolutionary liberation movements, on an analysis of the economic, social and political problems of the newly free countries. The history of the capitalist and pre-capitalist socio-economic formations in different countries and regions remains a subject of intensive study.

Contemporary historical research presupposes the necessity of theoretical and political assessments of the main phenomena and processes which have taken place and are under way in the world, and, above all, a realistic approach to socialism which has been built and is developing. A realistic assessment of its achievements by historians, acquiring the significance of a general methodological guideline, is also of importance for understanding the prospects of socialism's further advancement. Soviet historians, working jointly with scholars of other socialist countries, have prepared for publication a number of works which show the socio-economic and political structure of these countries and the positive achievements of their parties and peoples in their economic, social and political

development along the path to socialism and communism. Important results have been obtained in the study of the general and the specific in the building of socialism on the basis not only of traditional national or regional studies, but also of comparativetypological research. Generalising works describing the laying of the foundations of socialism in the countries of Central and South-Eastern Europe and of Asia, and individual aspects of the building of a socialist society in these countries (the development of the working class and the younger generation) have been completed and are being prepared for publication. An intensive study is being made of the formation and development of new-type interstate relations between socialist countries, of the history of their cooperation and fraternal mutual assistance, including within CMEA and the Warsaw Treaty Organisation, of their efforts to strengthen peace and security in Europe and in the whole world. Of great importance in solving these questions are the documentary publications in many volumes, already prepared or in preparation, dealing with the history of relations between the socialist community countries and the studies revealing the revolutionary ties between the working people, and the prewar struggle of the Communist parties for popular and antifascist fronts.

However, in the study of the regularities of socialist development in different countries and regions Soviet historians still need to go further afield. For example, the process of overcoming the difficulties in their development in the conditions of the exacerbation of the international situation and the intensification of the ideological struggle and hostile campaigns on the part of the imperialist and other states await fuller discussion.

Constantly in the focus of the attention of Soviet historians are the main stages and regularities of the development of the international working-class and the revolutionary liberation movements. Being studied are problems of the unity of the working class, its alliances, the relations of Communist parties with social-democratic parties, the impact of the working class on mass general democratic movements. The emergence of the proletariat on the historical arena and the beginnings of the working-class and communist movements are disclosed by an analysis of the changes in the position and consciousness of different social groups of the European countries and a description of the class struggle of the proletariat and its specific features in individual countries. Also shown is the role of the trade unions of the working people in the struggle against the monopolies, and for peace, disarmament and social progress. A number of studies devoted to the emergence and development of Marxism, to the life and activity of the founders of scientific communism have been published.

In the study of the national and revolutionary liberation movement, special attention is being given to its typology and to

different stages of development in individual countries and regions. Analysed are questions of the strategy and tactics of the proletarian and non-proletarian parties, trade unions and various trends in the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, and the role played by their armed forces, military regimes and religious factors in the movement for national and social liberation.

With the further development of liberation processes in the world and the dissemination of the ideas and practices of socialism, the study of the general regularities and national features of the transformations in the newly free countries acquire exceptional importance. Accordingly, research is focusing on the socio-class structure and processes of class formation in the newly independent states, on the role and place of individual classes and social groups in public life, the history and typology of traditional community institutions, and on problems of their synthesis with our times. Special attention is being given to the solution in these countries of problems of a social order, which have become increasingly pressing after their national and political liberation, and to determining the significance of the former colonies in the world economy and world politics. As regards the history of the newly free Eastern countries, interesting results have been obtained in the analysis of their demographic, food and raw material problems, and of their impact on the economic and socio-political situation. A series of works is being prepared treating of the political, economic, ideological and cultural relations between the USSR and the developing and socialist-oriented countries. The aforementioned scope of research is designed to determine the character and prospects of the evolution of the developing countries and to show the historical inevitability of their socialist orientation for overcoming their centuries-old backwardness and the aftermaths of colonialism and imperialist dependence.

As regards the history of capitalist and pre-capitalist socioeconomic formations, Soviet historians have carried out extensive research into the formation and development of capitalism, feudalism, primitive and slave-owning societies and archaic social relations in the countries of Western Europe, Asia, Africa and Latin America.

In the study of the emergence, establishment, development and incipient decline of the capitalist socio-economic formation, attention is mainly concentrated on identifying its inherent antagonistic contradictions, which have found reflection in socio-political movements and revolutions. Studied are the alignment of the class forces, the ideology of their representatives, the class battles in the capitalist countries at different stages of their history, the emergence of scientific socialism and its union with the working-class struggle. Alongside traditional attention to the prerequisites, motive forces and consequences of the 18th-century French bourgeois revolution, Soviet historians have in recent years been concerning them

selves with the history of bourgeois revolutions in other countries and the formation in them, in the course of the liberation movements, of nations and national cultures. This research has also led to interesting conclusions regarding the socio-economic development of the capitalist countries. As a whole, however, this aspect of the history of capitalism calls for a more intensive study.

The attention of Soviet historians is also attracted by a number of subjects which reflect the crisis state of modern bourgeois society. On the material of the leading capitalist countries the social, party-political, ideological and military development of state-monopoly capitalism is analysed, especially after the Second World War, and the historical roots of the policy of expansionism. Discussed are also problems involved in the struggle of the working people of the capitalist countries for their vital rights as well as social transformations and the anti-war movement in these countries.

In present-day conditions, an analysis of the general aspects of the contemporary history of Europe acquires great importance. This would make it possible to show the social policy of bourgeois and social-democratic parties, the similarities and differences in their economic and international doctrines, to reveal the policy mechanism of the ruling parties of the capitalist countries, and to give a fuller picture of the historical traditions, social aspects, forms and methods of the anti-war movement. Such a work should embody a serious refutation of attempts by individual Western ideologues to present Russia and the Soviet Union as the main "enemies" of Europe, and simultaneously show the organic connection between the history of our country and the general history of Europe, and the cooperation of the peoples of Russia, Western and Eastern Europe in the efforts for peace, social progress, democracy, national liberation and socialism.

The study by Soviet historians of feudalism in other countries is distinguished by its broad spectrum. The comparative study of the socio-economic and political aspects of feudal history by country and region has made it possible to obtain new conclusions regarding the synthesis of protofeudal elements, the forms and evolution of the economic organisation of feudal society, the emergence of capitalist relations within this society, social stratification, forms of state structure, management and the specific features of the class struggle. Other areas of research encompass the agrarian and urban history of feudalism in different countries and regions, the role of the social estates and classes, primarily the peasantry, the social functions of the feudal state, the influence of commodity-money relations on the structure of feudal society. Not overlooked are problems connected with primitive accumulation, the early bourgeois revolutions, the formation of the domestic and world markets, international ties, and the colonial system. Notable results have been obtained in the study of the culture and spiritual life of feudal society in these countries.

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Nevertheless, an overview of the state of the elaboration of the history of the Middle Ages abroad shows the unevenness of research in that area. Early and mature mediaeval times as a whole are not being studied intensively enough. As regards the late Middle Ages, the complex and essentially international problems typical of that period (for instance, the feudalisation processes in America, Africa, Asia) have as yet not been fully covered. A deeper study should be made of the period, during which many modern states and nations appeared and cultural and other traditions took shape, whose influence, changed in form, can be felt even in our times. The cultural history of the Middle Ages in all its aspects calls for greater attention, as also do the problems of the popular sources of the Reformation, the Renaissance, the social stratification in the European countries, the class struggle in 15th-16th-century Italy, in Spain of the period of late reconquista, and in pre-revolutionary England and France.

An interdisciplinary approach to the study of the regularities of society's transition to feudalism and from feudalism to capitalism, which has made it possible for Soviet historians to advance the typology of different aspects of feudalism, also characterises research into the history of the pre-feudal formations. The main efforts here are concentrated on research into the origin of man and human society and the history of the primitive communal system. In particular, archaeologists have thoroughly studied the beginnings of the producing economy, although the economic, cultural, social and psychological revolution, which is connected with the transition to agriculture and animal husbandry, requires further elucidation. A generalising three-volume work on the history of primitive society is in preparation.

Of great importance for understanding the character of development of the slave-owning formation is the research being conducted or completed, which gives us a clearer picture of the socio-economic and political organisation of ancient Egypt, Rome and Greece, the origin, development and decline of antique slavery and its impact on the socio-economic structure and the character and forms of the class struggle. A deep study is being made of the social conditions of existence of the Greek and Roman colonies, the spiritual life and culture of individual slave-owning states and their relations, and of ethnic processes in ancient times.

Archaeological investigations today are distinguished by their geographical and chronological breadth. They are being carried out all over the Soviet Union as well as under agreements on international scientific cooperation in Hungary, Norway, Bulgaria, Mongolia and other countries. Hundreds of archaeological expeditions and groups annually study archaeological sites of all epochs ranging from the Palaeolithic period to the late Middle Ages.

Over the recent years the efforts of Soviet archaeologists, have

Archaeology of the USSR, a collection of all known archaeological material; its completion will ensure a comprehensive vertical study of such problems of the ancient history of the peoples of our country as the history of agriculture, of cities, arms, warcraft, etc. It can already be said that the undertaking is also of great importance for a theoretical interpretation of the problems of ancient and mediaeval history and for specifying concrete questions of the development of the historical processes which took place in different parts of our country.

Comprehensive studies of archaeological sites of different epochs are being conducted, providing a broad picture of the development, destinies, social, ideological and economic structures of primitive tribes and peoples. A number of newly published works complete the study of nomads and ancient settlements of importance for understanding the processes of the settlement of individual regions of our country and of whole continents. Ancient centres and the so-called small cities of Rus are also being studied.

In economic development areas archaeological expeditions are making an intensive examination of the monuments which will be destroyed or flooded in the course of construction work.

Soviet ethnographers are concentrating on ethnogeographic, ethnodemographic, ethnosocial and ethnoecological research, and primarily on the present ethnic processes observed in the Soviet Union. Considerable attention is being paid to the current problems of the Marxist-Leninist theory of nations, national relations, and socialist internationalism, the transformation of the culture and everyday life of the peoples of the USSR, the formation and development of the Soviet people as a new historical community, the anthropological composition of the Soviet peoples, of ethnic and historical-ethnographic mapping. The elaboration of these problems has brought interesting results, which characterise the socio-ethnic structure of the republics' population, the role and significance of national factors in social mobility, population migration, specific socio-economic features of family relations and their influence on the composition and structure of a family. A number of studies show the demographic, linguistic, social and cultural changes in our country, their present state and influence on economic development, especially that of the Northern and Far Eastern areas.

Of great importance for the exploration of ethnogeny and changes in the cultural and everyday life of the Soviet peoples are the historico-ethnographic atlases being prepared of the large regions of the USSR, covering several multinationally populated republics, and also traditional historico-ethnographic studies. This makes it possible, using the comparative-historical method, to show the interconnection and change in the cultures of the Soviet peoples, including in the period of mature socialism. Particularly relevant for

identifying the specific ethnic features of individual components of traditional culture is the comparative-typological study of the key elements of a dwelling, food, calendar rituals and festivals. The origin and development of various folklore genres, the theory and history of folklore and the anthropological composition of the Soviet peoples are being studied, too. The past few years have seen the publication of the first ethnopsychological studies designed to show the mechanism of ethnic consciousness.

Soviet ethnographers exhibit an interest in problems of modern ethnic processes abroad, in the ethnogeny and culture of different peoples of the world. A study has been made of the ethnogeny, ethnocultural history, historical destiny and present situation of the Aleutians and Pacific Eskimos, the Indian peoples of Mexico and Guatemala, Argentina, the Caribbean, Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, and of other countries. Shown too is the ethnic aspect of the policy of the colonial powers. Another study gives a picture of the role of traditional social institutions in the contemporary life of a number of peoples in other countries. Interesting historical and ethnographic material is contained in a 20-volume popular-science geographic-ethnographic publication, Countries and Peoples of the World, 18 volumes of which are already available to Soviet readers.

In the past few years ethnographers have been seriously developing the theory of ethnos—the primary object of ethnographic science. Important aspects of this theory, such as the definition of the place of ethnos among other communities, the typology of ethnic communities, ethnic features of culture and psychology, varieties of ethnic processes, and the evolution of the types and forms of ethnic community have been surveyed.

Another area of Soviet historical research is the history of socio-political thought, world culture, religions and scientific atheism.

The study of these problems spans a broad, comprehensive chronological, geographical and thematic range—from the culture, ideological and political thought, religion and atheism of ancient and mediaeval times to the appearance of critical-utopian socialism, the dissemination of Marxism, contemporary cultural development, ideology and social thought, including that of the developing countries.

In the course of the preparation of generalising works dealing with the cultural history of Ancient Greece, Rome and Byzantium and of concrete-historical studies devoted to the cultural heritage of peoples, successful attempts are being made to evolve a typology of cultural development and its division into periods, to identify its progressive forms, the role of culture in the life of the classes and strata of different socio-economic formations. Concrete material helps solve problems of cultural continuity, the crisis and disintegration of the culture and ideology of exploitative socio-economic formations.

In the field of the mediaeval culture, ideology and socio-political thought of Western Europe, serious successes have been achieved in the study of the history of the humanism and culture of the Renaissance.

A notable place in Soviet historical research is occupied by the study of the history of socialist theories, ranging from their early forms to critical-utopian socialism and scientific communism. Work is under way to publish a series of monographs concerned with the main trends and representatives of West European utopian socialism, the history of socialist thought in Italy, Britain, France, Germany and the United States, and with the penetration of the ideas of scientific socialism into China. The collections of articles History of Socialist Theories and From the History of Social Movements and Social Thought survey the theoretical aspects of progressive social ideas, the creative work of outstanding thinkers of the past, and the views of Marx, Engels and Lenin.

Also being explored is the cultural heritage of different countries and peoples and the influence of the cultural traditions of the past on present-day social consciousness, the ideological trends and policies of states, the character of the interaction between cultures, including the influence of the cultures of the West and the socialist countries on the developing ones. Under way is the analysis of ideological trends in the countries of Asia and Northern Africa at different stages of their history, including of modern conceptions of development.

In the study of the history of religion and atheism, alongside analysis of the historical roots, dogmata and philosophical essence of modern-day religions, primarily Islam and Buddhism, and of the religious beliefs of the ancient peoples, the attention of Soviet historians in recent years has been attracted by current religious situations in different countries and regions and by the role of the religious factor in the social movements and international politics of modern and contemporary times. The roots of paganism in Rus have been traced and a study of Slavic mythology has been made. Work is under way on preparing a seven-volume basic work on 20th-century religions, publication has begun of a new annual *Religions of the World* devoted to the theory and methodology of the study of religion, and a study is being made of the mechanism of interconnection between ethnoses and religious beliefs.

In discussing the achievements of the Soviet science of history in the study of the history of socio-political thought, world culture, religions and atheism, the need for still greater attention to these problems should be stressed. The complex internal political processes taking place in different countries and the intensification of the ideological struggle call for a broad and indepth study of all aspects and contradictions of the evolution of social thought in other countries, of the new ideological trends which have appeared with the growth of the influence of scientific socialism. If the events of the present and the recent past are to be understood, it is essential to evolve a typology of revolutionary-democratic, bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideological trends, to make an allround assessment of mass religious movements and to show the role of religion in the ideological and political struggle of the past and present. There is a need for a comprehensive study of cultural history which would bring into bold relief the role of Russian and Soviet culture in world cultural development.

Over the past few years important results have been achieved in the study of the history of our country's historical science and of foreign historiography. In the field of the historiography of the USSR, the results of the study of the main problems of our country's history made in the Tenth Five-Year Plan period have been summed up, Soviet literature dealing with the history of the Great October Socialist Revolution and of different periods of socialist development has been analysed, the Leninist conception of the history of the October Revolution and the Civil War has been studied and the Marxist stage of the development of the science of history elucidated. Interesting conclusions have been arrived at in analysing the results of the elaboration in our country's literature of problems of the history of Russian feudalism, Russian culture, the social and revolutionary movement and the foreign policy of Russia, and also in studying and the publication of the scholarly legacy of eminent Soviet and pre-revolutionary historians. The heritage of representatives of Russian and Soviet Oriental and Slavonic studies is being thoroughly investigated, and it is planned to publish in the Monuments of Historical Thought series, which has won public recognition, classical treatises by Soviet historians alongside works by foreign researchers. An important role in the study of historiography is played by the annual History and Historians. Conservative and reactionary prerevolutionary socio-historical thought, in the struggle against which the progressive ideas and revolutionary theories of A. N. Radishchev, the Decembrists, revolutionary democrats and Marxists carved their way, remain poorly studied.

The successful development of Soviet historical science largely depends on the serious elaboration of questions of source study and special historical disciplines and on the creation on a scholarly basis of a broad documentary foundation of historical studies. Much is being done in this direction. Of great importance in creating the source base of Russian and Soviet history are the many-volume publications The Complete Russian Chronicles, The Decembrist Uprising, documents pertaining to the history of the Great October Revolution, Soviet foreign policy and international relations, and the class struggle. Preparations for the publication of a 10-volume collection of documents on the Soviet Armed Forces in the Great Patriotic War have begun, as well as of the Documentary Source Materials for the Study

of Arabic Graphics in Collections of the USSR series; also being published are translations of the most important monuments of literature and writing of the Eastern peoples.

Much has been accomplished in the study of Lenin's method of historical research, which is of immense importance for source analysis. Advances have been registered in the theoreticalmethodological field of source study. Here historians are attracted by questions of the integration of data of source study and other special historical disciplines, the possibilities of source study in the light of present-day information theory, of the use in the course of source analysis of general scientific methods, including mathematical. An important role in tackling problems of the theory and methodology of source study is played by all-Union conferences on topical relevant problems of source study, which are now held at regular intervals. The research into mass source materials is proceeding successfully. Interesting results have been obtained in the analysis of concrete types of historical source material pertaining to statistics, legislation, chronicles, memoirs, etc. Collections of articles devoted to source study problems of the history of the USSR—both of the Soviet and of the pre-Soviet periods—are being regularly published.

Over the past few years research has been extended to the field of heraldry and genealogy, and also to historical geography and cartography. Problems of special historical disciplines are being successfully solved as the Master Catalogue of Slavic-Russian Manuscript Books Kept in the USSR and the annuals Auxiliary Historical Disciplines are being prepared for publication. Orientalists have begun to carry out a number of projects which provide for the compilation of a generalising collective work concerned with the theory and methodology of Oriental historical source study and textology and for the publication of numismatic monuments and the Treasures of Oriental Coins in Collections of the USSR series.

In discussing the problems which are currently being tackled by the Soviet science of history, mention should be made of the main lines, along which its further development will proceed. The Department of History of the USSR Academy of Sciences has launched preparations for an allround substantiation of the implementation of long-term integrated programmes of historical research into a number of global problems, whose solution is of great significance generally as well as in theoretical and philosophical terms. Six such programmes have been planned: Ethnogeny and Contemporary Ethnic Processes among the Peoples of the World (head: Academician Yu. Bromley), General Regularities and Specific Features of the Development of Pre-Capitalist Class Formations (head: Z. Udaltsova, Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences), Revolutions and Social Progress (head: Academician I. Minz), Problems of War and Peace in the 20th Century (head: Academician A. Samsonov), History of the Building of Developed

Socialist Society (head: Academician M. Kim) and Historical Contribution of the Peoples of the USSR to the Culture of Soviet Society and to World Culture (head: Academician B. Rybakov). These programmes will set the main lines of development of Soviet historiography in the next few years. Their implementation will ensure the further development of the materialist view of history as a cohesive law-governed process of mankind's progressive development and will further the clarification of the relationship between the formational regularities and their specific features in different regions. It will also stimulate a deeper understanding of the role of different peoples in world history, make it possible to sum up the experience of the fraternal socialist countries, to give a full-length picture of the processes of the formation of social consciousness and to solve many other problems.

NOTES

- ¹ V. I. Lenin, Collected Works, Moscow, Vol. 21, p. 57.
- ² For bibliography of works by Soviet historians see publications of the Institute of Scientific Information on Social Sciences, the USSR Academy of Sciences, including those published for the 16th Congress of Historical Sciences held in Stuttgart, as well as the Bibliography Section in the present issue.

Historical Sciences: Topical Themes

New Phenomena in Diplomacy: 1919-1939

ALEXEI NAROCHNITSKY

The programme of the 16th International Congress of Historical Sciences includes the problem of "New Phenomena in Diplomacy after 1914: Structure, Ensuring Peace, and Methods". Interest in the attempts to establish a lasting peace and their foiling by the forces of aggression in Europe and the Far East in the period between the two world wars is not fortuitous. It is self-evident to realistically-minded people that ensuring peace and the security of the nations and preventing a thermonuclear war is truly a demand of the present time. Understandable is the importance of analysing the causes of the instability and transience of peace following the First World War of 1914-1918. Indeed, only two decades thereafter, the Second, and even more devastating, World War broke out, sweeping over the continents and oceans of our planet. Identifying the factors making for the instability of peace in 1919-1939 and an objective and comprehensive review of diplomatic experience of this historical period could facilitate the understanding of what must be done to foster security in present-day conditions when mankind faces the possibility of a global thermonuclear disaster.

This menace has a most direct bearing on Europe today as well. Well known are the strategic importance of the European continent, its relatively limited territorial extent, the concentration of huge material and cultural values therein, as well as of the heritage of civilisation created over many a millennium. Vast armed forces of countries with different social and political systems, possessing weapons of unheard-of destructive capacity, are lined up opposite each other in an immediate face-off. Both world wars were started in Europe from German soil. All the aforementioned makes the building of peace, which has now acquired universal significance, vitally important to Europeans.

A scientific historical generalisation of new phenomena in diplomacy and international relations between the two world wars is all the more timely because a great many diplomatic documents, memoirs and diaries of politicians, then responsible for the destiny of the world, have already seen the light of day. Extensive series of documents concerning the foreign policies of Germany, Great Britain, France, the US and other countries over that period have been published. In particular, documentation related to the period immediately preceding the Second World War, which formed a part of the archives of nazi Germany, has been printed in the Soviet Union. British Cabinet documents which confirm the intentions of the government to direct nazi Germany's aggression towards Eastern Europe, and eventually against the Soviet Union, have been made available recently to historians. A multi-volume series, entitled "Documents of Foreign Policy of the USSR", has been brought up to the year 1939 inclusive. Therefore, there exists a sound documentary basis for revealing what caused the precarious peace between the two world wars. Numerous publications and studies, dealing with the root causes of the Second World War, its origins and preparations, have appeared. Many a secret of those preparations were exposed in the materials of the Nuremberg and Tokyo trials of the major war criminals.

Soviet scholars have worked out long ago, and continue to deepen and perfect, a scientifically substantiated viewpoint concerning the basic features and development of international relations and diplomacy in 1917-1939, the causes and nature of the First and Second World Wars and facts and processes which strengthened or undermined the foundations of security and peace at that time. There are many special works dealing with the subject. Diplomacy prior to the Second World War is also well covered in Soviet military history studies.

The recent decades have seen quite a number of books authored by Western historians, which deal with postwar diplomacy and provide to a certain degree a summary or synthesis of the results of various special studies and publications. In spite of the bias of many concepts and, in certain cases, even obvious distortion of past events and particularly of the Soviet foreign policy, some works by scholars from capitalist countries contain extensive and valuable material, important observations and interesting findings and conclusions.

New dimensions (nouvelles dimensions) in the diplomacy in between the two wars, as always, were closely interknitted with past traditions and aspirations. In my opinion, it would be wrong to focus on the evolution of the techniques and forms of diplomatic relations, although their history as such undoubtedly merits thorough examination. Fundamental peculiarities and general features of diplomacy of those times should be sought in more profound processes and contradictions of interwar period. Soviet historical science is known

for its intrinsic striving to expose the fundamental causes of social development, which are rooted in the positions of various classes of society and leading socio-political forces, and the motives behind their actions in the years when the Second World War was being launched. Soviet and many other scientists are not afraid of perceiving and disclosing the real forces of aggression and reaction, represented by the ruling quarters of the fascist states of Europe and militarist Japan which sought war, as well as by the countries which encouraged the fascist aggression. It is also becoming evident that the Second World War must not be considered as something fatally inevitable, it could have been prevented through stronger collective security and more farsighted diplomacy of Western powers, were they not blinded by their hatred of socialism.

As is shown in the works of Soviet historians and by other scholars, the nature of international relations and diplomacy at various historical stages arises from the basic features and opposing trends of a given period of time. Antiquity, the Middle Ages with their feudal order, and the new times with the prevalent capitalist relations, of course, had their own peculiarities of international policy and diplomacy. The same was true of the period between the two world wars. The reasons for the First World War lay in the development of imperialism and the fighting among the most powerful capitalist powers for re-division of the world. The fighting continued after the First World War as well. In the meantime, a fundamentally new force emerged in 1917 with the birth of the new socialist world as a result of the socialist revolution in Russia. It can be safely said that the chief and, moreover, new features of diplomacy and international relations in between the two world wars stemmed from the cardinal changes in the system of international relations and in the course of world history in the wake of the Great October Socialist Revolution and the First World War, in which the Western capitalist countries, primarily Britain, France and the USA, triumphed over the German-Austrian bloc and its allies.

In 1917, many politicians in the capitalist world regarded the socialist revolution in Russia as a chance happening and prophesied that the Bolsheviks would be unable to retain power even for a few weeks. It took the US Government all of fifteen years to grasp the need for establishing diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union. Yet, nowadays one cannot seriously dispute the fact that the division of the world into a socialist system and a capitalist system as a result of the Great October Socialist Revolution, and the formation of the world's first socialist state in Russia marked the launching of contemporary history and became a distinctive feature, inherent only therein, of the entire world historical process and international relations after 1917. A mere quarter of a century thereafter it was precisely this state that was able to smash the major forces of the

German Wehrmacht and thus made a decisive contribution to crushing the fascist aggression in the Second World War.

The inaugural political act of the Soviet state on the world scene—Lenin's Decree on Peace dated November 8 (October 26), 1917, was addressed to all the governments and peoples of the belligerent countries. It reflected the principles of Soviet foreign policy and diplomacy set down by Lenin, namely, withdrawal from the world imperialist war; struggle for a democratic peace without annexations or indemnities; peaceful coexistence with capitalist countries; international solidarity with the working-class movement throughout the world; support for the national liberation struggle; and defence of the socialist revolutionary homeland against any invaders.

The idea of peaceful coexistence was neither a subterfuge nor a disguised desire artificially to spread revolution to other countries; it was a concept elaborated by Lenin on the basis of thoroughly analysed historical, theoretical and political notions.

As early as 1915, Lenin came to a conclusion that socialism's triumph initially in one country alone was possible² and envisaged a lengthy period of coexistence of such a country with the capitalist states following the socialist revolution in Russia. He pursued that course both in 1917 and thereafter, when he was at the helm of the Soviet state, in particular, during the negotiations of the Brest-Litovsk Peace Treaty. Those historians who have got into the habit of judging Lenin from the fabrications of Trotsky and his followers, would do well to look into such an indisputable source as the minutes of the Central Committee of the RSDLP—the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party (Bolsheviks)—over the period from August 1917 to February 1918; they would see for themselves that, although Lenin, naturally, looked forward to the victory of a socialist revolution in Germany and other countries of Europe, he never overlooked the possibility of this not happening, and that even during the Brest-Litovsk negotiations he gained the upper hand over the adventuristic line of the Trotskyites and "left Communists".5

Marx, Engels⁴ and Lenin always opposed the artificial "export of revolution" to other countries. Lenin wrote that "revolutions are not made to order, they cannot be timed for any particular moment, they mature in a process of historical development and break out at a moment determined by a whole complex of internal and external causes".⁵ The fact that Lenin meant expressly peaceful coexistence and competition with capitalist states was also made evident by the desire of the Soviet Government to establish as soon as possible good-neighbourly relations with adjacent states. As early as 1917-1919, the Soviet Government sought to restore and build up economic links with the capitalist countries, primarily the neutral ones, such as Sweden and Denmark. In his interview with American journalist Macbride back in September 1919, Lenin mentioned

coexistence of the socialist and capitalist countries.⁶ Unfortunately, even such a circumspect British historian as E. H. Carr, to say nothing of innumerable other authors adhering to that viewpoint,⁷ relying on Trotskyite sources, erroneously ascribes to the Soviet Government an "export of revolution" course from 1917 to 1920. The establishment of peaceful relations between the Soviet state and Western countries was temporarily hampered only by the intervention and blockade which failed miserably.

The young Soviet Republic immediately blazed new trails in the development of diplomacy and international relations. At its very birth it made public and abrogated the secret treaties concluded by the tsarist government and its allies on the conduct of the imperialist war, planned annexations and spheres of influence. It was sabotaged and betrayed by former diplomatic officials, so it had to enlist the services of a new revolutionary staff, established a more streamlined revolutionary system of diplomatic posts, and replaced the former Foreign Ministry with a People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs, whose very title indicated that it was called upon to fulfil the will of the revolutionary workers and peasants.

The Soviet Government renounced the privileges of extraterritoriality and all the unjust clauses in Russia's treaties with its Oriental neighbours but preserved intact all the provisions concerning peaceful good-neighbourly relations, including those related to boundaries. It recognised the right of Finland and Poland to independence and proclaimed the equality of all peoples and their right to self-determination, which objectively promoted an upsurge of national liberation movements in Europe and throughout the world.

Soviet foreign policy and diplomacy were fundamentally opposite to the policies pursued by tsarist Russia and other capitalist states in that they were characterised by their peaceful socialist essence and negative attitude to conquests. At the same time, the Soviet state inherited historical rights, including those stemming from treaties, to its territories. After the socialist revolution, those rights accrued to the revolutionary peoples of the Soviet state. Socialist ownership was also extended to cover foreign assets invested in Russia.

At the 1922 Genoa Conference, following Lenin's instructions, Soviet representative Georgi Chicherin put forward the concept of equal coexistence of the two systems of ownership, socialist and capitalist, in international relations which was a follow-up to the principle of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems.

The voluntary formation of the Soviet Union by most of the peoples of former Russia in 1922 was an event of tremendous significance, for it boosted the construction of socialism in a single country and enhanced the Soviet state's influence on international

relations and diplomacy. A phase of "recognitions" and establishment of diplomatic relations by many states with the Soviet Union ensued. As the Soviet Union forged ahead in socialist industrialisation and built up its defence potential, the role of young socialist diplomacy on the world scene was rapidly growing. Its most important feature was safeguarding disarmament, peace and security in the world with a view to creating the most favourable conditions for the building of socialism and national defence, solidarity with the working-class movement and the national liberation struggle. At that time the Soviet Union was the only socialist power, occupying nearly one-fifth of the world's surface and hemmed in by the developed capitalist countries and by its neighbours in the East, which had not yet freed themselves from semi-colonial dependence.

The traditional forms and methods of diplomacy of the capitalist countries, both big and small, having been formed earlier, continued to prevail in the vast and very potent capitalist world. Yet, there, too, , important changes had occurred, creating a new atmosphere for diplomatic activities and posing new problems. The defeat of Germany and its allies and the disintegration of Austria-Hungary greatly increased the influence of the victors, i.e., Britain, France, the US, Italy and Japan, in the world, and this played a decisive role in establishing the postwar Versailles and Washington systems of treaties. The US in the West and Japan in the East became the bulwarks of the industrial and financial might of capitalism. The whole setup of relations among the capitalist states was altered, being complicated by their further mutual contradictions. Diplomatic negotiations and treaty acts were strongly affected by the contradictions existing between the victors and defeated Germany, as well as among themselves—between Britain and the US, France and Britain, and the US and Japan.

The war's worldwide nature and the growing interlinkage of Europe and other continents gave rise to many a new aspect of diplomacy. In my opinion, the growing role of multilateral negotiations and treaty acts, and the unprecedented scope of the Paris Peace Conference, which by far surpassed the diplomatic congresses of the 19th century, can be regarded as new dimensions of diplomacy in the post-1918 period. The system of the Versailles and Washington postwar treaties was worked out, whose objective was to consolidate the reshaping of the world in the victors' favour and the new correlation of forces among the foremost capitalist powers. The extent of land and sea areas and the range of problems covered by the multilateral treaties were considerably increased, their content became more complicated, and the scope of diplomatic acts expanded. The preparation of background materials for decisions to be made increased on an unprecedented scale.

The end of the First World War brought in its wake the emergence of new states in Europe and the formation of their own

foreign policy and diplomacy. At the same time, they became an objective of struggle for influencing and drawing them into regional groupings under the auspices of the leading powers of the capitalist world.

The system of mandates regarding former German colonies and some other countries gave rise to new problems in diplomatic talks in connection with the decolonisation processes and anti-colonialist, liberation movements. What was meant thereby was to use mandates for prolonging, if possible, albeit in a curtailed form, the colonial dependence of certain countries. National liberation uprisings and wars brought about attempts by their political leaders and revolutionary authorities to launch their own diplomacy, whose history is still to be written.

The overthrow of several monarchies, which had been under political domination of the nobility, and the consolidation of the power of big bourgeoisie and its political parties also produced new trends in diplomacy. The traditional prevalence of the old aristocratic caste among the diplomatic staff in the capitalist countries of Europe was diminishing. Party leaders and MPs, rather than professional diplomats, ever more often took the post of foreign minister.

Yet, a kind of caste of career diplomats continued to exist in the foreign ministries; it served as a repository of continuity and routine and a balance-beam between the influence exerted by the leaders of various bourgeois parties and played the role of a coordinator and a skilful technical shaper of diplomatic documents and architect of diplomatic contacts. The significance of prominent and rarely replaced responsible officials of the diplomatic establishment was retained and even made stronger.

Antagonisms and conflicts often sprang up between career diplomats and party leaders. In the US, Secretaries of State were, in the main, executing the will of the Administration. The struggle of political parties, debates in parliaments and the need for parliamentary endorsement of many political acts, and deliberations in the Houses' committees and subcommittees often hampered the adoption of early decisions or resulted in certain changes in the political course. At the same time, parliamentary discussions, debates in the Houses' committees and polemics in the press promoted a somewhat wider publicity of governments' foreign policies, while many treaties and agreements continued to be kept secret. Bourgeois governments plurified all sorts of demagogic and hypocritical declarations and promises in the foreign policy domain, which were more often than not merely an exercise in verbalism. The general public discontent with the transfer of the burden of war and economic crises onto their shoulders, revolutionary upsurges, the ground swell in the workers' and communist movement, and the lack of trust among democratic quarters in the governments' diplomacy compelled monopoly capital to pressurise the media and increase the possibilities of using them to manipulate public opinion. The democratic forces had far less opportunities to achieve that end.

Technical progress, especially in radio and telegraph communications, also left its imprint on diplomacy, irrespective of differences in the socio-political systems of states. Long gone by were the times of the 18th-early 20th-century "grand embassies", which enjoyed sweeping credentials and decision-making powers and conducted vital affairs far away from their capitals. The personal responsibility and role of diplomatic representatives were further reduced because they could receive, through radio or telegraph, immediate instructions from their governments and send their reports. As daily international ties multiplied, the staff and structure of diplomatic departments, embassies and consulates became bigger and more intricate. Specialised services and institutions, groups of experts, various commissions and committees were increasingly involved in political and economic decision-making. The heads' of state or government role in diplomacy was being enlarged, while the diminishing significance of foreign ministers and their respective departments was making itself

The growing numbers of diplomatic representatives and the extension of their everyday activities were making them rather commonplace, which was also facilitated by the fall of many monarchies and the spreading of the republican form of government. Simpler protocol procedures, ceremonies and titles were taking shape.

Although certain new features of diplomacy were not contingent on a social system but were emerging due to an overall expansion of international ties and technical achievements, in terms of its content and goals, the diplomacy of the capitalist world not only retained but more fully reflected its socio-political image. Now more than ever before did it serve the interests of big capital, which was uniting into powerful monopolies, seeking to consolidate the correlation of forces on the international scene in favour of the leading capitalist powers, to maintain and expand access to raw material and energy resources. particularly oil, and to commodity and capital-exporting markets; it also took care to establish spheres of domination or "open doors". and to attain regional or world hegemony. The victor powers' diplomacy helped to consolidate the results of the First World War in their interests; then preparations were launched for re-carving the world and unleashing the Second World War, which also entailed widespread diplomatic activities.

As a consequence of economic crises and reparations, negotiations on financial and economic matters acquired unprecedented significance. Eventually, they resulted in the collapse of the reparations system, and the recovery and financial encouragement of Germany's economic expansion and rearmament. Capitalist diplomacy served big capital.⁸

At the same time, capitalist diplomacy retained its tradition of explaining away diplomatic actions by "national interests", concern for "safeguarding peace", "freedom and independence", and, naturally, many an example can be cited showing that the above mottoes corresponded, more or less, to reality. For instance, it can hardly be denied that Louis Barthou was indeed safeguarding the national interests of France, when he came out against the strengthening of Hitler Germany.

But "national interests", "defence of peace" and "independence of the peoples" often concealed other goals, namely, to suppress revolutions and national liberation movements, to launch or encourage acts of aggression, to cater to the selfish interests of the capitalist oil and other trusts, arms manufacturers, banks, etc.

As is evident from the official American "comment" on the "Fourteen Points", President Woodrow Wilson's pompous democratic phraseology concealed plans for dismembering Soviet Russia.⁹

Neville Chamberlain's Cabinet called it "safeguarding peace" when it formulated its course, aimed at appeasing Hitler with a view to directing nazi Germany's aggression towards the East and eventually against the USSR—a course at encouraging aggression and unleashing war in Eastern Europe in hopes of coming to peaceful terms with Germany. Even Hitler kept promising peace, while demanding a new share of the loot; this, however, did not stop him from promptly voicing ever new demands.

Capitalist diplomacy often explains its actions as a struggle against revolution. Its anti-socialist policy took shape back in 1917. As early as the summer of 1917, plans were hatched in Britain, France and the US for a far-reaching economic penetration into Russia and support for the Russian counter-revolutionary forces.

The governments of the capitalist countries did not believe in the viability of Soviet rule. They launched an intervention under the pretext of re-establishing the Russian Front, but Soviet scholars have irrefutably proved that their true objective was not concern for the Eastern Front but the overthrowing of Soviet rule and the destruction of Bolshevism. The intervention swung into action in the summer of 1918, when the defeat of Germany was already assured, and President Wilson himself acknowledged its uselessness in terms of warfare. 10 The intervention went on even after the armistice of November 11, 1918. Moreover, Germany was involved therein, for the last clause of the armistice terms and conditions provided for the presence of her troops in the occupied territories of Russia (against Bolshevism). 11 It is commonly known, that Soviet rule was established in 1919 in the Baltic provinces of Russia but later it was overthrown by German troops. It was only with the help of the Western capitalist states that the governments dependent thereon still managed to stay in power for two decades.

The Paris Peace Conference also devoted much attention, explicitly or implicitly, to the so-called question of Russia. Measures to bridle Germany were softened in order to maintain it as a stronghold against Bolshevik Russia. The intervention itself witnessed the collision of various plans for establishing, in Russia's place, a number of weak states, dependent in varying degree on the West's major capitalist powers.¹²

Similar to counter-revolutionary interventions carried out in the 18th-19th centuries by diplomacy of the monarchic nobility and the Holy Alliance it created in the last century, diplomatic preparations for counter-revolutionary interventions against socialist and people's democratic revolutions have become a distinctive feature of capitalist diplomacy of the contemporary times. Yet, in the final analysis, both past and present attempts to check the progressive course of history in such a way were, and continue to be, fruitless.

Even after the phase of "recognition" and establishment by many countries of diplomatic and trade relations with the Soviet Union, the governments of capitalist states reverted every now and then to attempts at discriminating against the USSR; they also supported the counter-revolutionary emigration, and tried, albeit without success, to apply methods of diplomatic and economic pressure. The capitalist powers repeatedly attempted to resolve their problems at the expense of the Soviet Union. For instance, this was the case during the elaboration of the Dawes Plan. The Pact of Locarno left the boundaries in Eastern Europe outside the system of guarantees, and so on.

Most diplomats of the capitalist world did not comprehend the life-giving power and vitality of the Soviet socialist state, its peaceableness and negative attitude to conquests. They were unwilling to see the independent origins of the communist and national liberation movements in those countries where it stemmed from some internal reasons, and falsely described them as "Moscow's designs" in order to divert attention from their own expansionist plans. That promoted an atmosphere of distrust and instability throughout the world.

A harmful impact was also exerted by having a blind faith in the biased or unscrupulous "prophecies" of the counter-revolutionary emigration concerning the allegedly inevitable and impending collapse of socialism. Huge sums were squandered, and for that matter are being wasted nowadays as well, to pay for the services of embittered "experts" in Soviet affairs, incapable of making objective judgements, who have been inciting distrust in the Soviet Union's policy. Numerous disarmament initiatives of the Soviet Union were totally rejected as "Bolshevik propaganda", although the Soviet Union proceeded and continues to proceed from its genuine interest in peace for the sake of building socialism and the aspiration of all the peoples to peace.

Inefficiency, inadequate measures used to safeguard peace and the rapid growth of powerful forces, which shortly initiated preparations for a new war, were probably the most important feature of capitalist diplomacy in 1919-1939. International relations in that period were marked by instability, unsteadiness and the extremely short-lived nature of postwar treaties, peace and security, in particular in Europe, the Far East and in some other world's regions.

Following the First World War, the role of governmental international organisations expanded in diplomacy of the capitalist powers. Yet, they failed to ensure peace on a more or less long-term basis. The most important of these was the League of Nations. After the US refusal to join the Organisation, it was mostly used by Britain, France and Italy to consolidate the results of their victory over Germany and to isolate the Soviet Union. The League of Nations failed to acquire global dimensions and to check fascist aggression. In 1933, Germany and Japan ostentatiously left the organisation. The significance of the Soviet Union's joining the League of Nations in 1934 was dampened by the appeasement policies pursued by the Western powers—Britain, France and the US.

The forms and methods of consolidating peace on the basis of the outcome of the First World War proved to be ineffective. They boiled down, primarily, to limiting Germany's armaments, including the demilitarisation of the Rhineland, guarantee pacts (the Pact of Locarno), and regional blocs under the auspices of the Western victorious states (the Little Entente, the Balkan Pact, etc.). Verbal recommendations and "sanctions" based on the League of Nations' dicisions failed to stop war preparations and fascist aggression because of the tacit approval of Britain and France. The mutual assistance pacts between the USSR, France and Czechoslovakia could have been of great importance had they not been reduced to naught by the Munich aggressor-appeasement policy. Boundaries in the east of Europe remained outside the system of guarantees.

Postwar treaties of the capitalist powers immediately produced attempts to revise them. Beginning with 1919, German diplomacy saw its principal task in the near future in revising the Treaty of Versailles. But that was merely the initial stage, which was followed, especially after the nazis' coming to power in Germany and Italy, by far-reaching plans to re-carve Europe and the colonies, and to establish a vast zone of Hitler's "New Order", primarily in Central and Eastern Europe. Therefore, attempts to reduce the objectives of German fascism merely to a revision of the Versailles acts are totally untenable.

The failure of the reparations policy spurred a gushing influx of capital from Britain and the US to Germany, which helped a rapid economic and military revival of German imperialism. This was also

facilitated by the fact that German economy suffered relatively little damage during the First World War. 18

In the meantime, fascist Italy was bolstering its positions in Europe, and Japan launched its aggression in Eastern Asia. These powers craved for territorial aggrandisement and sought to capture resources and markets over vast expanses, to enlarge the zone of their domination and to secure world hegemony. Those goals were advanced under the banner of fighting communism (the Anti-Comintern Pact). Anti-Soviet demagoguery reflected not only the hatred of socialism nursed by the Pact's chieftains but also their course of obfuscating diplomacy of the Western powers, in which they initially succeeded.

Fascism introduced new phenomena in diplomacy. The Mein Kampf, that nazi "Bible of cannibals", and Hitler's speeches, especially in front of a narrow circle of the big chiefs of the nazi Reich, proclaimed the misanthropic doctrine of racism, German claims to being exceptional and superior to other races, and Germany's "right" to use any means for gaining Lebensraum, and called for destroying the Soviet Union and Bolshevism. Fascism brought to diplomacy and international relations a fanatic belief in its calling to rule over the world and its claimed "right" to annihilate. enslave and outlaw other nations. Fascist "jurists" even forwarded the thesis that the Soviet Union was outside the sphere of international law and could not be a subject thereof. So, as may be easily seen, there is nothing new in the claims of certain political leaders to their "right" to declare any regions of the world a sphere of their "vital interests", and threaten to "outlaw" whole nations with a view to destroying socialism as a social system.

After seizing power, Hitler and the nazi party promptly subordinated the foreign ministry and curtailed the influence of career diplomats. A special "Ribbentrop office" within the foreign policy department of the nazi party was responsible for collecting information. It infiltrated the foreign ministry and began to supervise all the most important matters. A special department was set up within the nazi party, entrusted with using Germans living abroad for the purposes of espionage and sabotage. The press department was turned over to Goebbels. A major part in nazi diplomacy was ascribed to individuals involved in sabotage, spying and assassination. Any means were put to use, whether calumny, deceit, perfidy, or threats or terror. Total rejection of any legal or moral constraints in choosing means to achieve an end was elevated to the rank of a principle.

Following Germany's rearmament, France, Britain and the weak states bordering on the Soviet Union could not oppose the former without the Soviet Army's support. The USSR urged policy of collective security as the only true road to checking the nazi aggression. Yet, the hatred of socialism, cherished by the powers-

that-be, and the deep-rooted prejudices regarding the goals of Soviet foreign policy made the leaders of Britain and France see the fascist states as a barrier against the spread of social revolution and think first and foremost about directing the German aggression eastward.¹⁴ They were guided by anti-Sovietism rather than by the principles of peace and democracy. In the words of Private Secretary to Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs Oliver Harvey, the Munich course was brought about by apprehensions that a war might destroy the rich classes. Lord Halifax told Hitler that Germany was a bastion against Bolshevism. Therefore, "it was difficult for a British Conservative Government to negotiate an agreement with a Russian Communist one". 15 In the words of Soviet Ambassador to Britain Ivan Maisky, Prime Minister Chamberlain was obsessed by a desire to pit Germany against the Soviet Union. 16 Sir Alexander Cadogan wrote in his diaries that the Prime Minister would "resign rather than sign an alliance with the Soviets". 17 George Bonnet hoped that nazi Germany would direct its aggression to the East, "against Bolshevism". 18

As is known, Austria and then Czechoslovakia were the first to fall victim to the fascist aggression and the Western powers' course at abetting it. During the Munich Conference, in September 1938, a possibility still existed to stop Hitler through concerted efforts but the governments of Western powers decided to make a deal with him concerning the dismemberment of Czechoslovakia. The Soviet Union alone was prepared to render military assistance to Czechoslovakia, had its government resolved to oppose German demands and requested such assistance. The Soviet Government let it be known in Warsaw that it would abrogate, without any pre-notification, the non-aggression treaty with Poland should its troops enter Czechoslovakia.

In a bid to divert nazi Germany's aggression to Central and Eastern Europe, the governments of Britain and France did not confine themselves to the September accord reached in Munich on the dismemberment of Czechoslovakia. On September 30, 1938, an Anglo-German declaration was signed concerning the "desire of the peoples of the two countries" never again to fight a war against each other. On December 6, a Franco-German declaration was signed on the recognition of the existing borders between the two states and mutual consultations in case of international difficulties. In effect, this was tantamount to a declaration of non-aggression. Hitler and Ribbentrop saw it as a tacit approval of carte blanche in the East. There can be no doubt that the French Government had the same goal in mind, though the declaration did not mention that formally. Thus, the Western powers set an example of signing a nonaggression declaration with Hitler's Germany, which made it easier for her to launch the aggression. In actual fact, that policy of the Western governments led them to grave miscalculations.

In the opinion of some British historians, Chamberlain nursed expectations that Germany would use up its strength in the Russian steppes in battles that would exhaust both sides. The Western governments also hoped that Japan would attack the Soviet Union. American historian E. L. Shuman concluded that, in their view, granting the three fascist states a free hand would result in a German-Japanese attack against the Soviet Union, which would save the civilisation from Bolshevism, and France, Britain and the US would be able to remain neutral while fascism and communism were destroying each other. 19

The Soviet leadership exposed quite accurately and deeply the essence of non-interference. In the report of the Central Committee of the Communist Party to the 18th Party Congress on March 10, 1939, Stalin stressed that the objective of that policy was "not to prevent, for instance, Japan from embroilling herself in a war with China or, better still, with the Soviet Union not to prevent Germany from enmeshing herself in European affairs, embroilling herself in a war with the Soviet Union, and to let all the belligerents to get deeply embedded in the quagmire of war, to encourage them surreptitiouly in this, to enable them to weaken and exhaust one another and later, when they have been weakened enough, to enter the arena with fresh strength, of course, in the interests of peace, and to dictate to the enfeebled belligerents their own terms and conditions". The latest publications have fully borne out that analysis.

The governments of Britain and France proceeded from an entirely false understanding of the situation, accounted for by their rabid anti-Sovietism. The British Cabinet belittled the significance of the Soviet Union's military support and disdainfully evaluated its military forces at almost 10 times below their actual strength; yet the General Headquarters of Hitler's Reich considered them enormous. The Soviet Union was too powerful for Hitler to dare an attack without originally securing domination in Western Europe. Only after the seizure of Czechoslovakia and Poland and the subsequent defeat of France did he intend to start a war against the USSR considering it an ultimate and decisive task of German politics.²¹

In March 1939, threatening to totally destroy Czechoslovakia, Hitler forced its paltry rulers to commit high treason by "agreeing" to its incorporation in the nazi Reich. In early April 1939, he set the date, i.e., September 1, for attacking Poland and 10 days thereafter he signed a plan to destroy it by force.

The German-Italian Steel Pact of May 22, 1939, was spearheaded primarily against France and Britain. The mounting anxiety in the West and attacks within Britain itself against the Cabinet's policy compelled Chamberlain, in late March, to promise Poland guarantees, albeit in the vaguest of terms. The Soviet Government was quite warranted in interpreting that as a method of prompting Hitler to

attack the Soviet Union, bypassing Poland, i.e., through the Baltic states towards the northeast not envisaged in the "guarantees".

Certain Western historians, seeing the total impossibility of denying that the governments of Britain and France wanted to direct the fascist aggression eastwards, eventually against the USSR, try to assert that allegedly the Soviet Union, likewise, was anxious only to parry that policy and turn the spearhead of Hitler's aggression westwards. Yet, this is not so. In a note to the German Ambassador, the Soviet Union immediately denounced the seizure of Czechoslovakia as an unlawful act of aggression jeopardising national security. Back on March 18, 1939, Maxim Litvinov suggested through the British Ambassador that an international meeting be promptly convened with the participation of the USSR, Britain, France, Poland, Rumania and Turkey to carry out urgent consultations, however, the Western powers did not agree even to that. Chamberlain wanted to "gain time" and pursued his old goal of reaching a "broad agreement" with Germany at the expense of Eastern Europe.²² On April 17, 1939, the Soviet Union proposed to Britain and France an agreement on mutual assistance in case of an aggression against any of the contracting parties and on assistance to East European states, located between the Baltic and the Black seas along the USSR borders. Yet, the Western powers did not wish an agreement, based on reciprocity and equal security, and did not seek alliance with the USSR.

The history of how the Western powers foiled mutual aid negotiations is so well known now that there is no need to set it forth in detail. One main thing should be stressed, however. Initially the Soviet Union was proposed to pledge guarantees without any commitments on the part of Western powers. They also wanted to dodge the condition of non-conclusion of a separate peace in the event of war with Germany.23 The stumbling block lay in the unwillingness of the British and French governments to extend mutual aid obligations to cover possible aggression against the Baltic states. As was noted in an article by Andrei Zhdanov of June 29, 1939, 75 days of talks yielded nothing.24 The absurdity of such a position subsequently forced the British and French cabinets to consent to their guarantees covering the Baltic states as well, but only in case of direct aggression. They failed to encompass the most likely possibility of their occupation by Hitler's Germany by means of an indirect aggression, as it had happened to Czechoslovakia, i.e., they left some loopholes for evading commitments.

It was only in late July that the British Government dispatched to Moscow a military delegation consisting of minor officials. It was instructed to negotiate "very slowly" and not to drag Britain into "any definite commitments whatsoever". Only on August 17, 1939, instructions were finally sent to accept the Soviet proposals concerning the definition of indirect aggression but they were not even used

as it turned out that the two Western delegations had no orders or powers to conclude a military convention, which ultimately frustrated the negotiations. The issue of the passage of the Soviet Army through the territories of Poland and Rumania to make contact with the nazi forces was also strongly opposed by the Polish and Rumanian bourgeois-landlord governments which were utterly blinded by their anti-Sovietism and the blandishments of Western powers. In the meantime, the Soviet delegation headed by the People's Commissar for Defence, Voroshilov, presented both its powers and a specific plan of action, committing itself to mount 136 divisions, 5,000 heavy artillery pieces, 9,000 to 10,000 tanks and over 5,000 battle planes.

What were, then, the reasons for such a position of the Western powers? An entry made by Chamberlain in his diaries on July 30 shows that the British Cabinet still hoped to come to an agreement with Germany.²⁵

As far as Poland was concerned, the Western governments did not intend to wage a serious war because of her. Had a "broad agreement" with Germany materialised, Poland would meet with the fate of Czechoslovakia, i.e., a "new Munich". On August 22, Chamberlain sent Hitler a message expressing readiness to negotiate controversial issues between Germany and Poland, as well as broader issues.²⁶

Joseph P. Kennedy, US Ambassador to London, wrote that Poland should be left to her own devices, since after her seizure Hitler's Germany would begin war against the USSR, which would be of great benefit to the entire Western world. Similar views were shared by US Ambassador to Paris William Ch. Bullitt and US Ambassador in Berlin Hugh R. Wilson.²⁷ In the meantime, according to Ribbentrop's representative at Hitler's headquarters, in case of an agreement between the USSR and Western powers, Hitler would be compelled to relinquish the idea of attacking Poland.²⁸

The Western governments' desire to avoid an alliance with the USSR was known to Hitler from the reports of German ambassadors. There should be no doubt that only the collapse of the hopes of British and French hirelings for an agreement with Germany and the fears of public indignation in Britain made them declare war on Germany, following the latter's attack against Poland. However, as is well known, that turned out to be merely a "phoney war", waged in the hope of Hitler Germany finally clashing with the Soviet Union rather than of saving Poland.

Only when it was fully convinced of the sheer impossibility of concluding an alliance with Britain and France did the Soviet government agree to sign a non-aggression pact with Hitler's Germany. In August Ribbentrop began insisting on an urgent visit to Moscow. The Soviet government consented to the Ribbentrop

mission only after it had exhausted all possibilities of negotiations with the Western powers.

It took into account the fact that the overrunning of Poland by nazi Germany and the possible occupation of the Baltic states would draw Hitler's armies very close to Leningrad and Minsk. In the Far East, back in 1938, the Soviet forces had to rebuff a Japanese attack on Soviet territory in the region of Lake Khasan and in August 1939, the Soviet Army routed the Japanese invasion of the friendly Mongolian People's Republic. A war on two fronts against Germany and Japan in the conditions of complete foreign policy isolation created a deadly peril for the Soviet Union. The above two powers had already reached agreement on recognising the "right" of Japan to a westward expansion all the way to Lake Baikal and that of Germany to an expansion all the way to the Caucasus.²⁹

The conclusion of the non-aggression treaty with nazi Germany on August 23, 1939, was a forced step but it was farsighted and the only possible one at that time in order to maintain peace along the Soviet Union's borders at least for the near future. It staved off briefly a war with Germany and also prevented a Japanese attack. In concluding the treaty, the Soviet Union violated no obligations concerning guarantees and betrayed no allies. As William Z. Foster wrote, it took that step only when it became convinced of the futility of negotiations with Britain and France. 30 The Soviet Union won a much-needed respite to strengthen its defences and subsequently moved its borders westward not for any goals of conquest but to shore up its defences in the inevitable future war with nazi Germany. It was only after the defeat of Poland, whose government did not want Soviet assistance, that the Soviet Government moved up the Red Army to defend the Western Ukrainians and Byelorussians. Following that, the Soviet Baltic Republics were formed and joined the Soviet Union as a result of the victory of the socialist revolution therein. Had the Soviet Government preferred to remain an impartial observer of Hitler's aggression and not to erect certain barriers thereto by its actions, the Wehrmacht would have launched its invasion of the Soviet Union from lines passing a mere 30 to 60 kilometres from Leningrad and Minsk. The farsighted moves by the Soviet Government helped it in 1941-1945 to make a decisive contribution to defeating the Wehrmacht on the Eastern Front and liberating several European countries from the fascist vandals.

The historical record of diplomacy in the interwar period warrants certain important conclusions.

Western and Japanese diplomacy usually advance a false thesis that allegedly Soviet foreign policy follows a course at artificially imposing socialist, national liberation and democratic revolutions upon other countries ("the export of revolution"). This viewpoint of the capitalist powers has made a negative impact on the international situation and eroded the foundations of peace and security. The unwillingness to see the internal origins of revolution in various countries and underestimation of the vitality of socialism and its attainments have led Western diplomacy to major political and military miscalculations.

Historical experience demonstrates the shortsightedness and futility of the "Munich" course of Western powers at encouraging fascist aggression, as well as the total blindness of the then reactionary governments of East European states, unwilling to pursue a policy of collective security with the participation of the Soviet Union. Their illusions concerning "guarantees" provided by the Western powers were shattered. The historical record also shows the pernicious consequences of Western financial backing of the policy of rearming Germany.

The Soviet policy of peaceful coexistence and collective security on the basis of equal and reciprocal obligations created in the 1930s real possibilities for checking fascist aggression and preventing the Second World War, but the Western powers disrupted the talks on a military alliance against fascist aggression.

Anti-communist demagoguery was widely used to camouflage the aggressive designs of the fascist states themselves to world domination. This should be borne in mind nowadays, too.

The interwar history proves the danger of setting up aggressive military blocs of capitalist states, seeking to re-shape the world. The results of the Second World War provide a stern warning against any attempts to secure world domination under the false slogan of fighting communism.

The history of the interwar period and the Second World War proves that the racist, nationalistic ideology of fascism is the chief source of the war danger and warns against attempts to revive that ideology in any form, as well as against reanimating revanchist trends. Particularly dangerous were the illusions and miscalculations of the fascist chieftains concerning military supremacy.

The experience of 1917-1939 reaffirms that a genuine strengthening of peace and security in Europe and throughout the world is impossible without equal and peaceful coexistence and cooperation, based on equal security and mutual benefit, between the Soviet Union and the major capitalist powers. The successful joint participation of the anti-Hitler coalition in the war proved the possibility of such cooperation, in particular, of the US, Britain, France and other capitalist states with the Soviet Union. The decisive role of the Soviet Union in winning the victory over fascism (the destruction of the main forces of the fascist Wehrmacht) and its contribution to ridding several European countries of the fascist vandals and to peaceful settlement give evidence of the growing

significance of the USSR in defending the independence of the peoples and reinforcing security and peace, preventing another, still more devastating war, preserving the gains of European and world civilisation.

NOTES

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An Essay in Typology of Culture (with special reference to Byzantium)

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Recent years have seen an upsurge of public and scholarly interest in problems of culture. That reflects a profound progressive trend in the modern world. The need for a theoretical interpretation of the history of world culture (including that of Byzantium) as an important component of the single dynamic process of the development of human society is becoming increasingly clear.

Paradoxical though it may seem, one of the major topics of vigorous discussion has to do with culture and its meaning. The term is polysemantic, giving rise to diverse definitions ranging from broad and universal to the narrowmost. The phenomenon of culture is variously defined as "a mode of human activity"; as "everything man-made, not provided by Nature", as "the aggregate of suprabiological means and mechanisms of the social man's adaptation to the environment". Even given the breadth and philosophical import of these definitions, there is a danger of the whole history of mankind being dissolved in the concept of "culture". Actually culture is only part of the general historical process, one aspect of society's life.

Another subject of heated debates is whether the concept of "culture" should include man's material activity. Representatives of different sciences answer this question in different ways. Ethnographers define culture as everything made and conceived by man as distinct from the gifts of nature; archaeologists interpret culture as primarily material activity which provides clues to spiritual activity as well; historians and scholars in different areas of culture identify "culture" with the spiritual activity of society.

There is probably another approach to this complex problem. In our view, material culture is not identical with production. It constitutes a creative rational element of man's material activity. Material culture is not actual production, the machinery and technology, but the ideas and principles, the knowledge and creative thinking that have gone into their creation. Yet "culture" should not be reduced to society's spiritual life alone.

The phenomenon of culture blends material and spiritual creative activity of men directed by their reason, labour and talent.¹

Byzantine studies and the history of its culture have been lucky in that they have always attracted researchers. The past decades have seen a growing number of scholars in the USSR tackling various aspects of Byzantine culture. They have come to grips with ever more complex problems through new methods and have initiated new approaches to moot points.

A survey of scholarly literature on the subject shows that until recently Byzantine studies have treated the whole interlinked process of cultural development as a series of mostly isolated elements. The history of science and technology, philosophy, religion, social thought, writing and education, language and literature, and the arts all formed separate compartments. Every element of culture was assigned its place while the overall dynamic process of the birth, rise, flourishing and decline of Byzantine culture often escaped the scholar.

In recent years there have appeared works that attempt to integrate individual aspects of Byzantine culture into a single whole. Such attempts have, as a rule, been confined to the history of Byzantine civilisation. And in accordance with Western historiographic practice, the concept of "civilisation" is interpreted in the broadest possible way to include various sides of the life of the Byzantine Empire: politics, economics, social structure, the state, church, etc.; meanwhile the history of culture as such is often swamped in the profusion of general historical material.²

The advent of the new stage in Byzantine studies, accumulation of vast factual material, critical publications of sources and the emergence of new original research methods make it imperative for scientists not only to integrate individual branches of Byzantine culture but to effect their organic synthesis. That in turn calls for the creation of a general theory of culture, for defining the chief laws and general factors of its dynamic development. This is the main challenge in the historical studies of mediaeval culture as a whole, and Byzantine culture in particular.

At the same time it must be remembered that a concrete historical cultural process reflects general regularities of cultural development which in turn reflects and expresses the general laws of history.

This brings us to one of the most complex theoretical questions, that of the relationship between historical laws and the more specific laws governing cultural development. A formidable challenge facing scholars is to find out to what extent the evolution of culture is determined by laws of a socio-economic and political nature, and what is the mechanism through which socio-economic factors influence cultural phenomena.

Marxism has established that changes in culture ultimately reflect basic changes in the socio-economic structure. The laws of the historical cultural process are secondary compared to the laws of mankind's socio-economic development. But the mechanism of these interconnections is exceedingly complex, often contradictory and requires much more study. Engels in his time wrote: "The further the particular sphere which we are investigating is removed from the economic sphere and approaches that of pure abstract ideology, the more shall we find it exhibiting accidents in its development, the more will its curve run zigzag." ³

Some forms of cultural life are directly determined by the specific features of this or that social system and vanish together with them. Others are largely preserved in their unique value and are inherited by succeeding generations. But in the final analysis cardinal formational changes and law-governed succession of social systems determine the main trends in cultural development, lending it certain formational features born of the system, although that does not rule out the preservation of certain cultural substrata in several different socio-economic formations (systems). However, culture preserves a certain autonomy in the overall process of mankind's historical development. The cultural sphere is a relatively self-dependent system, whose main function is to ensure intellectual and aesthetic progress in various fields of human enterprise.

The periods in the history of culture do not always coincide with the periods in the history of society. The stages of culture are more fragmented, so they are not coincident with historical turning points. These basic principles of Marxist-Leninist theory are wholly applicable to the history of Byzantine culture. But how are these principles manifested in the cultures of various regions, countries and peoples? To answer that question we must deal with the definition of the particular and unique features exhibited by a given culture. It is very important in the process to preserve the diversity and colours of the world, to reveal the finest shades of the intellectual and spiritual life of society and the individual. The individual representing a given country, epoch, people, and social class must always be present in historical cultural studies. All historians of culture, including Byzantine scholars, must be careful not to "dehumanise" the history of culture.

We believe that typological constructs may provide the clue to both the general regularities and specific features of a particular society and its culture. Typological studies have been definitely on the rise in recent years. Attempts are being made to identify so-called historical types of culture in the historical cultural process of the world.⁴

The typological method seems to hold forth great promise if applied to the history of Byzantine culture. Identifying the features that Byzantine culture shares with the East and West and those that are different, establishing the synchronous and asynchronous development of culture in these regions, their similarities and distinctions, clash and mutual influence would eventually help not only to determine the type of Byzantine culture, its historical "image", but also its place in the cultural life of the mediaeval world. At the same time we are aware that, in creating a "type" or "image" of Byzantine culture as a coherent system, there is a danger of substituting a static, sometimes artificial "model" for a full-blooded dynamic historical cultural process. So, in constructing a typology of Byzantine culture it is important, on the one hand, to avoid abstract schemes and speculative conceptions divorced from reality and, on the other, not to allow the general regularities of its historical development to be drowned in trivia.

Typological studies have been gaining wider recognition among Soviet Byzantine scholars in recent decades. These studies open up a prospect for building a typology of Byzantine culture, for the typological features of this culture and its original character were naturally dependent on the historical fate and social system of the Byzantine Empire.⁵ Numerous works on the history of Byzantine culture published in this country and abroad provide a good basis for typological studies. Here we shall attempt to present some very tentative, hypothetical ideas about the typological features of Byzantine culture compared to the cultures of the mediaeval West and East.

The following factors are important in distinguishing Byzantine culture from the mediaeval culture of Europe and the Middle East. In Byzantium, there was a linguistic and confessional community within a single state entity. For all the polyethnic nature of the Byzantine Empire it had the main ethnic nucleus formed by the Greeks and the Greek language prevailed in its cultural life. Byzantium was dominated by the Christian religion in its Orthodox form and had a stable state structure.

The role of the leading Graeco-Roman culture in the history of the peoples of the Empire and adjacent countries can be fully understood only in the context of the interaction of cultures and not just one-way influence of the higher Byzantine culture. One must bear in mind that Byzantine cultural influence tended to diminish with the distance of this or that people from the centre and also with the level of development of its own culture and originality, and the stability of local traditions.

The interaction of the cultures of peoples with the same level of development is no less complex. A student of typological distinctions between cultures must establish whether the specific features of a given culture are the result of its internal immanent laws of development or an expression of differences inherent in the cultures of peoples at a certain stage of social progress; the role of external influences must also be established.

Over its millennium-long existence Byzantium was exposed to powerful external cultural impulses emanating from peoples of a comparable level of development. These were the cultures of the Orient, Iran, Egypt, Syria, Transcaucasia and later of the Latin West and Old Rus. The interaction of these cultures reveals the general regularities of the evolution of slave-owning and subsequently feudal systems, while not obliterating the specifics of each country.

At the same time Byzantium had diverse cultural contacts with peoples that were slightly or significantly lower in their social development (the Byzantines called them "barbarians"). The original cultures of these peoples in turn reflected a certain stage in their socio-historical and cultural evolution. Without dwelling on every aspect of this vast and extremely complex problem, let us emphasise the need for a close study of cultural influences not only in areas where peoples mixed but also where they came in contact. The least studied and most difficult aspect of the problem is finding out not only the degree and character of the influence of Byzantine culture but the reverse influence of the cultures of these peoples on Byzantine society.

Prolonged and diverse contacts with the peoples of the Orient played a formative role in Byzantine culture. The geographic position of Byzantium astride two continents, Europe and Asia, and sometimes reaching out to Africa, made such contacts necessary and inevitable.

Always divided between East and West, Byzantium was influenced both by Asian and European cultures. The blend of Graeco-Roman and Middle Eastern traditions left an imprint not only on social life, the state and social structure but also on religious-philosophical ideas, political doctrines, culture and art in Byzantium. Byzantine culture, however, was not a mechanical mixture of Graeco-Roman and Middle-Eastern components with the prevalence of one or the other in given epochs. It was the result of a full-blooded synthesis that produced a new and uniquely original culture that had no historical analogues and for its part exerted a profound influence on the cultures of many neighbouring countries and peoples. Therefore the synthesis of Western and Eastern elements in various spheres of material and spiritual life was the first and most important typological

feature of Byzantine culture running like a golden thread through the whole history of Byzantium.

In determining the general and the particular in the culture of various countries and peoples, notably Byzantine culture, another key question is the role of tradition and innovation in the historical-cultural process. Traditions, stereotypes and recurrent phenomena in culture may at first sight oppose the individual creative element but in the long run they promote its development. The study of traditional phenomena and stereotypes in culture helps to trace the reasons behind the birth of new individual features in society's cultural life.

Traditions, stereotypes, and canons in Byzantine culture were always very strong, even though that strength varied from period to period. Byzantine civilisation, unlike that of Western Europe, remained the last stronghold of Graeco-Roman culture and learning in the troubled times of barbarian invasions. Just as Byzantine statehood withstood the onslaught of barbarians so Byzantine culture managed to resist the tide of barbarian influences.

The fact that antique elements survived so long in all the spheres of Byzantine society should largely be attributed to the typological features of the Empire's social system (prolonged period of slavery, the strength of the rural community, slow development of feudalism compared to the West).

Feudalism in Byzantium developed through synthesis of the elements of the decaying slave-owning system and feudal relations that had matured within the Byzantine state, while all along the antique elements inherited from the late Roman Empire were heavily prevalent. This basic feature of mediaeval society in Byzantium exerted a crucial influence on the character of Byzantine culture. Like the interaction between the "Eastern" and "Western" impact that area revealed an organic synthesis of late antique elements and the nascent culture of mediaeval society; it was marked by attraction and repulsion, conflict and merger, interpenetration and mutual enrichment of the antique and Christian cultures.

The 4th-7th centuries saw a particularly intensive synthesis of the late antique and nascent mediaeval Christian cultures in Byzantium. That was the time when the ideological foundations of Byzantine society were taking shape, the system of Christian worldview was emerging under the powerful influence not only of Middle Eastern religious doctrines, Judaism, Manichaeism, but also Neo-Platonism tracing its lineage to the philosophy of Plato, and the Peripatetics.⁶ In leaving aside the complexities of Christian dogmata, let us note that Christianity was not only a syncretic religious teaching, but a synthetic philosophico-religious system of which antique philosophy was an important component. This may go some way to explain the fact that Christianity not only challenged antique culture; it also used it in its own interests. The rigorous intolerance of early Christianity that

denounced everything that bore the brand of paganism, gradually gave way to a compromise between the antique and Christian worldviews. Christian theologians, writers and preachers more and more often borrowed from late antiquity the appealing simplicity and perfect form of the philosophical prose, the polished methods of Neo-Platonic dialectics, the logic of Aristotle, the psychologism and eloquence of antique rhetoric. Gradually classical education and antique literature were resurrected and Homer came to be taught in school along with the Bible.

The period of transition from slave-owning to feudal society brought radical changes in every sphere of Byzantine spiritual and material culture.⁷ There emerged a new aesthetics, a new conception of the world, more in keeping with the mode of thought and emotional needs of the mediaeval man. The latter himself changed, as well as his view of the world and his attitude to the Universe, Nature and society. A new "image of the world" was embodied in a special system of symbols. The antique image of the heroic individual, and the antique view of the world as one of laughing gods and heroes fearlessly facing death, a world of amazing staunchness and philosophical calm, a world where the supreme blessing was to fear nothing and to hope for nothing is replaced by the world of a suffering, humiliated little man torn by contradictions.⁸

While classical antique anthropology was static and closed, plastic and complete in itself, Christianity starkly reveals the painful personality split. Man's ideas of the cosmos, time and space and the course of history also change: closed historical cycles of antique writers are superceded by the teleological biblical vision of the onward advance of history in mediaeval historical writings and chronicles. The didactic element in all spheres of culture increases; the spoken and written word, the sign and symbol permeated with religious motives occupy a large place in the life of the individual in the early Byzantine epoch.

At the same time all areas of knowledge, literature and the arts present a startling mixture of pagan and Christian images and beliefs, a colourful blend of pagan mythology and Christian mysticism.

Art is increasingly influenced by the elemental passion, integrity and naive perception of the world characteristic of folklore, the sincerity and emotionalism of moral judgements (hagiography). There is a strong popular current in liturgical poetry, which initiates the rhyme, breaks the antique metre, and promotes new aesthetic ideals (for example, in the work of Romanos).

The fine arts, too, undergo fundamental change. In the early period Byzantine art blended the refined plasticity and vibrant sensuality of late antique impressionism with the naive, sometimes crude, expressiveness of popular Oriental art. Byzantine artists, who recognised the primacy of the spiritual over the corporeal, saw the

expression of a transcendental idea in an artistic image as their main aesthetic task. The sensual aesthetics of antiquity no longer met the requirements of the time and was replaced by the spiritualist ideals of mediaevalism.

The profound spiritualism of the aesthetic views held by the aristocratic society of Byzantium did not, however, lead Byzantine art into a world of bare abstraction. Unlike the Moslem East, where the primacy of the spiritual over the corporeal led to the dominance of geometric and ornamental forms in the fine arts, leaving no room for the portrayal of man, Byzantine art continued to be focussed on man: in Byzantine art, man was the main vehicle of artistic ideas. That is attributable to a great extent to the preservation of antique traditions not only in art, but in all culture.

More intriguing for the scholar, however, is not the preservation of the elements of a moribund culture but the emergence of new cultural values of the mediaeval world. Therefore one should neither idealise nor exaggerate the role of antique culture, especially in the period when feudal relations predominated in Byzantium.

The stability of the elements of antiquity varied from one sphere of cultural life to another. And almost everywhere new philosophical-theological, political, ethical and aesthetic views were being born. Not continuity, but constant struggle between old and new ideas is the dominant feature of social relations and cultural development of Europe as a whole and Byzantium in particular.

Although most Byzantine scholars recognise that antique traditions survived throughout the history of the Empire, there are considerable differences in opinions as to the degree, scale, and nature of the use of the antique cultural heritage in Byzantium. These arguments are, of course, closely linked with the general discussion about continuity and discontinuity of social relations in Byzantium. Some scholars advocate the theory of the continuity of antique traditions in the social system and culture of the Empire and single out periods of revival of antique elements, identifying several "renaissances" in the history of Byzantine civilisation ("Comneni renaissance", "Paleologi renaissance", etc.). Others take a more cautious approach. Without going into details, let us point out the main thing: as distinct from Western Europe, which had almost entirely lost the antique cultural heritage during the early Middle Ages. Byzantium preserved the traditions of Graeco-Roman civilisation and the decline in the level of education there was much less dramatic than in the West. Mediaeval Christian Byzantium seemed to struggle though unsuccessfully, to divest itself of the antique cultural heritage and turned to that source of knowledge again and again.

Thus, the preservation of the antique cultural traditions on a significant scale constitutes, in our view, the second important typological feature of Byzantine culture. The objective historical law behind that typological peculiarity of Byzantine culture stems from the main

trends of the Empire's social development. A decisive factor was the survival of large cities that were centres of science and culture of Byzantium. Unlike Western Europe, where cities did not come to play a significant social role until the 11th-12th centuries, Byzantium at the dawn of its history could rightly be called a land of cities. Alexandria in Egypt, Antioch in Syria, Edessa in Northern Mesopotamia, Tyre and Beirut in Phoenicia were famous for their wealth, magnificent places and temples, glittering luxury and refined way of life. The cities in Asia Minor (Ephesus, Smyrna, Nicaea, Nicomedia) were flourishing and in the European part, Thessalonica, Philippopolis and Corinth were growing in size and richness. The Empire's capital, Constantinople, was burgeoning. In the early Byzantine period, the Empire of Rhomaioi outstripped the West as regards urban crafts and trade, architecture and fine arts. A decline of the cities in the 8th-9th centuries was soon replaced by a fresh rise and it was only towards the end of the Empire's history that Byzantine cities fell behind those of Western Europe, particularly Italy. Until the 12th century, urban economy and culture in Byzantium were undoubtedly superior to those of the West.⁹

From an early period Constantinople emerged as an unrivalled artistic centre of the mediaeval world. It was followed by Ravenna, Rome, Nicaea, and Thessalonica which also became centres of the Byzantine style in arts. Massive building in the cities in early Byzantium provided a powerful stimulus for architecture and the arts.

St. Sophia Cathedral in Constantinople, built in the 6th century, was a masterpiece of Byzantine architecture. Incorporating as it does elements of Oriental and Graeco-Roman cultures, it is a powerful and original expression of all the best in the architecture of the East and West. The two great architects, Isidore of Miletus and Anthemius of Tralles managed to combine the monumentality, austere and pure lines, and tranquil harmony of antique architecture with the latest achievements of Oriental architecture (Iran, Syria and Asia Minor). It was the first realisation of the idea of a grandiose centric temple crowned with a colossal dome. The old dream of Oriental and Occidental architects of spanning a vast centric space with a spheric dome had come true. The interior of the church was marked by overwhelming splendour and exquisite magnificence. The architecture and paintings in St. Sophia Cathedral initiated a new artistic style that was to become dominant in the subsequent development of Byzantine art.

In spite of the steadily growing Christian influence in Byzantium, secular art was never extinguished either. The flourishing of Constantinople, that "palladium of arts and sciences", contributed to the preservation of secular culture. The more notable of the secular architectural monuments were the excellent structures erected by Justinian in the 6th century for the city's water supply, in particular

the huge subterranean tank near the Emperor's palace and St. Sophia's.

The mosaic floors in the Grand Palace in Constantinople were a masterpiece of secular art of the early period. They portray bucolic scenes, the struggle of wild animals and hunting scenes with amazing realism and full-blooded sensuality. The most famous work of secular art is the Procession of Justinian and Theodora, surrounded by noblemen and ladies in the Church of San Vitale in Ravenna (mid-6th century). The faces of Justinian and Theodora are portrait-like, the colours of the mosaics are lusty, warm and fresh. Antioch, Alexandria, Athens and other cities of the Empire were famous for their luxurious palaces and splendid works of secular art. Many surviving monuments of secular portrait sculpture include a gallery of Emperors, high officials, philosophers, poets, actors and actresses.

Byzantine arts and crafts, world-famous in the Middle Ages, included exquisite jewellery of gold and precious stones, diptych's and chests of carved ivory with inlaid patterns, elegant stained-glass vessels, lamps, beads, and elaborately embroidered silk. Byzantine masters of painting, mosaic, pottery, jewellery, enamel and fabrics, and book miniature for a long time set the fashion for many mediaeval countries.

The special and outstanding role of urban culture and learning, due to the preservation of large cities in Byzantium, form the third important typological feature of Byzantine culture.

The fourth typological difference of Byzantine culture compared to that of Western Europe was also engendered by the specific socio-political structure of the Empire. Byzantium was the only country in Europe that preserved its independent statehood during barbaric invasions and then went on to become one of the most powerful centralised states in the mediaeval world.

The Byzantine Empire is without analogy in the West for its form of government and administration; throughout its thousand-year history Byzantium was an autocratic monarchy in political structure. The mediaeval teaching of a monarchic state as a single universal Christian Empire with the Emperor at the head took shape and was theoretically validated in Byzantium. The Christian Church in Byzantium developed a theory of the divine origin of the Emperor's power thus providing religious sanction for an absolute Christian monarchy.

The cult of the Emperor—the ruler of all the Orthodox occumene, and the cult of the Empire of Rhomaioi—the protector and patron of Christian peoples, the professed exclusiveness of the Byzantine state were born in early Byzantium and reached their peak in the late 9th-10th centuries, when the Empire scored its greatest successes in foreign policy. The political doctrine of etatism pervaded every, sphere of politics, ideology and culture, leading to unification

and "centralisation" of social thought and the arts. The period saw a stabilisation of Byzantine culture, and Christian theology became a complete system. All the achievements of science, theology, philosophy and literature were summed up and classified, as it were. This process was aided by the increase of traditionalism and conservative sentiments in the spiritual life of Byzantine society. Political Orthodoxy asserted itself in social life. The magic of ritual becomes all-pervading, penetrating liturgy, court ceremonies, diplomacy and private life.

Byzantine literature, like all culture of the period, strictly conformed to a certain canon and became uniform and basically static and contemplative. Encomiums (high praise of Emperors and patriarchs) flourished, metaphors and allegories became ever more florid, while at the same time more lifeless, and the scale of narratives more grandiose and ever more remote from the inner life and emotions of man. Literature was dominated by symbols, canonised situations and images, narrative was confined to a few stock plots; stereotype heroes, fleshless ascetics and martyrs, abstract landscapes and phraseological etiquette dominate church literature. The canonised and uniform character of spiritual life was constantly supported by regimented thinking on the part of the state and the Christian church. The artist's tasks were strictly confined to didactic purposes: the writer's aim was not to interpret nature and life but to enlighten and "save" those who groped in the darkness of ignorance and sin. Social thought, literature and the arts became divorced from reality and confined to lofty abstract ideas.

From that period on, Byzantine art was dominated by decorativeness, symbolising the grandeur of the Empire and the Emperors, painting and architecture were austere, symmetrical, calm and solemn as were the movements of figures on the frescoes and mosaics in churches. Art increasingly came to be outside time and space; the abstract golden background, beloved of Byzantine masters, replaced real three-dimensional space performing an important aesthetic function: it was called upon to separate the abstract images from the living reality of the surrounding world. The image of man jelled in dispassionate grandeur, devoid of dynamism and reflecting a state of ascetic tranquility or regal might.

The refined culture and art of Constantinople, closely incorporated into court ritual and church liturgy, performed important socio-political functions in Byzantium. They were to instruct the Empire's Christian subjects in the true faith and subject their souls to the all-embracing power of the state and church (the church and state were not only a complete unity: the church itself bowed to the power of the Emperor). As regards the foreigners—"barbarians"—they were supposed to be dazzled by the splendour and elegance, and to be led to worship the grandeur of the Empire of Rhomaioi and the Constantinople Church. In Byzantium at that period the

individual was dissolved in society and the idea of grandeur in ideology, literature, and the arts was applicable only to church, state and the Emperor. Art became more and more programmatic, ossified as it were, in the proud knowledge of its own perfection.

The special and dominant position of Constantinople was a characteristic typological feature of social life and social structure in the Empire that left an imprint on its culture, too. It determined many of the typological differences between Byzantine art and classical mediaeval art of Western Europe. While the West lived a diversified artistic life with centres in big cities, rich abbeys and feudal manors, in Byzantium local schools of painting and architecture were for the most part subordinate to the artistic canons of the art of the capital city.

The predominance of state doctrines, the cult of the Empire and the Emperor, the centralisation and uniformity of all culture, canonisation of the aesthetics of aristocratic society of Constantinople constitute, in our view, the *fourth typological feature* of Byzantine culture, distinguishing it from that of the West.

The triumph of feudalism in Byzantium and its further development (10th-14th centuries) led to dramatic changes in Byzantine culture as well. Feudal landownership in the provinces expanded, the economies of provincial cities strengthened, and Constantinople began to decline. In this connection new centres of culture appeared and a feudal ideology emerged. There appeared the beginnings of new, more progressive intellectual trends; thinkers, philosophers, writers, and heretics from among the people implicitly or openly challenged the official ideology. These trends were born in the 11th-12th centuries in literature (anti-church satire, the martial story and the romance), in historiography (Nicetas Choniates) and in other areas of knowledge. As provincial cities grew, the cultural monopoly of Constantinople dwindled and rival cultural centres rose in Mistra, Nicaea, Trebizond, and in other regional capitals.

Progressive phenomena in Byzantine culture in the 11th-12th centuries culminated in the last period of the Empire. Even in the grim years of enemy invasions culture in Byzantium persisted, intellectual life continued, and new ideas were generated, sometimes far ahead of their age and anticipating the epoch of Humanism. The advanced socio-political ideals of the Zealots, the original philosophical conceptions of Theodore Metochites, the daring, albeit utopian, philosophical religious system of George Gemistus Pletho, who sought to create a pagan pantheistic religion and revive Plato's Ideal State in Byzantium, were naturally doomed to failure, yet they left their mark on the development of human thought.

The last period in the history of Byzantium was the age of great erudites, such as Demetrios Cydones, Manuel Chrysoloras, Bessarion of Nicaea, and others. Their works were admired by Italian Humanists, many of whom were their pupils. That period also saw

substantial progress in the exact and natural sciences; there were major writers of history (Chalcocondyles, Sphrantzes, Critobulus, Ducas), whose works carried a strong humanistic element, i.e. interest in the individual, nature, and the Universe. There were closer links between Byzantine erudites and Italian scholars, writers and poets, and Byzantium exerted a growing influence on the emergence of early Italian Humanism. It was the Byzantine erudites who introduced Western Humanists to the beautiful world of Greek and Roman antiquity, to antique literature and Plato and Aristotle.¹¹

We have pointed out four typological features of Byzantine culture as a whole. These are by no means the only distinguishing features of Byzantine culture, and further studies will shed more light on this complex and as yet little-studied problem.

In conclusion, it should be stressed that progress in the history of culture, as in the history of society, never follows a straight line: zigzags and reversals occur. Every progressive stage in the development of society has its beginning, culmination, and decline. This is true of cultural phenomena, too. Development is not cyclic but follows a spiral pattern. It consists of a continuous sequence of phases and stages of rise and decline, with one completed stage giving way to a new and higher one as regards its content and level. At the same time, a new phenomenon in culture may seem less sophisticated compared to preceding cultural historical phases until the general trend of its evolution becomes clear. This is true of the history of Byzantine culture.

Mediaeval Byzantine culture was on the whole more progressive than the slave-holding culture of late antiquity in its main trends. And yet, for a long time the view prevailed among scholars that Byzantine culture was a step backward compared to antique culture, that it had lost certain attainments and values of the antique world. The numerous and diverse researches of Byzantine scholars in recent years have refuted that idea. Their studies bring to the fore the progressive trends in the development of Byzantine culture, signalling the advance both of Byzantine society as a whole and its various cultural manifestations. It can now be considered an established fact that Byzantine culture is a logical stage in the progressive development of world culture, a stage with its own unique typological features.

NOTES

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People's Struggle on Temporarily Occupied Soviet Territory

PAVEL ZHILIN

A vitally important feature of the Great Patriotic War is that the entire nation rose up in arms against nazi Germany and its allies. The chief spheres of participation were divided as follows: combat by the Soviet Army; the people's selfless work in supplying the front with everything necessary; and the all-out struggle on temporarily overrun territory.

The third sphere of the nation's war effort, which is discussed in the present article, had the following three forms: the partisan movement; underground groups and organisations; and the population's massive efforts to sabotage political, economic and military measures of occupational authorities. These joint actions of the Soviet people guided by the Communist Party characterise the Great Patriotic War as a truly people's war.

Partisan movement was the main form of people's struggle against the occupation. It started in the very first days of the Great Patriotic War and continued to mount in scope and effectiveness until finally the enemy was driven from the Soviet land.

The partisan movement, as a form of armed struggle, had its precedents in the history of our country. It was widespread during the 1812 Patriotic War, the Civil War and the foreign intervention in 1918-1920. But it had assumed an unprecedented scope during the Great Patriotic War: the partisans fought everywhere: in the Caucasus and the Carpathians, on the steppe lands of the Ukraine and Kalmykia, in the forests of Karelia, Bryansk Region and

Byelorussia, in the catacombes of the Crimea, in the reed of the Don. Basin and the Polar tundra. A total of 1.1 million partisans fought in the Great Patriotic War.¹

The partisan movement had a broad social base. As of January 1944, 30 per cent were workers, over 40 per cent—collective farmers, and roughly 30 per cent—intellectuals. There was also a large proportion of women among them. Representatives of all Soviet nationalities participated in the partisan movement: Russians, Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Kazakhs, Tartars, Kirghiz, Uzbeks, Georgians, Armenians, Azerbaijanians, to name but a few.

The Soviet people's righteous cause in the patriotic war inspired the patriots of other countries. Poles, Czechs, Slovaks, Hungarians, Rumanians, Germans and other anti-fascists joined the partisan movement: 1,200 anti-fascists from other countries fought together with the Soviet partisans in Byelorussia alone. Jan Nalepka, commander of a unit of former Slovak servicemen, fought in the formation of Ukrainian partisan detachments under Alexander Saburov's command. He died the death of the brave in battles with Hitler's invaders.

Partisans of Kalinin and Smolensk remember well a staunch soldier, corporal of the German army Fritz Schmenkel who had turned his weapons against Hitler, fought valiantly against the fascists and died for the international friendship of the peoples. The Soviet Union highly appreciated the heroic deeds of these remarkable men, and awarded Fritz Schmenkel and Jan Nalepka the title of the Hero of the Soviet Union.

The Great Patriotic War showed that the mass character of the popular struggle within enemy lines was determined by socialism's inherent advantages over capitalism and was, in the final analysis, only natural: it was also determined by the just nature of the war of liberation fought by the Soviet Union and the people's loyalty to their country.

How were the partisan formations organised, staffed, operated and supplied?

Partisan formations differed in organisational structure and varied in strength. The basic organisation unit was a detachment which normally consisted of partisan groups, platoons, companies, and sometimes battalions. Detachments operated independently or within formations (brigades, divisions and even corps). Formations which often numbered several thousand men were based in forests and mountains; only small detachments and groups could operate in areas devoid of natural cover. Large formations also entered the steppeland areas briefly to strike at major targets. That was particularly true of the southern woodless areas in the Ukraine.

As the partisan formations grew in strength and their material base was consolidated, they established different services: intellig-

ence, supply and distribution, medical; they acquired printing presses to publish newspapers, leaflets and proclamations.

Detachments were staffed by volunteers. All the partisans were bound to strict discipline, and all took the oath of loyalty to their country. Formations were headed by commanders and commissars. Their operations were guided by headquarters. From 1943 on, commanders and political personnel were given officer rank. Party and Komsomol bodies functioned in detachments, cementing the ranks.

The people on the overrun territories helped the partisans with food, collected and turned over to them arms and ammunition left behind the frontline; trophies were an important source of supplies. As the country's wartime economy strengthened the heartland began to supply the partisans with arms, ammunition and special demolition equipment in increasing quantities, which was very important for enhancing the effectiveness of sabotage, particularly on enemy communication lines. Special transport aviation units were used to fly partisans behind the frontline.

Reserves numbering 1.5 million people were created in towns and villages.³ They were trained in partisan warfare, defended localities liberated by partisans, and engaged in intelligence and sabotage.

A portion of the military specialists: commanding officers and political personnel, radiomen, scouts and miners were trained in special schools established in the Soviet rear. Thousands of them were trained in the war years. This helped turn the partisan movement into a force to be reckoned with which rendered substantial assistance to the Soviet Army.

The aims to be achieved by the partisans at various stages of the Great Patriotic War were set in directives issued by the Party and the Government, and in orders of the Supreme Commander Joseph Stalin.

The Supreme General HQ was responsible for strategic management of partisan fighting. It set the major targets at each stage of the struggle, and in separate operations, coordinated partisan actions, and regrouped detachments. Partisan activities were controlled directly by the Central HQ of the Partisan Movement (CHQPM) headed by First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Byelorussia Panteleimon Ponomarenko. The HO established partisan detachments, guided and coordinated their activities, generalised and spread the experience of partisan warfare, improved, as much as possible, their supplies, trained personnel, organised coordination between the partisans and the Soviet troops. These problems were solved by the CHOPM under the direct guidance of the Party's Central Committee and the Supreme General HQ, in close contact with the General Staff, local Party bodies, military councils of fronts and armies. Republican, territorial and regional (front) HQs of the partisan movement were subordinate to the CHOPM.

During the Great Patriotic War the partisan movement became a factor of strategic importance. In planning its operations the Soviet Supreme Command invariably relied on partisan formations. Like regular troops, they were given specific assignments. Partisan actions were a substantial contribution to the success of various operations.

The complicated situation on the enemy-occupied territory, remoteness from the frontline, and a variety of geographical and economic conditions in which the partisans had to operate determined the diverse forms and methods of partisan warfare and tactical flexibility. During the first war months, these were mainly brief, surprise raids on small garrisons, columns and targets, roads and communication lines. Later on, as they accumulated more experience and weaponry they could conduct offensive and defensive field actions, capture and hold rivercrossings until the arrival of Soviet troops, and demolish railway sections of the utmost importance to the Hitlerites.

The famous "Rail War" operation, carried out from August 3 through September 15, 1943, was a test of the reliability of the partisan organisation and the effectiveness of its command. Under a single plan, worked out by the CHQPM, virtually all partisan formations on overrun Soviet territory began blasting enemy railways. As a result, about 215,000 rails, or 1,342 kilometres of railways, were destroyed. On some railways traffic was interrupted from 3 to 15 days, and a number of trunk lines in Byelorussia failed to operate throughout the whole of August 1943. Simultaneously, the partisans destroyed rolling-stock and attacked other enemy targets. For example, during the "Rail War", the Byelorussian partisans blew up 836 trains, including 3 armoured trains, damaged 690 locomotives, destroyed 184 railway bridges and 556 bridges on dirt roads and highways.4 Only a flexible and finely tuned system of command could strike a blow of such force on so extensive a territory (stretching 1,000 km down the frontline and penetrating 700 km) at a pre-arranged time when the Hitlerites were frantically regrouping their forces after the defeat at the Kursk Bulge.

The centralised system of command of the movement greatly helped to establish partisan territories and zones. They held vast territories in the rear of the German fascist troops for lengthy periods. These were governed by Soviet laws. It was in the Leningrad Region that the first territory was liberated in late 1941 and Soviet power was restored. The enemy was driven from 300 settlements. In the autumn of 1943, over 200,000 square kilometres in the enemy rear were partisan-controlled.⁵

The strip of partisan territories and zones stretched through the Leningrad, Kalinin, Smolensk, Orel and other regions of the Russian Federation, the Ukraine and Byelorussia, to the western borders. It was a kind of the partisan army's rear. There partisan reserves were formed and trained; bases and warehouses, hospitals and airfields

were situated; there lived a substantial proportion of the population; military, organisational, political and economic activities of the Party and the Soviet state were carried out effectively. The establishment of partisan territories and zones behind the German fascist lines was a shining example of Soviet patriotism.

Raids acquired great significance as a form of partisan warfare, which combined combat, sabotage and intelligence with mass political activities conducted by partisans on the march and played an important part in extending the scale of the Soviet people's patriotic struggle," and intensifying disorganisation in the enemy rear. For example, in the summer of 1943, the formation commanded by Sidor Kovpak fought its way straight through 13 regions of Byelorussia and the Ukraine right up to the border with Hungary, and made a strike at the Drogobych oil fields. During the raid, Kovpak's troops destroyed man-power, derailed trains and blasted bridges, and spread the truth about the Soviet army's victories.

In 1944, certain partisan formations with the greatest combat experience conducted successful raids beyond Soviet borders to help the peoples of other countries. During those raids, they entered Poland and Czechoslovakia. Soviet partisans took an active part in the Slovak national uprising and continued to operate jointly with Czechoslovak patriots till the end of the war. Fulfilling their internationalist duty they rendered great assistance to the peoples of South-East Europe in their liberation struggle against fascism. The detachments and formations commanded by V. Andreyev, I. Banov, P. Vershigora, A. Herman, I. Grigoryev, S. Grishin, F. Kapusta, S. Kovpak, Ya. Molnik, M. Naumov, N. Prokopyuk, A. Saburov, A. Fyodorov, M. Shukayev and others became renowned for their daring raids.

Of vital importance was obtaining information about the enemy's strength and intentions to be used by the Soviet military command in deciding on battles and operations. The partisans who operated deep behind enemy lines were connected by thousands of links with the inhabitants of the occupied territories who regarded them as their defenders. They followed the enemy's every move. That was why not a single major enemy operation was overlooked by partisan intelligence.

Information was obtained about the disposition of enemy units and formations, HQs and institutions, supply bases, the destination and kind of deliveries, troop redispositions, and transmitted immediately to the "Great Land" through an efficient radio network, operating throughout the partisan movement. As the former chief of Section III (East) of the Abwehr Heinz Schmalschläger noted after the war, the brilliant results obtained by the Soviet intelligence service were largely due to the great role of the partisans' information gathering.⁶

The partisan movement on the temporarily occupied territory was an important strategic factor which had a noticeable effect on the course and outcome of the fighting on the Soviet-German Front. During the Great Patriotic War the partisans killed, took prisoner and wounded over a million fascists and their flunkeys, derailed over 20,000 enemy trains, blasted 58 armoured trains, damaged more than 10,000 locomotives, blew up 12,000 railway and highway bridges, and destroyed over 50,000 motor vehicles, and a vast quantity of materiel.⁷

The Hitlerite command had to detail as much as 10 per cent of its troops to protect the rear and fight the partisans. The number was increased substantially when the partisans intensified their activities. Their bold and brilliant actions provoked fear of inevitable retribution among the Hitlerites, lowered their morale and fighting capacity. General Guderian, Commander of the Second Panzer Army and later Chief of Germany's Army General Staff, wrote that "as the war became more protracted, and the frontline battles grew more stubborn, the partisan war became a true scourge, strongly affecting the morale of the fighting forces".8

The most widespread form of popular struggle against the Hitlerite invaders, involving millions of people, was the sabotage of military, political and economic measures taken by the occupation authorities. This form of resistance was conducted in various ways. Soviet citizens disobeyed orders, failed to report for work, concealed their qualifications, evaded taxes, duties and mobilisation, hid or damaged property, raw materials and foodstuffs. As a result, many enterprises remained idle in the Donbass, Dniepropetrovsk, Krivoi Rog, Odessa, Riga, Kaunas, Minsk, Smolensk, Bryansk, Orel and other captured towns and industrial centres. As early as the autumn of 1941, punitive troops Commander Oberlander reported to Berlin that "far more dangerous than active partisan resistance is passive resistance—labour sabotage which has even fewer chances of being overcome". 10

The population doggedly resisted being driven off to slave labour in Germany. Many hid in the woods, obtained forged papers and medical certificates. For example, Professor Pyotr Buiko, who worked in a hospital in occupied Fastov, treated wounded Soviet soldiers and officers. He saved a thousand boys and girls from being driven to Germany, contacted the partisans and helped people to reach them. He joined the partisans in June 1943 when his activities were exposed. In the end, the Germans managed to catch him and burned him alive after soaking him with petrol. The name of this glorious patriot will never be forgotten.¹¹

Local inhabitants rendered every kind of assistance to partisans, including active service and information gathering. People joined self-defence groups and augmented the armed ranks. Communists who worked in the underground always tried to channel the people's deep resentment into organised struggle against the aggressors.

The territorial underground was a very effective form of struggle. It involved patriotic, anti-fascist organisations and groups formed and operated by the Party in many towns and settlements. The following data may give an idea of the composition of the territorial underground. The underground sabotage organisation which operated in Kirovograd (the Ukraine), for example, numbered 1,300 people, including 84 Communists, 175 Komsomol members and 1,041 non-affiliated. Non-affiliated patriots constituted the majority in the underground organisation named "The Red Army Assistance Committee" in Mogilev (Byelorussia). Half of the many groups in this organisation was headed by Communists, and the other half—by non-Party people. Other underground groups throughout the country had a similar composition. The underground was truly popular in nature since it had its roots in the people and enjoyed their support.

A specific feature of the underground was strict conspiracy, and a clear-cut distribution of duties within the organisation. On orders from their leaders, members of the underground penetrated administrative and economic bodies of the enemy, collected and supplied intelligence, inflicted damage on industrial enterprises, conducted sabotage on transport, often gearing their operations to the actions of the partisans, and punishing war criminals and traitors. They conducted extensive political propaganda and agitation among the population, demonstrating effective, simple and easily available means of fighting the invaders.

The work of the underground was hard and dangerous. Many died a martyr's death in Gestapo prisons. But the fascist terror did not break the fighters' will to resist. The dead were replaced by others and the struggle continued. The heroic exploit of the "Young Guard" in Krasnodon is known throughout the world. The Minsk underground also displayed great courage. During the years of occupation, they carried out 1,500 acts of sabotage. In June 1943, partisans, aided by the underground, eliminated the heads of the invaders' regional authorities, in September—a large group of security and SD officers. On September 22, 1943, the Minsk underground eliminated Hitler's vice regent in Byelorussia W. Kube, sentenced to death by the Byelorussian people.¹⁵

The people will preserve forever the memory of the immortal deeds of the following underground organisations: "The Partisan Spark" in the Nikolayev Region, the youth organisation in Ludinovo of the Kaluga Region, the underground of Kiev, Mogilev, Odessa, Vitebsk, Dniepropetrovsk, Simferopol, Sevastopol, Smolensk, Kaunas, Riga, Petrozavodsk, Pskov, Gomel, Orsha and many other towns. On the whole, the territorial underground numbered over 220,000 patriots who fought against fascism.¹⁴

All those forms were closely interrelated and constituted an indivisible social phenomenon—the nation's struggle against the occupationists.

Underground units were also created in Hitler's death camps for prisoners of war. Their members conducted propaganda work, raised the prisoners' morale, organised escapes and headed mutinies.

Dmitri Karbyshev, a Soviet general and eminent scientist, displayed unparalleled heroism and loyalty to the oath of allegiance in fascist camps. Taken prisoner when gravely ill, he survived many concentration camps where Soviet prisoners of war perished from hunger, inhuman treatment and savage reprisals. Strong-spirited and courageous, Dmitri Karbyshev strengthened in their hearts and minds faith in ultimate victory and urged them to fight. He attracted other POWs beside his countrymen; for many French, Polish, Yugoslav and other prisoners, the words "the Russian general Karbyshev said" were as weighty and indisputable as a password.

Repeated attempts were made by Hitler's officials to persuade him to collaborate. Wilhelm Keitel, Chief of Staff of OKW, promised him everything possible for a future "Karbyshev laboratory" where the professor could realise fully his remarkable abilities in the field of fortification. Karbyshev's response was swift and unequivocal. Yes, he was a scientist who had dedicated a lifetime to the art of military engineering but he was, first and foremost, a Communist, patriot and soldier who would never sell his honour under any circumstances.

Having failed to persuade the general to turn traitor, they eliminated him. This happened in February 1945 in Mauthausen where hundreds of thousands of anti-fascists valiantly died, including 132,000 Soviet, prisoners of war. The butchers drove the 64-year-old, grey-haired Karbyshev out into the bitter cold and hosed him with cold water until he turned into a block of ice.

"To Dmitri Karbyshev. Scientist. Warrior. Communist. His life and death were a heroic deed in the name of life", 15 reads the brief inscription in Russian and German on the granite slab of the monument built where the hero died.

The truly people's, mass struggle against the fascist oppressors on the occupied territory was headed by the *Party underground*, a wide network of Party committees and organisations. Two underground Central Committees of the Ukrainian and Byelorussian Communist Parties, 90 regional and district, 620 city, district and volost Party committees, and thousands of Party organisations operated at different times on the overrun territory of the USSR, ¹⁶ numbering over 140,000 Communists. ¹⁷ The *Komsomol underground* fought selflessly under their guidance. ¹⁸ It helped the Party underground to mobilise youth for the struggle.

The Party underground carried out ideological, political and organisational guidance of all forms of the people's struggle in the enemy rear and was a vehicle of the Party policy in the masses, acting

on the directives of the Communist Party and the Soviet Government contained in such documents as the Directive of the USSR Council of People's Commissars and the Central Committee of the CPSU(B) of June 29, 1941, the Decree of the Central Committee of the CPSU(B) of July 18, 1941 "On Organisation of the Struggle in the Rear of the German Troops" and others. That was the main function of the Party underground organisations.

The Communist Party was prepared for heading the struggle in the enemy rear by its historical experience of guiding worker revolts against tsarism, and the partisan movement during the foreign military intervention and the Civil War. It also drew on the heroic, patriotic past of the Russian people, their glorious revolutionary, labour and military traditions.

The Party sent its best cadres to work in the underground: 565 secretaries of regional, city and district committees, 204 chairmen of regional, city and district executive committees of Soviets of working people's deputies, 104 secretaries of Komsomol regional, city and district committees. Those were Party, Komsomol and Soviet leaders who had earned their popularity and authority with the people through selfless labour in the prewar years. During the war the Party counted on their political maturity, their skill of grasping most difficult situations and making correct decisions. The Party's envoys established contact with Communists, Komsomol members, non-Party patriots, formed them in partisan detachments and underground groups, created Party and Komsomol organisations, and strove to enhance their organising and mobilising role. 19 Members of the CC CPSU(B) and the Central Committees of the Communist Parties of Union republics, other Party officials were regularly sent behind the frontline to study the situation, render practical assistance, and generalise the experience of the partisans' and underground groups' struggle. This enabled the Central Committee to direct efficiently the people's struggle in the enemy rear, take note of its specific features and difficulties, generalise and spread combat experience, to introduce more effective forms of struggle and to coordinate joint efforts.

Mass political work was essential for mobilising the people to fight the invasion. Communists organised publication of some 400 newspapers behind the enemy lines and millions of copies of leaflets, appeals, proclamations and other literature were printed in underground printing-presses. The Party underground made extensive use of Soviet radio broadcasts, newspapers, leaflets and Soviet Information Bureau reports flown into the enemy rear.

Under the influence of the Party's organisational and political work the people's struggle swept along, involving new forces, thwarting the occupationists' attempts to establish their "New Order" on the overrun territories, to draw the populace into various pro-fascist formations and groups, and to use the economy and natural resources according to their plans.

Communists headed partisan formations and territorial underground organisations, directed acts of sabotage, and were always where it was most difficult, where determination, self-control and iron will were required. Communists and Komsomol members never spared themselves, fighting courageously and sacrificing their lives for victory.

An underground regional Party committee headed by 34-year-old Communist Nikolai Stashkov started to operate in late autumn of 1941 in Dniepropetrovsk region. In October-November 1941 he covered many districts of the region on foot and established personal contacts with leaders of the Pavlograd, Sinelnikovo and other town and district Party committees, and of Komsomol and youth organisations. In November he conducted a "forest" Party conference attended by the Communists of the region's partisan detachments. In January and April 1942, he presided over a conference of the secretaries of underground Party town and district committees held in Pavlograd. Those measures enabled the regional committee to direct the patriots' activities, to unite underground organisations, sabotage groups and partisan detachments which burgeoned spontaneously in some localities, thereby multiplying their strike-power many times.

The popular struggle swelled with each passing day in the Dniepropetrovsk region. The workers of Dniepropetrovsk and Dnieprodzerzhinsk, Krivoi Rog and Marganets, miners and workers of other industrial centres sabotaged any act by the fascists. The occupiers failed to put a single plant of any significance into operation. Trains were derailed in growing numbers. The Gestapo was unable for a long time to trace the underground leaders but in the end of July 1942, aided by agent-provocateurs, they managed to seize the regional Party committee secretary and kill him, after inhuman torture. Nikolai Stashkov shouted to the firing squad: "Don't shoot at my back, shoot at my breast! A Communist I've lived and a Communist I'll die." After his death, other Communists took over direction of popular resistance in the region, which continued until the Dniepropetrovsk region was liberated.²⁰

The people's armed opposition to the army of occupation combined the national aim of defending the Motherland with the internationalist one of liberating oppressed nations from the Hitlerite yoke.

The Soviet people waged partisan and underground warfare not only on their native soil but also beyond the borders. One of its forms was participation in the Resistance in Europe. These were mostly Soviet POWs and our compatriots who had escaped from fascist slavery abroad. Over 40,000 fought in partisan detachments in Italy, France, Belgium, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Greece and other

countries.²¹ In the most trying conditions Soviet people showed themselves to be true patriots of their Motherland and real internationalists. M. Husein-zade in Yugoslavia, Fyodor Poletayev in Italy, and Vassili Porik in France covered themselves with undying glory and became national heroes of those countries.

The Resistance had great political and military significance. It contributed notably to the defeat of fascism and seriously effected postwar world development. It would be wrong, however, to equate these two social movements—the all-out popular struggle on occupied Soviet territory and the Resistance Movement. The distinctions between the two were rooted in the profound differences of socio-political systems, class and economic structures, in the people's ideology and psychology. Reflecting the political regimes of the countries which it embraced, of society's stratification into hostile classes, the Resistance was intrinsically heterogeneous socio-politically and ideologically. Some groups fought against both the fascists and internal bourgeoisie for democratic change, others—only against occupation.

The Soviet people's struggle had the broad and solid support of the society of victorious socialism, it was aimed at protecting its gains and was backed by the entire country without exception. Partisan actions were closely coordinated with those of the fighting forces. History knows of no other war in which the interests of the people, the state and the ruling party were so bonded in union as in the Great Patriotic War.

As an important component of the Great Patriotic War, the people's resistance in the enemy rear swelled into a multi-million common movement never before known in history for the freedom and independence of the socialist Motherland, manifest in the partisan fighting, underground activities and mass actions against occupation. The anti-fascist struggle was totally uncompromising due to the sharpened class confrontation between socialism and imperialism's strike forces. It was a real force which effectively helped the Soviet Army to destroy the enemy.

The enemy came to know the full measure of an unconquered people's hatred, their fearlessness, moral steadfastness and conviction in the righteousness of their cause. The German fascist invaders, having encroached upon the freedom and independence of the Soviet Union, had counted on fighting nothing but a professional army but they met with the steely, unremitting resistance of the entire nation led by the Communist Party.

In the course of the Great Patriotic War the Communist Party, the Soviet state, its armed forces and the people as a whole, accumulated invaluable experience in defending the socialist Mother-

land. It testifies to the staunchness, courage and intrepidity of the Soviet people, utterly devoted to their Motherland, and the humanitarian ideals of Progress and Peace.

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Recorded History

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Man was interested in his past from the moment he became man. He thought about his past from the moment he learnt to think. When primitive man learnt to reflect the surrounding world in drawings and sculptures, he was able to record that world in images, preserve his impressions and pass them on to future generations. It is unknown whether the primitive artist's cliff drawings portrayed his present—today's hunt, the mammoth just seen, or the more memorable events of yesterday or two days ago, or, perhaps, they depicted the images of the bravest hunter and the strongest bear, known to him from legends. Inasmuch as the present soon becomes the past, cliff drawings were left to posterity as recorded history.

The realisation that it was possible to record a bit of life on a cliff, a gravestone or an amulet was a great achievement, a milestone in mankind's spiritual evolution. At any rate, these early (let us describe them as documented fiction) attempts to reflect the life of primitive man are priceless for historians. Stone tools, remnants of dwellings and other archaeological finds give us an idea of the people who lived in the infinitely remote past. The idea, however, is mediated through the tools of labour or the hunt, ancient decorations, the piles supporting the early huts and surviving outlines of dug-out dwellings. And those primitive geniuses—the artists and sculptors—pioneered documented-fiction records of history. Ancient sculptures and cliff drawings were the roots from which, after millennia, the numberless evergreen shoots of the fine arts grew. One of the branches led, through an untold number of stages, to the emergence of the cinema.

The ancient civilisations of Egypt, Babylon, China, India, Greece and Rome in creating historically tinged myths, embodied their ideas of history in sculptures and frescoes showing gods and heroes. Man,

by passing on historical legends from generation to generation, creates artistic images of the past and the pictures of historical events in his imagination. Initially they are passed on by word of mouth through legends, tales and songs. Then verbal pictures and images are translated into visual artistic images and pictures. The new opportunities, the new level and new demands of spiritual life produced their own masters and geniuses. They will for the most part remain anonymous, but those whose names have reached us are the pride and glory of humanity.

Meanwhile the theatre emerges as the brother of historical poems and tales. Heroes step from sculptures and frescoes onto the stage and acquire movement. That was another milestone in the recreation of the past. From immobile sculptural and drawn images, from speech which can only describe movement—to the recreation of historical heroes who speak and act. That marked another step towards an increasingly manifold and vivid record of history, even though fancifully coloured and embellished by the artist's imagination.

The Middle Ages and modern times saw a widespread growth of diversified historical fiction which invariably found favour with the upper and lower strata of feudal and subsequently bourgeois social hierarchy. The folk made legends, minstrels glorified heroic exploits and created poems, preparing the ground for the historical narratives. Historical drama developed, assuming diverse forms, and commanding great popularity in different countries and social strata. It evolved from vagrant poet-musicians and street shows to Shakespeare's tragedies. The historical fine arts also advanced and took on still more diverse forms. As before, they reflected historical events, looking to the past (particularly favouring religious plots) and creating scenes of the present, soon to become the distant past.

In their paintings, etchings, illustrations for historical writings, novels, plays and poems, the famous masters presented real and fictitious heroes of the past—kings and warriors, thinkers and poets. Historical fiction, by and large, was being based more and more upon authentic documents, facts, and upon historical science, which was forging ahead. Consequently, historical drama, too, became more authentic.

However, the theatre was incapable (the same as today) of reflecting a great portion of historical events and phenomena. Since time immemorial it has always resorted to conventions. It relies on speech as the chief vehicle for expressing actions, character and the plot. True, it was speech uttered from the stage and not read in a book. In speaking of stage conventions I do not mean to belittle theatrical art in any way. The drama theatre, for all its conventions, has shaken and will continue to shake the hearts and minds of people just like those two other even more conventional arts—opera and ballet—move audiences, bringing tears or laughter, joy and pleasure. I brought up theatrical conventions merely to point out the

limitations of the stage in depicting historical realia. The advent of the cinema opened a new stage in the recreation of historical reality.

But first a few words about artistic reconstruction of the past which has been undeservedly neglected by scholars as often as by artists. True artistic reconstruction of the past is a science because it uses scientific methods while at the same time remaining an art. People have learnt to restore the original appearance of dwellings and other buildings from their ruins and that of living beings from their bones. We now have an idea of extinct animals and man's remote ancestors, starting from the Pithecanthropus to the Cro-Magnon man. Ancient Slavs and Germans have come to life in our imagination. We have learnt about monarchs and heroes. Huts on stilts and pagan shrines, palaces and fortress towers have been restored. The success of artistic reconstruction of the past, incidentally, played an important role in the historical cinema because the existence of scientific reconstruction methods places a restraint on the soaring imagination of directors and set designers.

Reconstruction is particularly important in recreating those epochs which have left no artistic depictions or telling ruins, nothing but dinosaur and pterodactyl skeletons and the remains in human graves. The cinema, with its boundless expressive means, can portray any epoch of historical period, any time of the year or day, any country, event or hero. In this respect the cinema is omnipotent.

Everything that has ever been portrayed in literature can be represented on the screen: the Neanderthal man in a primeval forest, dying mammoths, the building of the Pyramids, the campaigns of Alexander the Great, Columbus' ships, the storming of the Bastille, and of the Winter Palace. The cinema can recreate all this with as great an authenticity as the level of modern science permits.

The advent of the cinema made some inroads into the domain of the spoken word, basic to historical drama, but its significance remained. Even in the silent cinema it survived in the shape of subtitles to reappear again in sound films. And today certain film genres retain the spoken word as the chief vehicle of expression. However, action, visual sequence and depiction of historical detail come to the foreground. It is not for nothing that the cinema was established and started its triumphant march across the world while it was still silent.

Immediately following its birth, the cinema divided into documentary and feature films, the latter connoting films of both fictional and artistic merit. Feature films have actors performing in them and the characters are mostly collective social types and not real people. The setting is also imaginary, reflecting the author's ideas of how this or that scene looked in reality and how it should be portrayed.

Among the feature films there are historical ones, which portray historical events with varying degrees of authenticity. Such films may depict only historical personages or, on the contrary, only fictitious

characters who act in a certain historical setting and are eyewitnesses of or participants in events that actually occurred. Or they may include both real and fictitious people simultaneously.

Thus, historical feature films can be compared to the boundless ocean. It is an area as inexhaustible as history itself. Historical films are made in all countries possessing the necessary equipment and know-how. It can be confidently predicted that historical films will continue to be made in the foreseeable future regardless of any changes in its forms due to the evolution of technology and human consciousness.

A historical film draws on a vast range of historical facts, events and phenomena. Some films use history as a backdrop for depicting human passions: love, hatred, ambition. Others are made with the express purpose of portraying events in history. A great and unsurpassed example of such films is *Battleship Potyomkin*, the famous Soviet production.

The emergence of historical cinema gave a new lease of life to historical literature and drama which in turn provided the cinema with a vast new source. Screenings have been made of such masterpieces of historical fiction as novels by Walter Scott, Victor Hugo, Leo Tolstoy, and Lion Feuchtwanger; historical dramas by Shakespeare and Pushkin, and thousands of other historical writings of varying scope, artistic merit and authenticity. Historical literature and drama are fabulously rich and multifaceted; so the cinema will always draw upon them and that may include ever new screenings of Richard III, War and Peace, The Three Musketeers, Les Misérables, etc.

The advance first of photography and then of documentary film led to another breakthrough, i.e., the possibility of stopping time and recording historical phenomena as they happened, unembellished, factual, without a trace of the author's fantasy (whose subjective approach remained in the choice, accents and arrangement of the frames). In the making, documentary stills and photographs are not historical. But with passing time they become historical and acquire greater value yearly as testimony of the past (naturally, I have in mind films that reflect true, and not imagined, signs of the times).

The scope of the documentary cinema is sweeping. In recent decades film footage has been shot by the million, recording virtually all the major events in most countries (although there is no doubt that many important events and phenomena, whose significance may grow in time, have for various reasons escaped the film maker).

Edison's great invention for recording sound was of cardinal significance, too. And the colour film was also very important, because it made possible a more accurate portrayal of reality. Further progress and technical improvement of the cinema—three-dimensional and stereophonic—enhance the authenticity of screen portrayal of life and history.

From its very inception the cinema became a mass art, entering the lives of tens and then hundreds of millions of people. Its impact and range were multiplied infinitely with the spread of television in most countries. The cinema carries a tremendous emotional impact. Thanks to it, history becomes truly visible.

The cinema has become not only one of the most important but undoubtedly the most important, certainly the biggest channel for the spread of historical knowledge. Remote history is brought closer to hundreds of millions of people. And this seems to be its main function as regards history. Several areas are discernible in which the cinema ties in with history.

Take, for example, films devoted to historical monuments. The mass interest in history is reflected in the upsurge of interest in numberless monuments of the past scattered throughout the planet and historical places that dot the map. Only a small portion can satisfy their curiosity by visiting these places. Albums and books fail to give a sufficiently vivid picture. There is no illustration to compare with film shots. Motion pictures transport tens of millions of viewers to the fascinating, fairy world of ancient temples, palaces, and hoary ruins and broaden their outlook by introducing them to the cruiser Aurora, the Smolny Institute, the Kremlin, the Kulikovo Field, Borodino, and Stalingrad.

The 1970s and 1980s brought a spate of full-length films (and even serials) about museums. Historical, art, and technical museums contain untold treasures bespeaking the life and people of the past, the advance of culture and technology. Despite the "museum boom", the sharp rise in attendance, there will always be millions who have never visited and will never visit, say, Moscow's State Historical Museum. The cinema and television bring the museum to us with all its wealth of expositions. Vast numbers of people are given the opportunity to acquaint themselves with the magic and real world of history. That is why TV serials on the Hermitage Museum, the Russian Museum, etc., running for months on end, have become such favourites with the Soviet public.

Clearly, a historian must draw on more documentary film materials not only as illustrations (which is also important) but as a kind of historical source. The subject of documentary cinema and still photographs as a historical source deserves special study, because these frames contain information that is often lacking in written documents and that augments and supplements our knowledge and ideas of the past. At any rate, a study of the 20th-century history is impossible without any extensive use of diverse film documents. It is fair to predict that their significance will grow and their study and use will develop to form the subject of a special discipline which may become a leading one in the science of history.

Educational films, including historical ones, is an important and fascinating subject. The school has long been aware of the

educational potential of the cinema, i.e., its role in the teaching process, and educational films are being made for this purpose. Historical films, too, occupy a prominent place among these.

As has been said already, documentary films are not historical when being made, but they become such in the course of time. They become monuments of the period, historical documents. This also applies to feature films about the present. As years go by, they, too, acquire historical value. A contemporary viewer can see the life of the 1920s and 1930s in Charlie Chaplin's pictures. Watching an old comedy, The Tailor from Torzhok, today's viewer gets a glimpse of provincial Russian life in the 1920s. Countless examples could be cited to illustrate this idea. Feature films, provided they are genuine feature films, have innumerable portrayals of real life.

So, the cinema is one but it has many faces. It is a great actor, great propagandist and great sports fan. And there is every ground for calling the cinema a great historian.

Historical scientists are of course pleased to stress, when talking about cinema and acknowledging that the emergence of cliff drawings, early sculptures, frescoes, the theatre and, finally, the cinema were milestones in the development of civilisation, that these gains were linked with history, reflecting man's desire to report his past. This circumstance highlights the gigantic role historical ideas and historical knowledge have played in the spiritual life of man since time immemorial. Thoughts of the past make it possible for man to make steps towards the future.

The historical cinema is not an impartial record of the past, just as historical science can never be impartial. From its early days the historical cinema has made known where its sympathies lay, glorifying and elevating some historical figures and condemning and vilifying others.

Historical cinema has always loomed large in the gigantic film industries of developed capitalist countries. It has produced thousands of historical films, many of which should better be described as "pseudohistorical". These films often glorify great soldiers, brilliant kings, wise ministers, lucky merchants, enterprising industrialists, and a host of real and imagined historical persons of varying magnitude. In this kaleidoscope of personages, many of whom are invested with qualities of supermen, there is almost no room for the true maker of history, the popular masses. The common people remain in the shadows, providing a background that is often outshone by costly and magnificent decor. These films, directly or indirectly, convey the message that private property is eternal, the bourgeoisie is progressive, that people will always be unequal, divided into the rich and poor, and that the elite will always tower above the "dull" majority.

There are openly anti-communist and anti-Soviet films that have

nothing to do with historical reality and are a disgrace to the historical cinema.

Western historical films often glorify certain peoples at the expense of others, preach national chauvinism, and national and religious intolerance. The nazis in Germany, during their short rule, managed to use historical science and the cinema to propagate racism and to serve their man-hating ideas; the ideas of latter-day successors of fascism and racism still find their way into historical films.

Bourgeois ideology is expressed in the propaganda of antihumanism, and the cult of the superman who flaunts accepted morals. Historical films are peopled by supermen galloping from one century into another, only in the 20th century they prefer to ride in automobiles and fly in jets. Violence and eroticism are lauded. All this is reflected in historical films, whether they depict a primitive tribe searching for fire, the corrupt aristocracy of ancient Rome, cruel mediaeval lords, the greedy men of the so-called period of primary accumulation, the ruthless conquistadors, swash-buckling pirates, or the dissipated bourgeoisie of the 19th and 20th centuries.

Some progressive historical films do come out in the Western countries. They uphold the democratic traditions, celebrate moral virtue and the lofty qualities that have been developed by the toiling peoples over millennia.

Soviet cinema was born almost simultaneously with the Soviet state and from the outset it included historical films. Their mission is to take a clear stand on events of the past and reflect the viewpoint of the working class—the most advanced class of our time—and to be the proponent of the scientific Marxist-Leninist worldview. Without denying the role of historical leaders (actually devoting much attention to biography), Soviet films seek to portray the people, the life of the grass roots, their decisive role in progress, in mankind's evolution. Representing the events of the Socialist Revolution and the building of socialism, Soviet historical cinema is trying to show how the task of raising "the very lowest strata to making history" formulated by Lenin has been tackled.

The history of all countries is unfortunately replete with violence and cruelty. Portraying the remote past, Soviet film-makers do not gloss over these negative phenomena; still they try to give the viewer, primarily young people, examples of magnanimity, humanism, nobleness of spirit, mutual aid, kindness, and respect for human dignity and labour. History also provides many examples which inspire young people to be honest and true, morally pure, modest and open-hearted, all that characterises the Soviet way of life. Soviet historical films seek to bring nations closer together, to help them know more about each other, to overcome survivals of national isolation and contribute to mutual friendship. They do much to promote peace, exchanges and cooperation between the peoples of all countries.

Soviet film-makers have created thousands of historical films. Their subjects range from antiquity to the present time. Wide coverage has been given to the revolutionary movement in Russia and other countries, the heroic history of the October Revolution of 1917, defence of its gains, the building of socialism, and the Soviet people's victory in the Second World War. With the burgeoning of the film industry in the non-Russian national republics of the USSR the history of those peoples became an important new subject.

Not all historical films qualify to the high standards of Soviet film art. Some of them have violated the principle of historicity, idealised the past and exaggerated the role of certain individuals in history. However, in spite of some shortcomings, Soviet historical films as a body represent an outstanding contribution to Soviet and world culture. They are an indispensable part of the social and intellectual life of developed socialism. The experience of the Soviet cinema shows that history as recorded in films can be a powerful factor in bringing up the man of the future and promoting peace and progress throughout the world.

NOTE

¹ V. I. Lenin, Collected Works, Moscow. Vol. 36, p. 462.

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The Comparison of Different Types of Legal Systems

VLADIMIR TUMANOV

Present-day comparative jurisprudence as a scientific discipline or trend has two aspects. The first is associated with the use of the comparative method in the study of the legal institutions and problems of the researcher's native country. In this case a concrete legal problem is studied on a more or less broad comparative legal basis. This aspect, which is usually called micro-comparison, can be conditionally termed as "comparative jurisprudence in the narrow meaning of the word".

The second aspect (called "comparative law in the broad meaning of the word") represents the autonomous study of foreign law as regards legal systems as a whole (for example, René David's work Les grands systèmes de droit contemporains) and as regards particular branches of law and the principal legal institutions (for example, Gyula Eörsi's book Comparative Civil (Private) Law²). The purpose of such micro-comparison is to answer questions such as: What is happening on the legal map of the world? How do principal legal systems develop today? How do changing conditions influence the national legal systems of different countries?

The following question may arise: are we not confusing comparative jurisprudence and the study of foreign law when we talk of comparative law in the broad meaning of the word? This may be countered by the following question: to what extent can we draw a distinction between these two concepts and what is the result of this distinction? It is evident that the purpose and meaning of comparative jurisprudence is to turn to foreign law. It is the main sphere of its effort and the chief factor responsible for its considerable role.

In comparativist literature there is a traditional view that the study of foreign law represents only preparation for comparative jurisprudence. We believe this view dates back to the times when the purpose of comparative jurisprudence was reduced to the creation of a special supra-national "comparative law". Given this approach, comparative jurisprudence becomes, in fact, the second stage over and above the study of foreign law and turns into a self-sufficient operation, and thus the common elements of coexisting national legal systems are left out of brackets. However, this understanding of comparative jurisprudence today is an anachronism, and derivative conceptions of it also need some correction.

The above, naturally, does not mean that every study of foreign law may be attributed to comparative jurisprudence. There are, and can be, studies of a strictly regional nature, devoted to a definite country which are not aimed at comparative legal generalisations. This, however, does not detract from the importance of the study of foreign law on a comparative legal basis, especially when due account is taken of the fact that today the number of national legal systems on Earth approaches 200. It is essential as well that many regional studies contain a considerable aspect of comparison with the national law of the researcher's native country.

No matter how significant comparative jurisprudence is, both in the theoretical and the practically applied aspects in the spheres of so-called "internal comparison" (its object is the legal systems relating to one and the same social type of law), nevertheless in the present epoch the chief factor that determines the importance, role and trends of the development of comparative jurisprudence is the "external", or "inter-type" comparison, whose object is the law of countries belonging to different social systems. Herein lies the specific feature of contemporary comparative jurisprudence as distinct from the past stages of the historical development of this scientific discipline.

"External comparison" has made Soviet jurists look anew at the social functions and purposes of comparative jurisprudence, as well as at many of its theoretical and methodological problems. A major aspect of inter-type comparison is a comparative analysis of socialist and bourgeois law at the level of national legal systems, the leading branches of law and basic institutions.

One may single out three attitudes of Western comparative jurisprudence vis-à-vis the study of socialist law and thereby vis-à-vis the "inter-type comparison".

The first attitude that prevailed up to the end of the first half of the 20th century was marked by an arrogant and slighting view on Soviet law as something that deserves no attention. Exception may be made to the well-known French comparativist E. Lamberd, who directed the translation of the first Soviet codes in defiance of the hostile attitude from the legal profession of his country.³ It is characteristic that H. Gutteridge in his work Comparative Law, which is regarded as a classic in British comparative jurisprudence, does not even raise the question of comparing the laws of countries belonging to different social systems and placed Soviet law beyond the framework of study.⁴ Unfortunately, we come across this attitude in some works written later.

The second attitude that appeared in the 1950s-1960s, when Western comparative jurisprudence finally discovered the existence of socialist law, boils down to the fact that it is possible to recognise this law as an object of comparative analysis to the extent of showing similarity with Western models of law and primarily with the Romanic-German legal systems. In point of fact this attitude hardly differs much from the first one. For its representatives (R. Rodiere, F. Lawson and others) refuse to regard socialist law as a new, full-fledged type of law. To them this law is law inasmuch as it may be declared to be a variety of another model of law. The question of inter-type comparison is thus dismissed.

We can state with satisfaction, however, that today the third attitude is dominant. Its representatives (R. David, M. Ancel, W. Butler and others) speak about the need to regard socialist law as an independent, full-fledged model of law (one of the basic ones on the legal map of the world today), and stress the importance of its study "in the larger context of the basic philosophical, historical, sociological, and political premises", and see the leading role to be played by the inter-type comparison in the system of comparative studies and knowledge. The well-known French comparativist M. Ancel in talking about the comparison of the law of Western countries and socialist law says: "Comparison with foreign law pursues much more considerable goals and produces much more essential results not at a time when similar systems are compared, but when radically different systems are compared."

The development of Soviet legal science was associated from the very beginning with the use of external or inter-type comparison. The process of creating new law necessitates both knowledge and study of the old law, to which the new law is opposed. The formation and development of socialist law is also marked by this new sociological regularity. This law elaborates its new principles, institutions and norms on the strength of a deep knowledge and study of the principles, institutions and norms which reflect the system of capitalist relations. It rejects the latter law as a whole, creates a new legal system and assimilates what is valuable in legal culture and what has been evolved in the course of history. Both sides of a single process called for a broad use of external comparison. Therefore, those Western authors who hold that Soviet legal science became engaged in comparative jurisprudence quite recently, in the 1960s, are

mistaken. It is another matter that the aims set by Soviet science in using the comparative method were fundamentally different from the aims of Western comparative jurisprudence, whose credo was to discover a similarity in the national legal systems of the leading capitalist countries, in the hope of creating a unified "supra-national" law.

There is no doubt that beginning with the 1950s-1960s, Soviet comparative jurisprudence has essentially extended the scale of its studies. This is due to the addition of the comparison of the law of socialist countries to the inter-type comparison. No small part was also played by the expansion of the economic, cultural, scientific and technical ties between states on the basis of the principle of peaceful coexistence. Soviet legal science also considers comparative jurisprudence as an important form of the development of international scientific ties.

The recognition of the possibility and importance of inter-type comparison involves other questions, namely: what is the possible range of appropriate investigations? What is their methodology and, in particular, the choice of grounds for comparison (the problem of tertium comparationis)? These questions are often settled in different ways, depending on whether it is a matter of comparative jurisprudence in the narrow sense, which, as a rule, is conducted on the level of micro-comparison, or a matter of comparative jurisprudence in the broad sense—macro-comparison.

As we have noted above, comparative jurisprudence in the narrow meaning is the study of a definite institution of a problem with broad use of a comparative legal material. This study may be of a purely informative nature, but micro-comparison is associated, as a rule, with the solution of practical tasks and often has a direct practical application. In virtue of the difference between the economic infrastructures and the political systems of capitalist and socialist societies—this, naturally, finds its reflection in the legal superstructure and in the content of law in force—the inter-type comparison on the level of micro-comparison is limited by the fact that many legal institutions and problems known to one model of law have no analogue or similarity to another model. A Western jurist who wishes to compare such institutions as bankruptcy or illegal competition, the legal status of private corporations, anti-trust legislation, legal regulations of problems connected with unemployment and many other institutions and problems, will simply find no analogue in the Soviet legal system. The same thing will happen in respect of bourgeois law to a Soviet jurist who studies, for example, the law of operative management of socialist property, the institution of people's prosecutor and people's defence counsel in court. and the legal forms of struggle against the receipt of unearned income.

In the sphere of external micro-comparison, the number of comparable institutions and problems is considerably less than in the sphere of internal micro-comparison. Herein lies one of the distinctions between these two types of comparisons.

Another difference lies in the fact that if in the study of comparable institutions and problems the internal comparison very often reveals similarities, then in the sphere of external comparison differences come to the fore. And this is quite understandable, if one takes into account the fact that in the first instance it is a matter of the socio-economic and political systems of the same type and in the second instance it is a matter of fundamentally different systems.

This preponderance of differences in no way compromises external comparison and does not detract from its possible efficacy. Modern comparative jurisprudence successfully overcomes the view which prevailed in the past and which saw the main task of comparative research as the search for similarities. In practical terms it is more useful to reveal differences than similarities, if only because that it allows to see other solutions to the problem, to take into account what is best in these solutions, or to become convinced in the correctness of one's own solution. The revelation of differences is also more significant in theoretical terms, "for sociological reality which stands opposed to our every-day reality gives grounds for reflection and enriches our knowledge.... In the final analysis comparative study is, as a rule, based on the idea of contrast".

Thus, we have approached the concept of "contrastive comparison", which is a major one in the description of external, inter-type comparison at all levels—wrom micro- to macro-comparison. Soviet legal science attaches great importance to this concept. The purpose of contrastive comparison lies not in the declaration of the superiority of one legal system over another (as this concept is sometimes represented in Western legal literature), but in the drawing of attention of jurists to the fundamental differences of the compared legal systems of different types and their institutions according to their content, roles and purposes. This in no way excludes the appraisal of compared legal systems and institutions, both progressive and conservative, developed and backward, more or less sophisticated, but, on the contrary, presupposes this appraisal as one of the tasks of comparative jurisprudence.

Since external comparison implies legal systems based on different and, moreover, on antithetical economic and political principles, the contrastive approach requires that comparison should not be confined to the legal form of the phenomena examined. In different social contexts, similar legal forms may conceal a different, or in any case, differing social content. Let us explain this on the following example. The most general function of any purchase and sale, irrespective of the kind or type of a legal system, consists in the exchage of objects for money. Hence the similarity of definitions of

purchase and sale in different systems of civil law. If we take account simply of this general definition, we may come to the conclusion that there are no essential distinctions between purchase and sale in capitalist and socialist law. However, purchase and sale may be an instrument of private enterprise (under capitalism) and of planned distribution (under socialism). Hence essential differences in the regulation of purchase and sale in relations between juridical persons. There are also essential differences in purchase and sale in relations between citizens, in respect of a possible range of its objects, aims of contracts (for example, the prohibition by socialist law of purchase and sale for speculation purposes). The legal institutions similar in general legal attributes (this similarity is conditioned by common features of any commodity production) are marked at the same time by essential differences in social designation and functioning. We may state in a general form that inter-type comparison is largely connected with the need to distinguish between the immediate legal and the ultimate social functions of the compared institutions.8

The above does not mean that external micro-comparison may not reveal similar or even coincident solutions to similar problems. Such solutions are encountered in almost all branches of law. Let us note, first, that they are encountered much less than in the legal systems of one and the same type. Second, such similar solutions are much rarer than similar problems to be met with in the laws of countries belonging to different socio-economic types. For various reasons similar problems in different countries are decided in different ways.

Nevertheless there are situations where the very problem objectively dictates one rational solution, which is fixed in the laws of different countries (e.g., presumption of paternity in respect of a child born in wedlock).

Similar solutions are arrived at by the use in developed legal systems, irrespective of the type to which they belong, of the historically evolved generally recognised legal principles, such as ignorantia juris nemimem excusat (ignorance of the law excuses nobody), in dubio pro reo (doubts are interpreted in favour of the accused), pacta sunt servanda (treaties must be observed), nullum crimen sine lege (there is no crime without its reference in law).

Similar solutions in domestic law are also arrived at by the international legal unification, which is obligatory for participating states.

However, there is one reservation we should make, that with respect to similar solutions fixed in legal norms and principles, a question arises as to whether they do or do not acquire differing features, as component parts of the legal systems that differ one from another. In point of fact it is a question of whether these legal norms and principles are equally understood, interpreted and used in different systems.

Let us emphasise once more that the purpose of comparative studies is not only to seek for similar solutions or ready-made specimens or models which could be used by way of borrowing. Such an approach prevailed in comparative jurisdiction in the past. As we have noted above, today there is a different view on this problem, a view that underscores the vast importance of revealing differences. Generally speaking, it is a matter of studying foreign experience. Such studies are useful both theoretically and practically. This last aspect was dealt with by the discussion of the topic: "Application of Comparative Law by Legislator" at the 11th International Congress of Comparative Law, held in Caracas. All the reporters stressed both the importance of the use of comparative law and the difficulties encountered with it in practice. They pinpointed the following difficulties: formal (complicated search for appropriate material), linguistic, and psychological. The result is the traditional emphasis on "legal autarchy" (particularly characteristic of Common Law countries) and if not disregard for legal experience of other countries, then indifference to it. It seems to us, however, that these three factors are not sufficient to explain the fact why the legislators in Western countries seldom pay attention to the socialist legal systems while studying foreign legal experience. It is evident that we see here not deep-rooted tradition but a definite politico-ideological position, which we may call "socio-political bias". The entrenched Eurocentrist conceptions also play a no small role here.

The position held by socialist theory and practice is quite different in this respect. It proceeds from Lenin's tenet on the need to use in socialist law all that is progressive in society's life, what develops its legal democratic principles, what has been evolved by man throughout history, including the history of bourgeois society. ¹⁰ Further to this let us draw the reader's attention to the following characteristic fact. If we turn to the laws on the methodology and techniques of legislation promulgated in some socialist countries, we shall see the direct normative requirement for those who draft bills to use the data received as a result of the study of the law of socialist and other countries.

There are two basic possibilities in the choice of grounds for comparison (tertium comparationis). One of them is "legislative comparison" (the term "normative comparison" seems to be more fitting), when use is made of similar legal norms, institutions and legislative acts. The other is problematic comparison, when use is made of a definite social problem for purposes of comparison and then of study to ascertain which legal (and perhaps non-legal) means are applied to solve it.

The proponents of "problematic comparison" are fully justified to pinpoint many of its advantages, particularly the fact that, being sociologically-oriented, it enriches the problems of comparative studies and makes it possible to see more clearly the ties between legal regulation and economic and other social factors. It stands to reason that a somewhat extremist conclusion should not be drawn from this, namely: problematic comparison is always preferable to the normative one. Both these types of comparison have the right to existence. Moreover, by its content legislative comparison frequently happens to be closer to the problematic one.

We should emphasise, however, the special significance which problematic comparison has, in the sphere of comparison between Common Law and socialist law. This is due to the essential difference between the structures of sources in these two legal systems. Although statute law extends in Common Law countries, Common Law still prevails in them. In the Soviet Union, however, judicial precedent is not a source of law. As for legal techniques, Soviet law is much closer to the continental European systems than the Common Law. All this substantially complicates a normative approach in the comparison between Common Law and Soviet law and puts problematic comparison in the foreground.

The degree of practical (and not only informative) usefulness of inter-type micro-comparison depends on certain conditions. The latter are examined in one of the works by K. Zweigert (in co-authorship with H. Puttfarken). 11 These authors believe with full justification that the coincidence of two factors in the examined legal orders conditions the practical usefulness of the comparative study of a definite problem: first, the real situation which is subject to a comparative legal analysis and, second, the aims and tasks which legal regulation sets itself. If both these factors (for example, the growth of the number of divorces and the striving of the legislator to reasonably combine the freedom of divorce and the protection of family interests) coincide or draw closer together in societies of different types, then comparison may produce great practical effect. It will be "complete", in the opinion of the authors. If only the first factor (real situation) coincides, the comparison will prove to be "incomplete". If, however, both factors differ, comparison will be, in general, unpromising. This approach to the problem merits our attention.

As distinct from comparative jurisprudence in the narrow meaning, macro-comparison knows of no limitations in the formulation of problems. As we have noted earlier, its task is to describe foreign legal systems (branches of law) taken as a whole, including the institutions which have no analogue in its own law. Moreover, it is very important here to show the role of demonstrating what is peculiar and specific for the systems examined. Accordingly, the role of contrastive comparison becomes more important on this level. Macro-comparison does not have such practical application as micro-comparison, its role being chiefly theoretico-cognitive. It is called upon to reveal the main regularities and trends in the development of law in the present epoch. In a broad sense,

comparative jurisprudence is an important factor of improving legal culture, including the process of legal education.¹²

In macro-comparison that covers the laws of different social systems we face a number of theoretico-methodological problems. Typology is one of the major questions. While not touching upon the available classifications and viewpoints, let us note that, in our opinion, the global typology of the legal systems today cannot be built on legal criteria (for instance, the nature of the sources of law). It must be based on the difference between the socio-economic systems of the coexisting social formations. It is this formation that determines the content of the corresponding types of law.

The capitalist type of law, on the one hand, and the socialist type of law, on the other, represent the fundamental typology of present-day legal systems. This typology makes it possible to effect further classification including the use of legal criteria. Those works which claim to show the legal map of the world today but at the same time ignore the socialist type of law or relegate it to the background cannot claim to correspond to the scientific level of modern comparative jurisprudence. 14

NOTES

- ¹ R. David, Les grands systèmes de droit contemporains, Paris, 7th ed., 1978.
- ² G. Eörsi, Comparative Civil (Private) Law; Law Types, Law Groups. The Roads of Legal Development, Budapest, 1979.
- ³ R. David, Le droit comparé. Droits d'hier, droits de demain, Paris, 1982, p. 16.
- ⁴ H. C. Gutteridge, Comparative Law. An Introduction to the Comparative Method of Legal Study and Research, Cambridge, 2nd ed., 1949.
- ⁵ W. E. Butler, Soviet Law, London, 1983, p. 3.
- ⁶ M. Ancel, Utilité et methods du droit comparé, Neuchatel, 1971, p. 66.
- ⁷ Ibidem.
- ⁸ For details, see Zh. Stalev, "The Comparative Method in Socialist Legal Science", Comparative Jurisprudence, Moscow, 1978, p. 39 a. o. (in Russian).
- ⁹ The 11th International Congress of Comparative Law, Caracas, 1982.
- 10 V. I. Lenin, Collected Works, Moscow, Vol. 33, p. 202.
- ¹¹ K. Zweigert, H. Puttfarken, "Possibilities of Comparing Analogous Institutions of Law in Different Social Systems", *Acta Juridica*, Budapest, 1973, pp. 107-130.
- ¹² Some courses on comparative law on the level of law branches are read at law faculties in Soviet universities. For the teaching of comparative law in France, see A. Tunk, Les grands systèmes de droit contemporains, Paris, 1978.
- John Hazard wrongfully holds that "socialist jurists disagree with the division into Romanic systems and the system of Common Law". All the classifications in socialist legal literature draw a distinction between the Romanic family of law and Common Law within the framework of the fundamental typology (J. Hazard, "Pourquui le droit comparé?", Revue de droit international et de droit comparé, No. 4, 1979, p. 300).
- ¹⁴ J. Derret, An Introduction to Legal Systems, 1968; M. Losano, I grandi sistemi juiridici. Introduzione al diritti europei et extraeuropei, Turin, 1978.

Ideas and Facts in the Theory of Functional Systems

PYOTR ANOKHIN

From the Editors: In May 1971, Professor Cullen of the Paviovian Laboratories in Maryland asked Soviet physiologist Academician P. K. Anokhin (1898-1974) to contribute an article to a collection of papers he had in mind in which outstanding present-day scientists would expound their ideas which usually remain buried in the archives and known only to their closest pupils. In 1973, Anokhin wrote such an article, but for reasons unknown the collection was never printed. His article was first published in Russian in Psikhologichesky zhurnal (No. 2, 1984). He was the author of such well-known works as The Systems Mechanisms of Higher Nervous Activity, Essays in the Physiology of Functional Systems, Problems of Decision-Making, The Philosophical Aspects of the Theory of Functional Systems and many others.

Dr. Cullen's idea of organising a round-table discussion of the origin and development of scientists' ideas is extremely useful. Scholarly creativity follows a twisted path through doubts and joys and the highest flights of thought. These difficulties of the creative process are usually indiscernible in the final result, so that their cognitive and educational significance is forever lost to science.

At the same time the creative processes in the scientist's psyche are a source of a whole world of exquisite delight. At certain moments, he has insights into a much wider range of observations than could be made on the basis of exact facts. It is a world of surmises and intuitions stimulating the scientist and compelling him to realise foresights that may be, for the time being, quite uncertain. During these flights of thought, the researcher often sees his future achievements, and it is from here that the golden thread of fantasy extends throughout his everyday "strictly scientific" activity, leading him onward much further than the cold logical instrument of precise analysis....

However, this area of unstable, unproved, and often "mad" ideas remains a secret fund of the scientist's creative laboratory. Regrettably, it is this fund that is usually doomed to a tragic lot, when its carrier, the scientist himself, departs from life. All of these unrealised ideas perish never to see the light of day, never to get rigorous proof which might have opened to them the way into respectable scientific literature.

Moreover, the history of the origin of a scientist's published discoveries also often recedes into obscurity, as does that highly instructive flight of fantasy which usually takes exact science years and even decades to realise.

Imagine for a minute what rich perspectives of research disappear together with the scholar! There can be little doubt that other scientists often spend a great deal of time and effort in getting to the same starting-point ideas again, and even in a different way.

As I see it, the present collection of papers planned by Dr. Cullen is to throw light on the history of development of certain research ideas as the author perceives them himself in his own inner world of creative search unrestricted by any factors.

My account is about the tasks of our research aimed at developing a theory of functional systems. Now that the systems approach in biology and physiology attracts the researchers' increased attention, it will be most appropriate to report on the history of origin of the seminal idea in this area of science.

The functional system model we formulated as far back as 1933 proved to be very suitable for attaining the primary goal of the systems approach, i.e., for understanding the way in which individual processes, details, and results of analytical experiment are combined in a harmonious self-organising system. The first fact we encounter here is that modern science does not have an exhaustive formulation of the system concept. The logic of our approximation of a formulation of this concept is as follows.

Our starting point is the main feature of the system. A system can only be formed if there exists a system-forming factor transposing an unorganised, chaotic multitude of interacting components to the level of a system, i.e., transforming it into an ordered set.

The search for a system-forming factor is the central element on which the formulation of a system concept may be built. All talk of a systems approach and system in general can only be justified by the discovery of such a factor.

Thus the need for establishing the system-forming factor is the first and cardinal idea in the development of any system theory.

The second aspect which we also believe to be a most important factor in the formation of a system is the existence of an inner operational architectonics in a system. This working architectonics must ensure the transition from the synthetic to the analytic mechanisms of the system and vice versa. In its very meaning, the system must

become a conceptual bridge connecting the whole organism level, i.e., the level of systems activity, with the finest analytically discoverable processes. In the case of an organism, that will be the molecular level of functioning.

We know very well, for instance, that man's setting of a goal for performing some behavioural act is the highest level of human activity. It includes integral aggregates of nervous structures in which the goal is formed. The goal is then realised, the motor mechanisms for its implementation are mobilised, etc. If all these processes constitute a self-organising system in which many nervous elements participate, the question is: in what way is the transition implemented from the highest—synthetic and systemic level—to the analytical one, where we are already dealing with the functioning of separate nervous elements and even molecular processes?

 Consider for instance the familiar discharges of the nervous cell with the specific nervous impulses of interval configuration. The neuron clearly works in a certain operation mode which has some information-related meaning. However, for our studies in this discharge activity of the neuron to have scientific value, we must know what these diverse configurations of excitations produced every second by the neuron mean. One thing is clear; the value of all our microelectrode studies is significantly decreased by the fact that we know neither the meaning nor the place of these nervous discharges in the adaptive activity of the whole brain. These are the grounds for the tragic doubts about the destiny of neurophysiology apparent in the interview Eccles granted to the British Science Journal in 1967. That difficulty of comprehending the meaning of nervous discharges is convincingly eliminated in our theory through describing the system operational architectonics expressed in the synthetic terms of consistent development of a functional system.

It follows that in speaking of the system as the guiding principle of research, we impose on ourselves the demand to show the way in which this system organisation ensures the highest level of organisation and at the same time the way in which it includes such structural-functional details that we find, for instance, in individual neuron discharges. In other words, the system must indicate the way in which the neuron becomes part of it, facilitating its useful activity. Ouite obviously, we have here two parallel series of phenomena as objects of study: on the one hand, there are the behavioural acts. and on the other, the activity of an individual nervous cell. As long as these two series of phenomena are located on two parallel planes without a hope for a conceptual linkage, the neurophysiologist has not attained his prime goal, that of comprehending the work of the whole brain. It is between these areas of research work that a conceptual bridge must be built. Using that bridge, we shall be able to freely pass from the behavioural act to the analytical details including the fine neurochemical processes. At the same time we

shall be able to proceed, across the same bridge, from the study of the fine neurochemical processes to explaining total, i.e., integral, behavioural acts.

The question is, on what basis can such a conceptual bridge be built? We achieved that goal by introducing in the functional system a whole series of intermediate nodal mechanisms consecutively ensuring the work of the functional system. In other words, we built in this way the inner operational architectonics of the system. That general architectonics consists of several physiologically concrete nodal mechanisms of the system. Owing to these nodal mechanisms, any behavioural act may be interpreted, the individual neuron level included.

For instance, we called the first nodal mechanism, with which the system begins to take shape, "afferent synthesis": that is the synthesis of all the internal changes and external impacts on the organism which occur at the given moment. That synthesis, however, is not unordered. The organism uses the external and internal information in a highly planned manner. The processing of all the diverse afferentation ends in an answer to the question: what useful result must be obtained by the organism at the given moment, i.e., in the given situation? In other words, that first nodal mechanism ends in a quite definite decision directed towards obtaining a quite definite useful result corresponding to the organism's need at the given moment.

This highly important mechanism of afferent synthesis could be called the "predetermination stage". Ignoring this stage in modern cybernetics and particularly in the sciences of the behaviour of man and animals has resulted in considerable regress in our understanding of the true neurophysiological foundations of the behavioural act.

The idea of constructing a conceptual bridge linking the system level of organisation with the detailed processes in the system can be illustrated especially clearly at the stage of afferent synthesis. We have found, for instance, that afferent synthesis includes at least several very important, qualitatively different processes usually considered in our physiological practice as isolated from one another. The first process is the formation of the motivation dominant at a given moment, i.e., of the imperative need to perform a certain action to eliminate that need. The various needs arising in the organism under different situations are the first and leading component of afferent synthesis. As systematic studies of our laboratory showed, such a need, enriched by motivations and emotions, is directed, in the form of a series of rising excitation flows, towards the cerebral cortex. Here these excitations spread practically through the whole of the cortex, selectively extracting, through synaps organisations, everything from memory that was associated in the past with eliminating the same need.

Thus the second process of afferent synthesis is, we believe, selective extraction from memory of past experiences which resulted in the elimination of the same need that is present at a given moment.

The third constituent process is the mass action of the situational factors. These may include such situations as a room, a noisy street, resting at a country-house, etc. In short, the situation is always an accompanying corrective element of any afferent synthesis and consequently of the behavioural act as a whole. It may consist of an enormous number of external afferent excitations which, taken as a whole, shape what may be called the model of a person's presence in a given situation.

It is thus clear that the original motivational excitation and the sum of situational afferent impacts must necessarily interact between themselves, i.e., they must construct a compromise decision on what the organism or system must do, on what decision must be made in the given situation.

We can see that the elementary processes listed here (motivation, memory, situational afferentation) are quite sufficient for the organism to construct a necessary behavioural act.

Here we ran into a new difficulty, and a fresh idea had to be produced to answer the question of how these three types of excitation, so different qualitatively, can meet and tentatively fit in. How can an organism construct the correct line of future behaviour to satisfy adequately the need that arose at a given moment? Our studies have compelled the conclusion that without a meeting of various excitations in an identical neuron it is impossible for an organism to decide on the exact result that must be obtained at the given moment and in the given situation for satisfying a need.

Having thus begun with a fairly complex mechanism of afferent synthesis, we have eventually arrived, through gradual reduction, at a more elementary process of the nervous system—at the process of convergence of excitations on one and the same neuron. And that means that we have come, without losing sight of our logical conceptual bridge, from a more complex and global behavioural act to a more elementary, neurophysiologically studied process convergence of excitations on one and the same neuron. Later, we extended that conceptual bridge even further. We posed a new question; how can these diverse excitations centred on one and the same neuron form a single axonal output excitation without losing the information meaning? The systems approach thus led us to a formulation of the problem of a single neuron's integrative activity. that is to say, to an essentially molecular-level problem. Simultaneously, the inadequacy of the now generally accepted concept of "electric summation" on the neuron surface came to light. It became clear that the modern approach based on the study of transmembrane

potentials and their spreading through the cell membrane cannot satisfy the demands imposed by the idea of neuron integrative activity.

The example of convergence of heterogeneous excitations on the neuron shows that the development of a system can only be operational, useful and progressive if we can make the moves, considered above, from the complex system level to the analytical process, to the most fractional analytical details.

But the system has several such mechanisms, and afferent synthesis is only one of them. It is an outpost mechanism, and the formation of any behavioural act begins with it.

The second nodal mechanism of a functional system is decision-making. That mechanism completes the search at the stage of afferent synthesis. Decision-making as a nodal mechanism of the functional system selects, out of a variety of possible behavioural acts, a single one, most fully satisfying the organism at the given moment and in the given situation of emerging needs.

The search for a mode of satisfying the given need is always a compromise between the need and the specificity of the given situational afferentation. That compromise is resolved by extracting from memory some past experience with the same need.

Following the decision-making, and probably already in the process of searching for a suitable result, the apparatus is formed which reflects all the specific parameters of this most acceptable result.

Focused in this nerve complex is the ensemble of the afferent features of a future result, not yet obtained, and the ways of obtaining it. As a whole, that constitutes an afferent model of the result required at the given moment, and that model remains subsequently a factor guiding and directing the organism in all its actions towards obtaining precisely the necessary result (the goal). We called this afferent model, which forms within itself all the features of the future necessary result selected at the stage of afferent synthesis, the acceptor of the results of an action. The Latin word acceptare has two meanings, "accept" and "approve"; it is these processes that the acceptor of the result of an action covers.

Almost simultaneously with making a decision and forming the acceptor of the results of an action, a programme of action is formed. The development of that programme subsequently produces a result. Since the result has, as a rule, a series of afferent parameters: tactile, visual, auditory, gustatory, etc., these parameters, sending impulses to the central nervous system, are compared with the parameter prepared in the acceptor of the results of an action. The comparison is a final stage embracing a great many separate processes.

If we consider individually each of the processes described above, we can see that, being a part of the system, they serve as a bridge from the whole to analytical details. These details, whose place in the

system is precisely defined, may now be used for a further analysis with the help of the finest apparatus measurements.

Indeed, what are the parameters of results? They are perfectly concrete properties and physical characteristics of a result expressed in its ability to be compared in the acceptor of the results of an action. Thus, when we say that a result has certain parameters, we are facing analytical work through which we can give a most detailed characterisation of the properties the result has. Those may be weight, taste, mass, roughness of surface, etc.

Thus comparing the properties of the actually obtained result with those predicted as necessary for satisfying the need is the last phase in the functioning of the system. We believe that any behavioural act ends in comparison and corresponding approval of a successfully carried out action. We must not forget, however, that we have thereby characterised only a separate unit of a separate result and a separate functional system. But it is always the beginning of a future stage in behaviour. However, that is not a chain reflex, as is usually believed.

Analysis of the process of comparing a predicted and a real result in many individual systems shows that the functional system indeed exemplifies a universal model for all physiological functions, provided it determines a vital adaptation. This model probably emerged a very long time ago in the history of life on this planet.

After this short description of the functional system I would especially like to stress the fact that served as an impulse to the development of the idea of functional system in my research work. How was the thought conceived about this new physiological organisation with reverse afferentation, i.e., that link in the system which later, after the birth of cybernetics, was named feedback?

This is the situation that I would like to describe in terms of concrete facts—a situation which led us to give up the ordinary reflex-oriented concepts and approaches to the explanation of behavioural acts. This exposition will enable us to trace the genealogy of the theory of functional systems.

At first, our experiments had one quite definite purpose: to establish the efforts and mechanisms an animal organism resorts to to find a way out of a difficulty we created by experimental muscle and nerve transplants to unusual positions.

We spent much time on decoding these remarkable phenomena. Somewhat unexpectedly, the idea occurred to us once that function restructuring after such nerve trunk cross-anastomoses does not take place in separate nerve centres pertaining to the anastomosed nerve trunks but in a more extensive functional structure.

This idea became especially real after a transplant of a leg extensor muscle to the place where the flexor is attached. After such a transplant, the muscle that used to be the extensor, now had to work as a flexor during the contraction without any changes in the innervation. I shall try to describe in detail the results of that experiment, emphasising those of its characteristic aspects which compelled us to change radically our previous views on the "restructuring of the nerve centres" that existed in the literature before the 1930s.

The experiment was conducted as follows. Part of the extensor (quadriceps femori) of a cat's hind leg was transplanted into the position of a flexor, so that an unusual relation between the centre and the periphery was produced by that muscle transplant. The nervous impulses transmitted along the nerves from the extensor centre led to both halves of the extensor, since normal innervation of the two halves of the muscle did not change its relation to these halves. Consequently, one and the same discharge of impulses from the centres of a quadriceps muscle in one part had to produce flexion in one part and extension in the other.

This circumstance naturally disorganised the whole of the cat's locomotion. It made a whole series of unorganised efforts, now stretching out both hind legs, then flexing them both. In a word, the transplanted part of the muscle produced a dissonance in the coordination between the flexors and the extensors of the extremity, but after a month or two such disorganising effects in the hind leg ceased and the cat walked perfectly normally, as though it had never undergone any transplantation.

On the basis of the reflex approach it would be natural to assume that part of the nucleus of the quadriceps muscle in the spinal cord learnt a new function, since now it determined flexion rather than extension, as it would have in its normal position.

Indeed, only under this condition could both parts of the muscles innervated by one and the same extensor nucleus in the spinal cord produce different effects on the periphery. Only this circumstance explained the fact that two months after the transplant, fully coordinated functions of the given extremity returned.

That conclusion was quite logical within the viewpoint then prevalent in neurophysiology, and it naturally became the conclusion we drew.

It was clear from several indications, however, that changes in the coordination (i.e., restoration of normal coordination) involve a much more extensive use of other muscles and other components of the locomotive act as a whole. Indeed, after the function was recovered, the cat used all four limbs well. It followed that, in one way or another, the limbs where no transplants were performed also had to take part in this transformation of the functions of the transplanted muscle.

Thus the idea of a new experiment arose, which radically resolved the problem that had worried us: it was necessary to extract the centre of the muscle (m. quadriceps) that we had studied from the broad locomotive system and to check its function at the end of a compensatory process in isolation at the level of the motor centres of the spinal cord.

The well-known Sherrington experiment on a decerebrated cat could serve our purpose. The experiment showed that both parts of an extensor muscle behaved quite normally, in accordance with their normal relation to the spinal cord before the operation, that is to say, both parts behaved as extensors. Thus the restructuring of the nervous centres observed from the broad function did not belong to the centres themselves. There was every reason to believe that the restructuring of the coordination of the locomotive act involved the whole of the nervous system. It meant that the whole system of locomotive relations could support the inter-centre interaction developed after the operation (at first disrupted). The extensor centre located in the lumbar segments was only restructured in the process of a whole locomotive act, that is to say, the restructuring was of a purely functional character and did not involve the structural formations of the spinal centres themselves. The experiments convinced us that each nervous cell of any nervous centre does not, so to speak, belong to itself but performs its function only as a result of combination of an extensive system of mutual relations. The nervous cell may occasionally change its function under the influence of a whole system through constructing various combinations of synaptic excitations. Putting it simply, concrete cells are not retrained as such but, using the enormous number of the degrees of freedom that they have, enter into new functional interrelations, as the larger, more extensive locomotive system dictates.

That means that any partial process of the nervous system is always supervised, as by a sort of mentor, by a larger system which permits change in the degree of freedom of various parts of the partial system, making them more suitable for obtaining a definite useful result. A part of a concrete nervous centre is supervised by a large system of correlations which, through plastic changes, works towards obtaining a final useful result meeting the needs of the given moment, i.e., correct walking.

Thus the idea emerged that in practically all biological manifestations a broad system is dynamically formed at each given moment out of heterogeneous formations, all parts of which contribute to obtaining a definite useful result. All permutations and, consequently, all changing interactions between nervous and peripheral elements are always subordinated to the search for useful result. That search is carried out in the process of compensation, that is, when the organism works towards eliminating the harm done by the distur-

bances introduced by the operation. It must be clear from the above that this idea, resulting from long observation of compensatory adaptation, led us to the view that every mechanism of obtaining a useful result or adaptation to an injury sustained is always determined by an extensive and highly organised system of processes, parts of which are highly plastic.

It is now hard to outline even approximately the present range of problems and practical applications of the functional system theory. In the first place it extended, of course, the possibilities of cybernetics, since reverse afferentation, the analogue of feedback in cybernetics, is not the only concept involved. Of special importance is the fact that we have been able to introduce three components greatly enriching the formation of the so-called cybernetic systems. I refer here to afferent synthesis which is, in fact, a "predetermination", and the acceptor of the results of an action which, being an afferent model of future results, becomes an apparatus for predicting those results long before they are obtained.

Another idea, a corrolary of the functional system concept, results from application of the functional system in biology. We refer to the formulation of the law of development in ontogenesis which was termed systemogenesis 25 years ago. As we have shown above, the functional system contains a whole series of important mechanisms which can yield a useful result only when taken as an ensemble and only when they are adequately consolidated. The question naturally arises as to what happens, say, in the case of a newborn organism that has to be absolutely ready for independent existence directly after birth, as is the case with mammals, certain birds, etc.

Indeed, a human child, to take an example, comes into the world with certain mechanisms ready for functioning, such as sucking, breathing, etc., and each of them, bringing as it does a positive result, must inevitably have the architecture of a functional whole, i.e., the architecture of a functional system.

Now, a most important question arises: in what way do all parts of the system begin maturing in the process of embryogenesis so that they are synchronised so precisely that a fully coordinated function comes into play at the moment of birth? Such a question will be especially understandable if we realise that a functional system includes as a rule the most diverse organs: it mobilises parts of the muscle system, the cardio-vascular system, the breathing apparatus, etc., as happens, e.g., in sucking. So, how can parts of the system that are developed in ontogeny at different points in the organism and differ in their tissue and anatomical substrata, be so precisely synchronised at the moment of birth that an organised, harmoniously developed function necessarily emerges which gives a useful adaptive effect?

This question has been thoroughly studied during the past 40 years in our laboratory by morphological and physiological methods.

For our objects of study we chose fishes, amphibians, birds, reptiles, mammals of many species, especially guinea-pigs, and finally living human foeti. For experiments of the last type we worked out a special original method of blood perfusion of human foeti beginning with the fourth month of pregnancy.

This enormous number of studies has compelled the conclusion that we are dealing with a form of development that does not coincide with earlier concepts of morphogenesis and organogenesis. In the case of systemogenesis, we are not dealing with maturing of an organ as a whole but with a selective and rapid maturing of some of its parts which must produce the system necessary for survival.

The embryo or the foetus preparing for birth have no fully developed organs but only well-developed parts of organs which are very early consolidated in an integral functional system. That is a new principle of development. It could only be stated on the basis of the functional system theory and was therefore termed systemogenesis. Systemogenesis quite obviously provides an example of the emergence of a secondary concept derivative from the functional system theory.

The next idea pertains to the discovery of the nature of the phenomenon generally known as evoked potential.

One can hardly name another electrophysiological phenomenon which is so widely used in neurophysiology as an indicator of most diverse states of the nervous system. However, the idea of its structure and genesis, and its understanding, were not satisfactory enough for evoked potential to become a useful instrument in decoding a whole series of mechanisms in the work of the brain.

Indeed, what was the dominant viewpoint before 1960 of the origin of evoked potential? This viewpoint was that both the positive and the negative components of evoked potential have identical nature, that is to say, they originate from one and the same impulse of rising excitation.

When we began studying the ontogenesis of evoked potentials, the untenability of the concepts that were mostly accepted in neurophysiology became immediately apparent. In a newborn animal, excitation of the ischiatic nerve does not produce the ordinary evoked potential with a positive and a negative components but a potential which has only a negative component. This circumstance completely and unexpectedly contradicted the view that evoked potential originated from a single rising excitation. We made a great number of experiments to explain the nature of that phenomenon, i.e., the primacy of the negative potential. These experiments brought us to the most important conclusion: evoked potential formed in response to the excitation of the ischiatic nerve is a complex heterogeneous formation. It is formed consecutively out of a number of impulses of rising excitations so that each of its components belongs each time to a new and specific impulse of

excitations sent to the cortex. As soon as that idea emerged, numerous facts in this area, which had earlier been inexplicable, became easily explained.

Broad possibilities were opened for "reading" the neurophysiological processes at the subcortical level from evoked potential and its minute changes. That new understanding of evoked potentials was a direct consequence of the systems approach to the neuron as an apparatus integrating many subcortical excitation impulses.

In conclusion, I would like to point out a serious consequence which arose from the application of systems ideas in the field of purely analytical processes bordering on molecular laws in nervous activity. I refer to the formation of the idea of the integrative activity of an individual neuron and of the revision of the theory of a whole neuron dominant in neurophysiology and known as the "theory of electric summation" of excitations on the neuron's surface. ¹

The point is this: the idea of the role of transmembrane potentials in the emergence and transmission of excitations along conductive paths was transferred to microelectrode studies of the neuron and applied to the neuron with the appearance of such studies, although the transition to the study of the neuron itself and its dendrites necessitated a radical change in the formulation of the question itself.

Indeed, the central problem in the study of the nerve and the nerve fiber was as follows: in what way does the axon transmit reliable information from one point of the organism to another?

The neuron performs quite a different role. In evaluating that function we must necessarily take into account a most important circumstance: each second the neuron receives extremely diverse excitations of varying information value.

The significance of that fact increases when we consider that the neuron receives several dozens of these excitations simultaneously, in various temporal and spatial configurations, while only one single excitation passes to the axon.

As we could see above, several excitations differing in quality and origin are simultaneously processed in afferent synthesis. The question arises, where and when can these excitations go through a processing without an evaluation of which no adequate decision can be made? There was only one answer to that question that we could find: they can only undergo that processing and mutual suitability test as they converged on one and the same neuron.

In other words, the numerous specific excitations must meet on the surface of one and the same neuron integrating, as a result of that meeting, a single axonal excitation passing to the external paths.

How does that happen? With this question, we transpose the whole problem from the area of purely electric laws to the domain of

purely chemical transformations. The following propositions can serve as the basis for such an operation:

- (1) Modern electronic microscopy convinces us that there are no biophysical conditions on the surface of the neuron which would permit the implementation of any form of conducting electric potentials along the neuron's surface (the subsynaptic membrane, density of synaptic formations, etc.).
- (2) The nature of slow potentials and the absence of conditions for conducting them at a distance rule out the possibility of meeting of two synaptic excitations; accordingly, the processing of information leading to the synapses cannot be carried out.
- (3) Even in the presence of all the biophysical conditions for conducting excitations at a distance, electricity, being a monotonous and homogeneous factor, would not have been able to express hundreds of heterogeneous kinds of information in a single axonal excitation.

Comparing all of the factors cited here, we must draw the conclusion that electric summation on the neuron's surface of all the excitations coming to it at a given moment is, physiologically speaking, nonsensical.

The existence of this theory, which was never given an explicit indepth analysis, may be said to result from the electrophysiological conservatism that became established in neurophysiology some 50 years ago.

Here we must stress something that had earlier been ignored for the sake of the untenable electric summation concept—the neuroplasmatic processes, organellas, etc. Thus the entire neuron content is shifted into the foreground which had merely been "a silent observer" of the "electric summation" going on on the neuron's surface membrane.

Mobilisation of all the modern data on electronic microscopy, microionophoresis, neurochemistry, ultracentrifuging and the nervous tissue culture gives rise to the quite definite idea that the main path of transformation of the information coming to the neuron lies through the cytoplasm of the dendrites and the neuron.

This change in our view of the neuron's integrative activity opens broad perspectives of new research whose main ideological basis is the theory of functional systems.

CONCLUSION

It is a well-known fact that analysis of the genesis of some fruitful scientific idea is best performed by the author of that idea himself.

He alone can most adequately evaluate the conditions which gave rise to the idea of the study, and he alone can most fully describe all the elements of the transitions from creative upsurges to agonising doubts about the correctness of the line of research adopted.

That doubt could increase tenfold the desire for searching for a new solution to the task or for a stimulating generalisation of facts and discoveries earlier viewed as unconnected....

Who can delve into the very essence of these unpublished doubts but the author himself? Realising and pinpointing the moment in creative work at which the struggle focused for a more adequate understanding of what could not have been previously understood, understanding where and how the anguished "drama of ideas" was enacted—all of this, I repeat, can only be achieved by the author himself, but regrettably it is these dramas that he usually takes with him when he dies....

In discussing the history of science, Albert Einstein often stressed that only ideas have intransient value, and he often lamented the fact that scientists show little concern about writing a "history of ideas", actually neglecting such history. (Incidentally, the journal *The History of Ideas* began to be published in the USA in 1939, apparently not without Einstein's influence. Einstein himself wrote a book on the subject—*Ideas and Opinions*, New York, 1954.)

The idea of publishing the present volume, which might be called a collection of "scientists' confessions" concerning the ideological aspects of their creative work is apparently a very useful and much-needed initiative of Dr. Cullen.

Going back to the genealogy of the functional systems theory and its ideological evolution, I might say that at present, too, it continues to give rise to new ideas of the "second" and "third" generations.

Extending the foundations of our research strategy, we are now making a concerted effort to close the gap in the understanding of the laws of functioning of a whole organism and its fine molecular processes constituting the basis of that whole.

I hope that these attempts will lead us to the formation of a single architectonics of all the systems entities, both large and small, which are arrived at through obtaining a useful result—the only universal principle of scientific progress.

NOTE

¹ Ch. F. Stivens, "Synaptic Physiology", Proc. IEEE, Vol. 56, No. 6, June 1968.

Soviet Workers of Culture in the Anti-War and Anti-Fascist Movement of the 1930s

VICTOR KUMANEV

Participation of the world's progressive intelligentsia, including workers of Soviet culture, in the movement of the 1930s for preventing the military conflagration and saving peace is now a matter of historical record. Literature on the postwar peace movement pays scant attention to a most significant and highly instructive fact: this worldwide movement originated in the 1920s and 1930s, and present-day millions of peace fighters, including scientists and intellectuals, were preceded by staunch people who discharged their duty to mankind with honour.

Soviet historiography does not as yet have a comprehensive study on this subject, although it is highlighted in collections of documents and works of such prominent Soviet cultural figures as Maxim Gorky, Vladimir Mayakovsky, Alexei Tolstoy, Mikhail Koltsov, Ilya Ehrenburg, Sergei Eizenstein, Vsevolod Vishnevsky and many others. A collection of readings from the International Congress of Writers for Defence of Culture was published before the Second World War, containing reports and speeches made at that representative forum, as well as its resolution.²

The present article is designed to show the contribution made by Soviet cultural figures to the worldwide movement of progressive intellectuals launched in the 1930, against fascism and the threat of world war.

The Leninist Party and the Soviet state, whose first legislative document was the Decree on Peace, have always consistently opposed

aggressive wars and advocated security and free development of the nations. It is common knowledge that the Soviet Republic paid dearly for its right to peaceful and creative labour. At the end of 1920, Lenin wrote: "We have already taught a number of powerful countries not to wage war on us, but we cannot guarantee that this will be for long." Facts showed that provocations and setting up of various anti-Soviet blocs continued in the West even after the defeat of the interventionists and the White Guards. By working for collective security and having submitted a programme of universal disarmament in the interests of peace, the Bolshevik Party and the Soviet Government exposed the machinations of the militarists and pointed at the real and ever growing danger of fascism, while taking measures to strengthen the country's defence capacity.

Soviet scientists and workers of culture, realising full well the danger posed to civilisation by Italian fascism, Japan's militarism and fascism rearing its head in Germany, made a worthy contribution to the Soviet Government's Leninist policy of peace as early as the 1920s. Soviet literature advanced, as one of its main artistic ideas, the idea of defending peace on Earth and defending the socialist Motherland, by developing a radically new hero—"the man with the rifle", the soldier-liberator, a reliable guardian of the Revolution, a defender of working people. The issues of war and peace became one in the works of the new culture born by the Great October Revolution. Foremost representatives of the country's artistic community called upon the people to be vigilant, urging them to keep the powder dry even in peace time. Expounding the concept of proletarian humanism, they educated the working masses in a spirit of intolerance to all manifestations of oppression, aggression and international brigandage.

The imperialist countries turned a deaf ear to Soviet Russia's appeals to establish a just and democratic peace, to create a new system of international relations based on the principles of peaceful coexistence of states with different socio-economic systems, and continued to hatch aggressive plans for eliminating the world's first socialist state. The monopoly bourgeoisie of the leading Western powers openly chose the way of accelerated militarisation of their economies and trampling upon democratic freedoms. The 1920s witnessed a growth of fascism in certain European countries, the strengthening of reaction and increasing military expenditures.

Soviet cultural workers were among the first to recognise the ominous aspect of fascism as a striking force of the most aggressive and reactionary imperialist bourgeoisie. A foreboding of the pending battle with fascism was particularly felt by those representatives of the artistic intelligentsia who were active in international journalism, championing defence of Motherland: Maxim Gorky, Vladimir Mayakovsky, Alexei Tolstoy, Mikhail Sholokhov, Ilya Ehrenburg, Alexander Fadeyev, Mikhail Koltsov, Arkadi Gaidar, Isaak Babel,

Vsevolod Ivanov, Alexander Afinogenov, Vsevolod Victore Alexander Afinogenov, Vsevolod Victore Alexander Alexander Deineka, film makers Sergei Eizenstein and Alexander Dovzhenko, composers Alexander Alexandrov and the Pokrass brothers, and many others.

Their warnings about the war menace merged with the alarm and protest voiced by the world progressive intellectuals. Henri Barbusse, Louis Aragon, Johannes Becher, Theodore Dreiser, Bertok Brecht and other eminent men-of-letters initiated in 1925 the International Bureau of Revolutionary Literature, which was transformed in 1930, at the 2nd International Conference of Revolutionary Writers in Kharkov, into the International Association of Revolutionary Writers (which also included Soviet authors). On August 1, 1929, the Bureau appealed to progressive writers of the world "to raise their voice against war".4 The appeal was published in the Bureau's organ together with anti-war writings by Erich-Maria Remarque, Ludwig Renn, Ivan Olbracht, Mate Zalka, Johannes Becher, and G. Chennevières. Henri Barbusse also became one of the organisers of the International Anti-Fascist Congress held in 1929 in Berlin and attended by 300 delegates from many countries in spite of the German authorities' active opposition (Soviet delegates were denied visas). The Congress adopted a resolution on "International Fascism and Means of Fighting It."

The capitalist world suffered a severe economic crisis in the 1920s and 1930s. The bourgeois press featured ever more frequently statements to the effect that a way out of the "political blind alley" must be sought in "iron order", even if based on the "ideas" of ... Mein Kampf. Although the early 1930s could still be called peaceful years, the an was loaded with a feeling of the approaching holocaust, since its hotbeds had appeared in different parts of the world: in 1931 militarist Japan invaded China, Hitler's clique was craving for power in Germany which, like certain other countries of Europe, was undergoing forced militarisation, the Italian Black Shirts were preparing aggression against Abyssinia and hatching plans of making the Mediterranian an "Italian Lake".

On May 27, 1932, L'Humanité published the proposal of Henri Barbusse and Romain Rolland, supported by Maxim Gorky, on holding the World Anti-War Congress. The preparatory committee included Sen Katayama, Paul Langevin, Heinrich Mann, Augusto Sandino, Sun Quingling, Upton Sinclair, Albert Einstein, and others. The congress opened in Amsterdam on August 27, 1932, and was the most representative anti-war forum in terms of both its political and social composition. It was attended by about 2,200 delegates from 35 countries. The Soviet delegation, headed by Maxim Gorky, was denied visas, so the great humanist writer sent a message to the congress wishing its participants unanimity in "their negative attitude to the imperialist organisers of a new world slaughter".⁶ The

congress' objective was to mobilise the world's progressive forces to support the peace policy of the Soviet Union, and to actively oppose the war preparations of the imperialist bourgeoisie and its striking force—fascism. An International Committee of Struggle against War and Fascism,⁷ headed by Henri Barbusse, was established. The Soviet public was represented by Maxim Gorky, Elena Stasova and Nikolai Shvernik. National congresses in defence of peace were also held in Paris in July 1932, and in 1933—in Chicago (USA), Shanghai (China), Utrecht (Holland) and Copenhagen (Denmark). Maxim Gorky sent greetings to the participants in the Chicago congress.

The Soviet Union launched an active peace offensive. The Communist Party and the Soviet Government proceeded from the assumption that it was easier to prevent the fire of war than extinguish it. Intensifying the anti-fascist and anti-war effort was the main task of the social activity of the Soviet artistic community which utilised every opportunity to fulfil their humanitarian duty. The courageous act of the eminent Soviet scientists, Academician Ivan Pavlov at the inauguration of the International Physiological Congress in Italy in 1932 is well known. Mussolini was expected at the ceremony. When he appeared, the Black Shirts flung their hands out in the fascist salute. At that moment all those present heard Pavlov's voice: "Eine bedingter Reflex!" (conditioned reflex). The fascist leaders froze in their tracks, the audience buzzed ironically; Pavlov's remark was easy to understand: he meant the Black Shirts' automatic reaction which involved no conscious effort on their part.

The atmosphere in Europe was heating up, fascism was on the upsurge. It was hard for Soviet writers and journalists abroad: constant shadowing, provocations, threats of physical violence. Most European countries were ruled by reactionary regimes, any show of sympathy for the USSR by ordinary people was brutally suppressed. The situation was particularly grim in Germany, where the nazis had seized power in January 1933 taking advantage of the grave economic situation. The nazi leaders did not conceal their aggressive plans. First of all, the fascists planned to destroy the Soviet Union. Fires flared up in Berlin and other German cities—stormtroopers burned books by Marx, Engels and Lenin, the classics of world literature, and by democratic figures in German science and culture. Jewish pogroms swept across the country. Progressive scientists, writers, stage and screen workers, teachers and journalists were deported from Germany. Tens of thousands of advanced people were thrown into prisons and concentration camps, including the leader of the Communist Party of Germany Ernst Thälmann. The Reichstag fire provocation organised by Hermann Goering was used as a pretext for this action. Georgi Dimitrov, then in Germany, was arrested by the fascists on the trumped up charge of having set fire to the Reichstag.

Progressive people of the entire planet rose up in defence of the prisoners of fascism. "The fire of the German Reichstag," wrote *Pravda*, "is of profound symbolic significance.... Incendiaries with a burning torch are on the rampage in the centre of Europe." 8

At that time, the Paris Committee of Anti-Fascist Action and Vigilance, founded on the initiative of the democratic wing of French intelligentsia, appealed to the workers of Europe to rally together and resolutely rebuff the new vandals. The appeal was signed by Romain Rolland, Frédéric Joliot-Curie, Paul Langevin, J.-R. Bloch, V. Bash and other men of science and culture. Energetic steps to expose the nazis' crimes were taken by the International Committee to Combat Imperialist War and Fascism, formed in August 1933 through the merger of the Central Committee of the Workers' Anti-Fascist Association of European Countries, elected by the European Anti-Fascist Congress (Paris, June 1933), and the Constant Anti-War Committee elected by the Amsterdam Anti-War Congress in August 1932. Similar efforts were made by other national committees. The Indian League of the Struggle against War and Fascism was headed by the prominent enlightener and poet Rabindranath Tagore.

Waves of protests swept across the republics of the Soviet Union. In articles and pamphlets writers of our country warned mankind of the danger looming over it. They exposed the spiritually barren Western leaders who watch with indifference the fascists' feverish preparations for a new bloody massacre, they demonstrated the shortsightedness and foolish complacency of the West European rulers, who sought to appease the nazi leaders.

Maxim Gorky was in the front ranks of those who led the anti-war movement of Soviet intellectuals and the anti-fascist movement of the entire world. He was justly called a distinguished plenipotentiary of the new civilisation, on which millions of honest people of our planet pinned their hopes. Gorky immediately saw fascism as a grave threat to the whole of mankind and continued to expose it tirelessly even when the true nature of fascism was not yet fully realised in the West and East. Many Western politicians did not then treat seriously the discourse of the leaders of the Third Reich about forceful recarving of the world in favour of German imperialism, about subjugation of entire nations and states, and establishing domination of the "Aryan race". Moreover, by playing up to anti-Soviet sentiments in the ruling quarters of capitalist countries, the nazi upper crust used every means to confuse Western powers as to their immediate intentions. They fostered hopes that fascist Germany's military objectives would be attained primarily at the expense of the Soviet Union.

In this situation, Gorky's public statements for strengthening the anti-war and anti-fascist front evoked enormous response throughout the world. In the mad "philosophy" of the fascists, in their preaching

of violence, ideological terror and corruption of youth, in the racist theories Gorky saw obvious signs of their degeneration, and ideological and moral bestiality. He said that the fascists "cannot live without organising massacres of people, they are professional killers of the working masses".9

One cannot help wondering at the vast scale of the writer's organisational work: he spared neither efforts nor time in performing his patriotic and internationalist duty. His impassioned struggle for the lives of Thälmann, Dimitrov and other victims of fascism, his proposals for convening international anti-fascist congresses and writers' meetings in defence of peace—it would take several pages just to list the most important aspects of Gorky's socio-political activities at that time. His enormous correspondence constituted whole volumes. Despite his grave illness, he wrote brilliant pamphlets in 1933-1936, including the famous article "Who Are You With, Masters of Culture?" (in answer to US correspondents)—a fervent appeal to intellectuals of the world to stand up and be counted at such alarming times, to aid progress in the name of coming generations by clearly defining their positions.

Gorky together with other masters of world culture initiated the European Anti-Fascist Congress (Paris, June 4-7, 1933) and was elected to the Permanent Committee established by this forum (the Soviet Union was also represented on the committee by Vera Figner and Vsevolod Ivanov). The Congress adopted a manifesto, appealing to all working people to curb warmongers, to organise without delay a movement to save the lives of the victims of the fascist butchers, and to support the proposal of the Executive Committee of International Red Help to hold a week of aid to those held in nazi prisons. (Gorky took an active part in that campaign, too.) In September of the same year, the Youth World Congress against Fascism and War was held in Paris. In tribute to the role and importance of eminent representatives of artistic and scientific intelligentsia in the peace struggle, Maxim Gorky, Romain Rolland, Henri Barbusse and Paul Langevin were elected to the honorary presidium. Gorky was proud that their names were mentioned together with Thälmann and Dimitrov, also elected to the presidium of the Congress.

When the Leipzig trial, fabricated by the fascists, was conducted (September 29-December 23, 1933), the movement in defence of Dimitrov became exceptionally widespread. The progressive intellectuals the world over, including Gorky, greatly contributed to freeing him and his comrades from nazi butchers. The effort to save Thälmann failed, but with his powerful publicist talent, with his great prestige Gorky did everything possible for the success of the struggle of the Soviet Union and all the progressives of the world to prevent the murder of the leader of the German proletariat.

Gorky did much to realise the idea of holding an international congress of writers for defence of culture which he put forward together with Henri Barbusse, André Gide, J.-R. Bloch, Romain Rolland and André Malraux. The congress was opened in Paris on June 21, 1935. The Soviet delegation included Alexei Tolstoy, Vsevolod Ivanov, Mikhail Koltsov, Anna Karavaeva, Alexander Shcherbakov, Ilya Ehrenburg, Yakub Kolas, Ivan Mikitenko, Galaktion Tabidze, Abulkasim Lakhuti, V. Alazan, Nikolai Tikhonov, Vladimir Kirshon, Fyodor Panferov, Alexander Korneichuk, Pavlo Tychina, Ivan Luppol and Isaak Babel. Gorky was unable to attend the forum due to illness. He sent a message expressing his regret that the state of his health prevented him from being among his colleagues—the "people who deeply feel how insulting to them is fascism, who see how the deadly, poisonous effect of its ideas and the impunity of its crimes grow". Fascism, ran the message, "with ever increasing impunity declares itself a negation of everything that exists under the name of European culture". 10 This message had a marked effect on the congress, its general thrust, the content of the speeches, and the text of the resolution adopted.

Not only did Gorky actively contribute anti-fascist and anti-imperialist articles to the central press, he also launched a number of periodicals dealing with international affairs, foreign experience and culture, and was the founder of the magazine Za rubezhom which informed readers about the alarming world situation, published essays devoted to anti-fascists and revolutionaries, explained and commented on the heightened activity of German bankers and revenge-seekers. It carried articles by Ilya Ehrenburg, Lev Nikulin, Ilya Ilf and Evgeni Petrov, Eton Kisch, Konstantin Fedin, Elsa Triolet, Johannes Becher, Bertolt Brecht, George B. Shaw, Ernest Hemingway, Louis Aragon, Mikhail Koltsov and other noted men of letters, political caricatures by Dmitri Moor, Alexander Deineka, Sergei Semyonov, G. Gross, Boris Efimov and others. On Gorky's advice, the editorial board of Za rubezhom sought to help the public to understand the international situation.

Of great importance to the consolidation of revolutionary, democratic and anti-war forces were the decisions of the 7th Congress of the Comintern held in Moscow in July-August 1935. The forum of the world's Communists raised the banner of a broad, massive struggle against reaction and war, advancing the slogan of a universal anti-fascist front. German fascism, noted the General Secretary of the Executive Committee of the Comintern Georgi Dimitrov in his report, had taken the role of a striking force of world reaction, of the chief warmonger. The Congress demonstrated how formidable the threat of fascist aggression was and emphasised that war could be prevented only through joint efforts of all peaceloving and progressive forces.

With the constantly growing threat to peaceful life, all Soviet intellectuals believed it their patriotic and internationalist duty to increase their contribution to the anti-war and anti-fascist movement, to strengthening the defence capability of their socialist Motherland, and the military might of the Red Army. "It is clear that in the future an attack against us is inevitable," "It wrote Vsevolod Vishnevsky as far back as 1933 in his article "Is Literature as a Whole Ready for Defence?". In 1934 Yakov Protazanov's film *The Marionettes* was first shown. The director explained the idea of this bitter satire as follows: "The Marionettes is based largely on factual material, it is, for example, partly like the story of Carol's sudden accession to the throne in Rumania, there is the profile of Hitler's staggering 'career'... and also summarised documentary material on a certain part of Europe during the period of crisis and preparation for intervention." ¹³

Writer Nikolai Ostrovsky also called upon the Soviet people to be prepared for a fierce battle against fascism. In one of his speeches he warned: "Dark clouds loom over the world. Fascism, striving with axe and rope to return the world of the Middle Ages, is preparing a strike at our borders. And we, builders of socialism, who give all our passion and strength to peaceful work, are ready for battle. We know that when the foul foot of the fascist bandits touches our borders, the country will rise up and retaliate with a terrible blow and smash anybody who dares to encroach on its sacred borders." 14

In a series of works on the subjects of defence and patriotism the Soviet people were called upon to rebuff imperialist aggressors and to show vigilance. Such were Arkadi Gaidar's short novel The Military Secret. Nikolai Tikhonov's book of verse The Shadow of the Friend, Konstantin Fedin's novel The Rape of Europe, plays by Konstantin Simonov A Guy from Our Town, Glory by Victor Gusev, The Far One by Alexander Afinogenov, and The Polovchansky Gardens by Leonid Leonov. "The war knocks at the door of the Polovchansky gardens" 15—these words from Leonov's drama could be used as an epigraph to many literary works of that period. The theme of the Soviet people's readiness for action, hatred of the enemy encroaching on their peaceful work, the theme of the Red Army, which was ready at the Party's first call to defend the Motherland, were present in many poetical works ("Oh, My Field" by Victor Gusev, "The Eaglet" by Yakov Shvedov, "The Song of Kakhovka" by Mikhail Svetlov, "Partisan Zheleznyak" by Mikhail Golodny, "Terskaya Marching Song" and "Cavalrymen's Song" by Alexei Surkov, "Tachanka" by Mikhail Ruderman, etc.). "Let us not forget," said Alexei Surkov at the 1st All-Union Congress of Soviet Writers, "that the time is not far off when poems will move from the thick magazines to frontline newspapers and field division sheets." 16

A great educational and mobilising effect was produced not only by openly anti-fascist works exposing nazi crimes such as the film

Professor Mamlock (1936), directed by G. Rappoport and A. Minkin and based on the German writer V. Wolf's play of the same name, but also by historical works of a patriotic nature, of defending the Motherland and the cause of the Revolution. Those were such films as Chapayev by Sergei and Georgi Vasilyev, The Thirteen by Mikhail Romm, The Pilots by Yuli Raizman, We Are from Kronshtadt by Efim Dzigan, In the Far East by A. Maryan, Shchors by Alexander Dovzhenko; the plays The Soldiers by B. Romashov (staged at the Maly Theatre and Red Army Theatre), The Man with the Rifle by Nikolai Pogodin (the Vakhtangov and Yakub Kolas theatres), The Loss of the Squadron by Alexander Korneichuk (Ivan Franko Theatre), The Optimistic Tragedy by Vsevolod Vishnevsky (Moscow Chamber Theatre); paintings by Soviet battle-painters Mitrofan Grekov, Mikhail Avilov, Sergei Malyutin and Nikolai Samokish; political caricatures and posters by Kukryniksy, Dmitri Moor, Boris Efimov, S. Semyonov, Yuli Ganf and others.

When the nazis were preparing their congress in 1935, Hitler's press screamed about the achievements of the Third Reich, resorting to blatant lies and misinforming the reader in every conceivable way. In answer, Soviet artists and publicists told the truth about the real situation in Germany.

Music was also ideologically charged, particularly songs by composers Alexander Alexandrov, the Pokrass brothers, Mikhail Blanter, Konstantin Listov, Zinovi Kompaneyets, Sigizmund Kats ("In the Battle for the Motherland", "The Cavalrymen's Song", "If War Comes Tomorrow", "Three Tank-Drivers", "Katyusha", "Tachanka", "Kakhovka", "Once under an Old Oak Tree", etc.). Much was done by the Red Army Song and Dance Company to educate the troops in a spirit of patriotism.

The summer of 1936 saw the first open armed clash with fascism in Spain: on July 18 General Franco staged a rebellion against the Republic; soon it was followed by the German-Italian intervention in support of the rebels, turning the country into a proving ground for a new world war. The Western powers chose to condone the aggression, hoping the war would bypass them. However, the Spanish tragedy heralded the beginning of a worldwide nightmare of war. When a truly revolutionary war of liberation began on the far side of the Pyrenees, a powerful solidarity movement with the Spanish Republic spread throughout the world.

The valiant effort of the Spanish anti-fascists was supported by internationalist action in the name of humanism and peace of the finest representatives of the cultural and artistic world, including Soviet notables. Suffice it to recall such works as Spain, Spain!, Steeled in Spain, No pasarán!, Spain in My Heart, Spanish Diary, Salud, Spain!. Those were only a few of the well-known works created by J-R. Bloch and Ehrenburg, Sinclair and Pablo Neruda, Koltsov and Afinogenov and other authors. Republican Spain left a deep imprint

on their lives. Hungarian Mate Zalka once again left his manuscripts and donned his uniform, the Spanish tragedy occupied the minds of the Greek Kostas Varnalis, the Rumanians Ion Marin Sadoveanu and V. Roman; and Miroslav Krleža, V. Čokič, R. Čolakovic of Yugoslavia. Driven by their sense of civic duty Ernest Hemingway, Theodore Dreiser, Albert R. Williams, Dorothy Parker, Langston Hughes, Joseph North and other progressives from the USA travelled to Spain to aid the anti-fascists. Prior to writing his immortal Reportage with One's Neck in a Noose the young Czech Julius Fučik resolutely joined the anti-fascist authors who had raised their voices against the insurgents and interventionists. Among those who sided with the Spanish people there were also mere youths, setting out on their careers. One of them was the future Vice-President of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences Academician N. Todorov.

Many international democratic organisations also denounced the fascist aggression against the Spanish Republic: the Association of Writers, the Committee to Combat Imperialist War and Fascism, the Conference of European Youth, etc. The appeal of the International Association of Writers for the defence of freedom in Spain, issued on October 9, 1936, was signed by Ehrenburg and Koltsov (USSR), Fischer (Denmark), Machado and Bergamin (Spain), Viollis (France) and other representatives of many national cultures. A major act of the progressive movement of solidarity with the Spanish people and for expanding the united peace front was the World Peace Congress held in Brussels and the Youth Anti-War Congress convened in Geneva in early September 1936. The Soviet Union was represented at the Brussels Congress by Nikolai Shvernik, Alexandra Artyukhina and G. Smolyansky (of trade unions), E. Varyash (of cooperatives), and the foremost men of science and culture: Academician Ivan Gubkin, writers Mikhail Sholokhov and Alexei Tolstoy.

Ilya Ehrenburg and Mikhail Koltsov participated in all major events of the anti-fascist and anti-war movement, international congresses, including the Congress of Writers for Defence of Culture. Their internationalist duty brought them to fighting Spain: Ehrenburg was a special correspondent of Soviet Radio and central press, while Koltsov, having relinquished his work as an editor in Pravda and Ogonyok, sent reports from the besieged republic. Both writers became active soldiers of the anti-fascist front. Ehrenburg raised money for a squadron of Republican Spain's nascent aviation, and Koltsov fought in its regular army and helped to evacuate many cultural workers from besieged Madrid. Reports by Ehrenburg, Koltsov and the Komsomolskaya pravda correspondent O.Savich (often from the Republicans' trenches) were listened to by the entire Soviet people and their essays were printed in many newspapers. The Soviet correspondents' articles were permeated with the common thought that the battle was not only for a new, free Spain, that war was threatening the whole of mankind.

In the summer of 1937, Spain hosted the 2nd International Congress of Writers for Defence of Culture. Delegates from 28 countries gathered there. They were comrades-in-arms of the Republicans who gathered to discuss the duty of writers and cultural figures of the whole world at that ominous time. The Soviet delegation, consisting of Alexei Tolstoy, Vsevolod Vishnevsky, Ilya Ehrenburg, Agnia Barto, Ivan Mikitenko, Alexander Fadeyev, Victor Fink, Vladimir Stavsky, F. Kelyin, was headed by Mikhail Koltsov. The Congress opened in Valencia on July 4, 1937, in the half-destroyed Municipal Council building.

Sessions were held in Valencia on July 5 and 10, in Madrid on July 6 and 8, and in Barcelona on July 11-12; the Congress closed in Paris on July 15-17. Those were the days when Germany and Italy launched open intervention against the Spanish Republic. During a meeting in Madrid a delegation of soldiers from the front came into the hall and announced that Brunete had been freed. "Indescribable rejoicing followed," 17 wrote Koltsov in his diary. "The orchestra played the Internationale."

The delegates condemned fascism as encroachment on the humanitarian gains of human reason. They declared that writers would continue to fight fascism with every available means, primarily with the mighty weapon of literature. This was the opinion of Louis Aragon, Alexei Tolstoy, Nicolas Guillén, Alexander Fadeyev, Ivan Mikitenko, Ilya Ehrenburg and Thomas Mann. The writers visited combat areas. The din of battle and bomb explosions were often heard during sessions of the Congress, too. All the speeches called for quenching the flames of the growing world conflagration, for joining those who fought fascism, which threatened to hurl humanity back to the Middle Ages. Martin Andersen Nexø, Nurdal B. Grieg, Rafael Alberti, André Chamson, Julien Benda, Juan Marinello and members of the Soviet delegation Vladimir Stavsky, Agnia Barto, Vsevolod Vishnevsky and Mikhail Koltsov addressed the appeal both to the Congress and rallies, which gathered thousands in Madrid and other towns. Recalling the heroic deed of Lord Byron, who gave his life for Greece's freedom, Vsevolod Vishnevsky stressed that even at such an ominous time one could feel and understand well the desire of the envoys of many peoples to aid the victim of aggression.

In its Manifesto the 2nd International Congress of Writers proclaimed fascism the worst enemy of culture, which should be defended from destruction without sparing one's talent, strength and energy. Ludwig Renn, a German anti-fascist writer, left his combat unit only for the duration of the Congress. The speakers, who came to the Congress from the frontline, were many. One of them was Mikhail Koltsov, whose *Spanish Diary* became a chronicle of the national revolutionary war. His courage and fearlessness earned him the respect of the Republicans and soldiers of international brigades.

Soviet films actively fought for the just cause of the Spanish Republic, against international fascism: Battleship Potyomkin by Sergei Eizenstein, Mother by Vsevolod Pudovkin, Chapayev by Georgi and Sergei Vasilyev, We Are from Kronshtadt by Efim Dzigan (script by Vsevolod Vishnevsky), Deputy of the Baltic by Alexander Zarkhi and Iosif Kheifits, and other films about the history of the Revolution, as well as documentaries on life in the Soviet Union, enjoyed enormous popularity in the Republic. "All the men and officers of the Republican Army saw Chapayev," wrote Mikhail Koltsov in his diary. Chapayev was one of the favourite heroes of the Spanish Republic. A battalion of the 13th International Brigade was named after him. We Are from Kronshtadt, which was screened almost simultaneously—in the autumn of 1936—in the Soviet Union and Spain, was a tremendous success. The battalion named "Sailors from Kronshtadt" fought on the most difficult part of the front. When the film was shown in the Madrid Monumental cinema on October 20, 1936, the General Secretary of the Spanish Communist Party J. Diaz spoke on the "Lessons of the Kronshtadt Sailors" calling upon all the Republicans to be organised, vigilant, ready for any emergency and fearless like the "Red defenders of Petrograd". 18 Invaluable documentary shots were made in Spain by a noted Soviet director and cinema publicist Roman Karmen and cameraman Boris Makaseyev. Those moving films were seen by workers of Republican Spain and the Soviet people.

Representatives of other arts of the first socialist state also fought against fascism together with the Spanish people. Soviet plays always enjoyed success in the Republic's theatres. The Optimistic Tragedy based on Vsevolod Vishnevsky's drama excited particular interest. The tragedy enacted on stage was especially close to the Spanish audience, the courageous inhabitants of Madrid, and particularly to its defenders. The play was produced in the Theatre of Arts and Propaganda in October 1937 by director M. T. León. Vsevolov Vishnevsky sent a message of greetings to the actors and spectators on the first night of The Optimistic Tragedy in Spanish capital.

Soviet battle-painters, masters of political cartoons and drawings worked side by side with Spanish anti-fascist artists, contributing to their common task of educating the masses and boosting the Republicans' morale. Giant posters hung on Madrid walls in those days, reading: "What the people of Petrograd showed to the White Guards in 1919, Madrid will show to the rebel Franco." 19

The Western powers' condoning of the German-Italian aggression against the Spanish Republic obviously turned Hitler's head. Having occupied Austria, he sent up to 30 thousand troops to the Spanish front. In view of the Wehrmacht's invasion of Austria, the Soviet Union reiterated its appeal to Western countries to organise without delay a rebuff to the instigators of a new world war. ²⁰ But those proposals were also dismissed by the "appeasers".

Admiration for the heroic resistance of the Spanish Republicans, and, at the same time, bitterness caused by the fascist victories permeated speeches by world personalities at rallies and meetings held on the International Anti-War Day of August 1, 1938. Their solidarity with the Spanish Republicans was engraved on the memory of the Spanish people and in the chronicle of progressive mankind. "For the strategists, politicians, and historians everything will be clear: we have lost the war," said a prominent Spanish writer Antonio Machado to Ilya Ehrenburg. "But in human terms, I don't know, perhaps we have won." ²¹ His words contained historical optimism about man's victory, the inevitable triumph of a just cause, and sacrifices that were not made in vain.

The Western powers' policy of condoning the aggression helped Franco's insurgents and the fascist interventionists to strangle the Spanish Republic after 32 months of heroic resistance. Munich deal happened not long before it was destroyed. One of its architects was Neville Chamberlain, who personified the unseemly attitude—it is not our business to get into the Spanish fire. In Koltsov's phrase, that was a policy of "dig in and don't breathe". Another Western politician, Léon Blum, who regarded warnings about a close and btural outcome as communist propaganda, confessed that he shed tears of happiness and experienced the greatest relief when he learned of the Munich deal. The nations, including the French, had to pay dearly for that "great relief" of Munich.

War was knocking at every door in Europe. The Munich Agreement was hardly a year old when it broke out. The Western powers had opened the sluice-gates, flooding Europe with war as a

result of their policy of non-interference.

Today progressive mankind continues the battle for peace and security of the nations. That is why the experience of the 1930s, which witnessed a powerful peace movement of progressive intellectuals, is so topical. Long before fascist Germany attacked this country, Soviet literature, science and arts prepared the people for repulsing the enemy, and actively participated in the world anti-war and anti-fascist movement. In their mortal confrontation with Hitler's aggressors, the Soviet people were helped by the moral staunchness which Soviet cultural workers had helped to form and assert.

A profound understanding of today's key issues, a belief in the triumph of reason and justice permeate the creative and social activity of Soviet artistic community. Soviet culture with its anti-war thrust never tires of reminding people of the lessons provided by the movement of the world's progressive intellectuals for peace, of the untold sacrifices of our own and other nations in this struggle. Today, Soviet intellectuals still answer Gorky's question: "Who Are You With, Masters of Culture?" with their humanitarian creative work and intensive public activity. They continue to be standard-bearers of peace and irreconcilable fighters against the war-mongers.

NOTES

- ¹ International Solidarity of Workers in the Struggle against Fascism, against the Unleashing of the Second World War. 1933-1937, Moscow, 1961; International Solidarity of Workers in the Struggle for Peace, for Complete Annihilation of Fascism in Europe and Asia. 1938-1945, Moscow, 1962 (both in Russian).
- ² International Congress of Writers for Defence of Culture. Paris, June 1935, edited and prefaced by I. Luppol, Moscow, 1936 (in Russian).
- ³ V. I. Lenin, Collected Works, Moscow, Vol. 31, p. 494.
- ⁴ The Great Patriotic War in Modern Literature, Moscow, 1982, p. 237 (in Russian).
- ⁵ Vestnik imostrannoi literatury, No. 4, 1929.
- ⁶ M. Gorky, Collected Works, Vol. 26, Moscow, 1953, p. 350 (in Russian).
- ⁷ Another name—the World Permanent Committee against Imperialist War—can also be met in literature.
- 8 Pravda, March 1, 1933.
- ⁹ Gorky against Fascism, Moscow, 1942, p. 8 (in Russian).
- 10 International Congress of Writers for Defence of Culture, p. 39.
- 11 G. Dimitrov, Selected Works, Vol. I (1910-1937), Moscow, 1957, p. 377 (in Russian).
- ¹² Znamya, No. 10, 1933, p. 194.
- 13 Yakov Protazanov. A Collection, Moscow, 1957, p. 75 (in Russian).
- 14 N. Ostrovsky, Works, Moscow, 1947, p. 333 (in Russian).
- 15 L. Leonov, Collected Works, Vol. 3, Moscow, 1953, p. 150 (in Russian).
- ¹⁶ The First All-Union Writers' Congress, Verbatim Report, Moscow, 1934, p. 515 (in Russian).
- 17 M. Koltsov, The Spanish Diary, Moscow, 1958, pp. 526-527 (in Russian).
- 18 J. Diaz, Under the Popular Front Banner, Moscow, 1937, pp. 121-125 (in Russian).
- 19 D. Koks, The Defence of Madrid, Moscow, 1937, p. 27 (in Russian).
- ²⁰ Documents of the USSR Foreign Policy, Moscow, 1977, Vol. 21, p. 129 (in Russian).
- ²¹ I. G. Ehrenburg, *Collected Works* in 9 volumes, Vol. 6, Moscow, 1965, p. 663 (in Russian).
- ²² M. Koltsov, The Spanish Diary, p. 546.
- ²³ The History of the Great Patriotic War of the Soviet Union. 1941-1945, Vol. I, Moscow, 1960, p. 190 (in Russian).

The Lay of Igor's Host and the World Heroic Epics

ANDREI ROBINSON

From the Editors: This year will mark the 800th anniversary of *The Lay of Igor's Host*, an outstanding cultural monument of Old Rus. Andrei Robinson, D.Sc.(Philol.), Vice-President of the Soviet Slavic Scholars Committee, has contributed the following article.

Is there anything new to be said about *The Lay of Igor's Host*? It has been the subject of hundreds of studies by prominent scholars in this country and abroad specialising in the letters, language, history, folklore, art, archaeology, palaeography, biology, geography, etc.

However, just as Molière, Shakespeare, Cervantes, Goethe, and Pushkin have been explored endlessly and will continue to be, so the famous mediaeval heroic epics of the peoples of the world will always be re-examined and translated into modern languages.

The new studies of mediaeval masterpieces must meet three conditions. First, they must employ new research methods; second, discover vital new facts; third, renounce popular modernisations of the old works. This approach was applied by the writer to the study of The Lay of Igor's Host relying on the principle of literary-historical typology, which in turn rests on the theory of socio-economic formations: in our case it is the feudal formation. Proceeding from that basis, an attempt has been made to comprehensively study the poetic principles of The Lay within the framework of international typology and national originality, and to bring together exact data of history (genealogy) and astronomy. Below is a summary of the results.

The Lay of Igor's Host, which is dated as early as 1187, is a splendid lyrical epic poem of Old Rus. Belonging to the Russians, Ukrainians and Byelorussians, it ranks among such world mediaeval epics (9th-13th centuries) as Beowulf of the Anglo-Saxons, The Song

of Roland of the French, Edda and the sagas of the Icelanders, Norwegians, Danes, and Swedes; Nibelungenlied of the Germans and Austrians; Cantar de Mio Cid of the Spaniards, The Knight in the Tiger Skin of the Georgians; Jangariad and Geseriad of many Asian peoples; Heike Monogatari of the Japanese, etc. The Lay has long been universally acknowledged. Marx made some important remarks on it in a letter to Engels written in 1856: "The essence of the poem is a call to the princes for unity just before the Mongolian invasion", "The whole Lay is heroic-Christian in character, although pagan elements are still markedly in evidence."

After the vast early feudal state in Russia split into a multitude (about 15) independent or largely independent principalities, Kiev ceased to be the capital. But it still remained a big and wealthy city, for which Russian princes warred with one another, often enlisting the help of relatives and allies, i.e., the Polovtsian (Kuman) khans. In 1180 Prince Svyatoslav Vsevolodich, with the aid of his cousin Igor and the Polovtsian khans Konchak, Kobyaka, and others, ascended the throne in Kiev. In 1185 (April 23-May 10) Prince Igor of Novgorod-Seversky with his son Vladimir, brother Vsevolod and nephew Svyatoslav Olgovich attacked his southern neighbours, the Polovtsi. Igor's small army was defeated and the four princes were taken prisoner. The battle took place beyond the boundaries of Russian land.

The defeat of the rear guard of Emperor Charlemagne at the hands of the Basques in the Valley of Roncesvalles (778) was also an insignificant event. But the nature of epics is such that even minor conflicts may provide the subject of remarkable songs extolling feats (chansons de geste) among which rank The Lay of Igor's Host and The Song of Roland.

Igor's defeat made little difference to the fortunes of the Russian land. However, the author's impassioned patriotic appeal "To avenge the Russian Land, and the wounds of Igor!" lived through the centuries and with time acquired ever greater significance.

Why did Igor's campaign, undertaken unbeknownst to Svyatoslav, ill-prepared and unsuccessful, attract such keen interest among contemporaries (it provided the subject of *The Lay* and of two detailed accounts in chronicles)? After all, major Russian princes had waged some big and successful battles against the Polovtsi but these were accorded scant attention. There must have been something about it (other than Igor's failure) that shook the imagination of contemporaries. To my mind, the solar eclipse which occurred at the time of the campaign (May 1, 1185) could have been such a fact. Igor's boyars "hung their heads" and called it "an ill omen". That expressed the religious ideology of the Middle Ages.

Prince Oleg Svyatoslavich of Chernigov and Tmutorokan and his grandson Igor are referred to in the poem as descendants of the pagan sun god, Dazhbog, whose mythological family tree (Egyptian-

Greek-Slavic) was described in a chronicle in Oleg's lifetime. Many ancient and occasionally modern monarchs have traced their lineage to the Sun: among its sons were the Egyptian pharaohs, Indian monarchs, Chinese emperors, Japanese mikados, the Inca kings (in Peru), etc. At that time the history of peoples was conceived as the history of ruling dynasties. The question suggests itself: perhaps Igor, too, had some "solar" analogies in his family and it was not only a rhetorical flourish that led the author of The Lay to describe Oleg and Igor as the descendants of Dazhbog? I have restored the genealogical table of Igor's ancestors from chronicles and superimposed it on an astronomical table of solar eclipses that covered the southern Russian territory in the 11th-12th centuries. It turned out that in 110 years preceding Igor's campaign, 12 of his ancestors and relatives, including five Kievan Grand Princes, died or were killed at about the time of solar eclipses. For example, Grand Prince Syyatopolk, who is mentioned in The Lay, died on the 29th day after the eclipse in 1113, and the chronicler says that "the eclipse was a portent of Syyatopolk's death". Prince Oleg, the grandfather of Igor. glorified in The Lay, died on the 10th day after the full solar eclipse of 1115. And Igor began his battle with the Polovtsi on the 10th day after an eclipse. The history of other Russian princely families in the 11th-12th centuries has no comparable coincidences of this kind.

That is why, when an eclipse occurred during Igor's campaign, many were inclined to believe that he would lose and that the princes (Oleg's grandsons and great grandsons) would die. However, all the four princes returned safely home. According to the notions of feudal society, Igor's valour consisted in his challenging the "fate" of his family: although he lost the battle, he overcame the Sun (as an ancient pagan deity or as a sign of Christian providence), i.e., he won in the end. Igor returned, having strengthened the alliance by becoming related to Khan Konchak. All these circumstances conspired to create a unique situation that made Igor's campaign the subject of *The Lay* and the chronicles.

The facts discovered helped to reveal and explain the solar symbols in *The Lay*. Images of the Sun run through the entire poem (which is unparalleled in other Old Russian writings). They propel the narrative and determine its poetics of symbols. All these facts taken together prove the authenticity of *The Lay*. It is known that some Russian and foreign scholars, beginning with 1812, have regarded *The Lay* as an 18th-century fake. But the Sun-oriented symbolism of *The Lay* and the circumstances of the "fate" of Igor's clan prove that the poet was close to his heroes, while an imagined faker of the 18th century could have neither known nor invented anything of the kind.

At the beginning of the poem the Sun threatens the hero: Igor "glanced up at the bright sun and saw that from it with darkness his warriors were covered". At the end of the poem a joyous image is

introduced to show that no tragedy had occurred: "The sun shines in the sky: Prince Igor is on Russian soil." The epics of many peoples associate joy with the Sun. For example, Cantar de Mio Cid has these words on the eve of the battle: "The Sun rose, Oh, Heaven, how wonderful!" The Song of Roland says: "It was a clear day and the sun was shining brightly." But nowhere is the narrative contained within such a symbolic "solar" frame as is the case with The Lay.

In The Lay the Sun influences the hero's life like a pagan deity, although the Russian princes had been Christians for 200 years. Igor "rode out in the champaign. The sun blocks his way with darkness". The chronicles describing Igor's campaign portray the solar eclipse in Christian terms. Igor saw the Sun "which was like the sickle moon" and said: God's omen. Yaroslavna, Igor's wife, addresses the Sun as "the Lord". "Bright and thrice-bright Sun! To all you are warm and comely. Why spread, Lord, your scorching rays on my husband's warriors?" In The Song of Roland Charlemagne cannot appeal directly to the Sun. He prays to God to stop the movement of the sun to give time for his warriors to finish the battle with the Moors. In The Lay four princes (who are Dazhbog's grandsons) allegorically turn before the battle into little suns against a symbolic landscape: "Black clouds come from the sea: they want to cover the four suns." In Georgia, which had a 700-year-old tradition of Christianity, such symbols appear only as metaphors. Rustaveli in his The Knight in the Tiger Skin describes a gathering of the heroes Avt'handil, Tariel, and P'ridon in these words: "It seemed as if two suns and a moon were united there."

In The Lay, as in many other epics, the lyrical element takes on a feminine image. In The Song of Roland the Moorish Queen, a pagan (although the Moors were really Moslems), climbs a tower where she waits for her husband Marcilius, vanquished by Charlemagne. In The Lay, Yaroslavna mounts a fortress wall and addresses a pagan supplication for aid to her "three lords"—the Wind, Dnieper, and the Sun. The "magic" of womanly love saves the hero, helping Igor to escape from captivity.

Along with the Sun, the heroes in *The Lay* are challenged by celestial forces (night, storm, thunder and lightning) and terrestrial creatures (wolves, foxes, and eagles); plants are saddened for warriors (trees, grass and flowers); birds help Igor (magpies, crows, ravens, daws, woodpeckers, and nightingales). The heroes in epic situations are often likened to animals and birds: the Russians—Boyan, Igor, Vseslav and the Polovtsi—Konchak, Gzak, and Vlur—move like wolves. Boyan also hovers like "an eagle", Igor flies "like a falcon", and bounds "like an ermine". Thus, the characters are shown to be in unity with the Universe.

The prospect now opens for determining the place and significance of *The Lay* in the system of archetypes of metaphoric thinking. I have singled out the terms "Sun-gold-fire-light-darkness" forming a

set of symbols. The ancient Greeks, Scandinavians and the Incas believed that the earth's gold came from the Sun and silver from the Moon. Gold, therefore, was thought to be capable of emitting fire and light. But the divine Sun was often "devoured" by magic wolves or dragons. The alternation of "light" and "darkness" came to be perceived as the struggle between "good" and "evil": the symbols

passed from pagan mythologies into monotheistic legends.

This set of symbols goes through two stages in its historical evolution. The first is marked by universality and it arises in conditions of polytheism (paganism), the gentile primitive system and military democracy. The Sun and the associated symbols are animated. Their universality is long preserved in the archaic epic traditions. For example, the symbolism of gold permeates the entire Universe in which people, heroes and gods are in direct contact (e.g. Beowulf, Edda, Inca legends, etc.). The "heavenly" and "earthly" chambers, dishes, furniture, chesspieces, armour, weapons, horses, beasts, plants, and even emotions (like the tears of the Scandinavian goddess of love) were considered to be made of gold. This was the notion entertained by Europeans. And the traditional epics of the Asians, who retained some elements of paganism until the 19th century. reveal analogous ideas (cf. Geseriad, Jangariad, etc.). In addition to the aforementioned symbols, other typical ones are the golden Universe, the Motherland, water, the steppeland, the road, and even the Polar Star (the Golden Stake).

The second stage of the world epic that sets in with monotheism, feudalism, and the new form of the state limits the use of the above symbols. This can be seen in the Christian epics of Europe in which the hero's behaviour was motivated by serving his God and sovereign. The mythological unity of symbols falls apart, and they become poetic metaphors. The Sun becomes an object of divine providence. Gold can no longer "gleam", it is merely a criterion of value, prestige and beauty. The symbol of "gold" serves to describe the trappings of statehood. For example, Charlemagne in The Song of Roland has a throne of cast gold, a "golden crown", and in Serbian songs Tsar Stepan has a "golden crown". In The Lay Igor seeks "the golden paternal throne". That symbol is also a way of idealising heroes who have "golden" helmets, armour, shields, stirrups, spurs, sword handles, etc. Asian epics are replete with "golden" bows, lassoes, saddles, coats, caps, horseshoes, oats (for the warrior's steed), etc. Even the names of states include that symbol. Among the Zhurdzens there was the Tsin Empire (which means "golden"), and the Mongol-Tartars had their Golden Horde.

The Lay occupied a median between the epics of the East and West, between the first and the second stages of symbolism. It features opposing categories: heroes are "light" (good), and enemies are "darkness" (evil). But they are yet dependent not on the Christian tradition but directly on the Sun. The symbols of

"Sun-gold-fire-light-darkness" no longer merge together, as in mythological epics, but they do become closer. Igor "set foot in the golden stirrup.... The sun blocks his way with darkness". Vsevolod is "darting light from his golden helmet". The latter image is widespread (Beowulf, Cantar de Mio Cid, etc.).

Let us first turn our attention to the oldest symbols. In an Altaic epic the magic horse Ak-Sary had shining "golden earrings", which lighted its path in the "dark" subterranean world. The golden temple of the "sons of the Sun"—the Inca royal dynasty—contained a shining male figure of the golden Sun with rays and tongues of flame. And his wife, the Moon, was resplendent on a thick block of silver. The same images occur in Russian folk bylinas (epics). Epic heroes are always "light", and their enemies are usually "dark". The hero Badynoko in a Caucasian epic is referred to as "sunlight", Koblandy-Batyr in a Kazakh epic as "radiant". Scald Torgils Fisherman sang to the Norwegian King Harold the Stern (the son-in-law of Yaroslav the Wise): "Hear, the bright prince, Scald's song once again." Chronicles bear out that image historically: the Scandinavians, envoys of Oleg, told the Byzantine emperors (912) that they were signing a treaty on behalf of the great "Russian" Prince and his "bright" Princes.

In The Lay Igor is tautologically described as "bright brightness", for he was portrayed as a "grandson" of a solar deity. In reality Igor, like all the heroes of The Lay, came from the Olgovich family, he was the grandson of Oleg Svyatoslavich and his wife, who was a daughter of the Polovtsian khan, Usulk. Kinship with the Polovtsi grew stronger. Konchak, the most prominent of the Polovtsian princes (khans) of the time, was Igor's ally in the great war on Russian land (1180). Their alliance was further strengthened when the khan gave his daughter in marriage to the imprisoned Igor's son. After the birth of Izyaslav (the grandson of Igor and Konchak), Konchak allowed him and his parents to rejoin Igor in Rus.

Let it be added that after The Lay was written Konchak maintained the peace treaty until Igor's death (1202). However, a heroic epic had little use for the kind of compromises that occurred in reality: it needed contrasts. The "bright" Igor in The Lay is opposed to "the black raven, pagan Kuman". The raven is a negative image in many epics. After the death of Beowulf the Geats expected a Swedish attack to avenge the death: then "warriors shall waken to no harp's bright call but the croak of the dark-black raven".

Symbolised natural phenomena were widely used to characterise the heroes and their enemies. When Igor's warriors attacked the Polovtsi, they "started making planking to plank marshes and miry spots". Before they entered the Polovtsian land they marched in "the champaign". The epic enemies were associated with the "mire". Some three hundred years before and a thousand kilometres to the north-west, the bright Beowulf conquered the terrible Grendel who was "a powerful monster living down in the darkness". And three hundred years after *The Lay* and five thousand kilometres to the south-east, another "grandson" of the Sun (like Igor), the "bright" Khan Geser, vanquished the hideous Sherem-Minat who was a "black devil" and lived in a "black marsh".

Having established the typological similarity of the symbolic set in the heroic epics of many peoples, it is now possible to identify the national originality of *The Lay*. Its first qualitative distinguishing feature is a more organic link between the symbols and the historical content of the events portrayed than that found in other heroic epics.

For example, after being defeated by the Polovtsi, "Igor the Prince has switched from a saddle of gold to a thrall's saddle". The hero seems to have changed his "saddles" of his own free will, i.e., he was himself to blame for the failure of his campaign. "Golden saddles" are featured in Russian bylinas, Ukrainian and Serbian epics, and most of all in the Kazakh epic about the Polovtsi entitled Koblandy-Batyr, but in all these cases they are merely symbols of prestige and beauty.

Unlike many epic poets (excluding the Scalds) the author of The Lay tells of recent events. Accordingly, he tries to bring the symbols of this set closer to other symbols traditionally used to idealise heroes. When Igor's warriors "bore off fair Kuman maidens and, with them, gold" they were acting in a praiseworthy manner, because plundering "infidels" was considered a feat. The fairminded Cid Campeador, attacking the Moors, ordered his knights: "Plunder them mercilessly until Alcala", and when he seized Castejón, "he had Moor women with silver and gold". But unlike these and similar episodes, the author of The Lay sustains the symbol of "gold" throughout his narrative. First Igor seizes the gold of the Polovtsi. Then, having suffered defeat, "he let abundance sink to the bottom of the Kayala, and filled up Kuman rivers with Russian gold". One may recall Hagen from a German Song who sank the gold of the Nibelungen to the bottom of the Rhine. Continuing his narrative, the author of The Lay of Igor's Host reminds us of the symbol. It turns out, after all, that gold is not on the bottom of the river but in the possession of the Goths (the remnants of the Ostrogoths), Christians who lived in the Crimea and on the shores of the Sea of Azov. Before that "the Russian women started to weep" because they would never see their dead husbands again, and "as to gold and silver none at all shall we touch". Now "maids" (not "Kuman maidens") appear: "Gothic fair maids have burst into song on the shore of the blue sea: chinking Russian gold..., the lilt vengeance for Sharokan" (these maids, of course, are supposed to sing in Gothic, which was still spoken in these places in the 15th century). Here again these symbols are combined with feudal-genealogical circumstances. Khan Sharokan attacked Russia and was taken prisoner (in 1068) by Prince Syvatoslav Yaroslavich of Chernigov (Igor's great grandfather). Khan Konchak, Sharokan's grandson, avenged his grandfather's ignominy by seizing Igor. Both Sharokan and Igor survived their captivity. In addition to Gothic maids, the poet invokes other foreigners to create a kind of international court of poet-bards: Germans, Venetians, Greeks, and Moravians (Czechs) who allegedly "sing glory to Svyatoslav but chide Prince Igor".

The heroes' "prophetic dreams", which enable them to anticipate the future, loom large in world epics. In The Song of Roland Charlemagne in Achen sees an alarming dream that presages the death of his nephew Roland. And in The Lay Svyatoslav, sleeping "in his gold-crested tower" in Kiev, suddenly dreamt that he was dead and his body was being laid out for burial. In reality, the dream could not have been because Syvatoslav had learnt about Igor's defeat while in Chernigov, before his return to Kiev. But the poet could not dispense with a "dream" and its interpretation. Svyatoslav's boyars interpret the "dream" through a set of symbols. "Two falcons have flown off the golden paternal throne", but the pagans (the pagan Polovtsi) "entangled" them "in iron meshes", meaning that the heroes were imprisoned. But the poet is not content with this because from the outset the Sun presaged their death by "darkness". That is why in the speech of the boyars the "two falcons" turn into other symbols dramatising the tragic outcome. "Two suns were murked, both crimson pillars were extinguished, and with them both young moons, Oleg and Svyatoslav [Igor's younger sons—A.R.], were veiled with darkness and sank in the sea. On the river Kayala darkness has covered the light". So: after the "gold-crested tower" and the "golden" throne, the heroes (falcons) who are associated with all the positive elements in the symbolic set (Sun-gold-fire-light), died from a single negative component—darkness. They were engulfed by the sea, the traditional symbol of death. Let us recall the Apocalypse in the Scandinavian epic Edda—the Prophecies of Völva: "The sun darkened and the land sinks in the sea". The symbolic cycle is thus complete: Svyatoslav saw his death in his dream, and learnt about the death of his dear nephews in reality. Then Svyatoslav "let fall a golden word mingled with tears". He admonished Igor and Vsevolod: "Early did you begin to ...seek personal glory." Although they had courageous hearts, "not honorably you shed pagan blood.... What is this you have done to my silver hoariness". In the Songs of Geser, his old uncle, the white-haired prince Sargal, also admonishes the young warriors: "They only wanted glory for themselves. They relied on their own prowess. And they did not know the strength of the enemy". Charlemagne, upon learning of the death of Roland, weeps and "tears his grey beard" (in 778 he was aged 36). The "golden word" of Svyatoslav is not without parallels too: such "golden words" are encountered in Greek and Slavic manuscripts, in the titles of written monuments (the Golden Bulla of the Roman emperors and Popes, the Golden Chronicle of

the Mongols, the Golden Shine (sutra) treatise of the Uigurs, and Golden Writing of the Tibetans).

In creating the dream's picture and all the horrors fallen upon the princes, the poet evidently felt that reality was getting in his way. His hero princes were all alive, as everybody knew, and there was actually no need to avenge "Igor's wounds". And when, in true epic style, the grim symbols have thickened beyond any measure, the poet turns to "merriment" which in those days took the form of a feast. In addition to its direct function, the feast was the usual place for performing heroic ballads. At that point in the narrative the boyars (and the poet himself was probably one of them) stopped frightening Svyatoslav. At the end of the narrative the merriment (in honour of Igor, "turbulent Svyatoslavich" and others) assumes an international scale: "Maidens sing on the Danube; their voices weave across the sea to Kiev. Countries rejoice, cities are merry." The Sun no longer threatens, it "shines in the sky". The "sea" is present, too, but the princes do not sink in it. On the contrary, they are all glorified. The impression is conveyed that the warriors are alive and not dead: "Hail, princes and knights...!"

On the whole, it should be said that by combining traditional symbols into poetic pictures, the author of *The Lay* often achieves compelling beauty.

Let us now turn to a quantitative feature of *The Lay*'s style. The short text of the poem is saturated with the above-mentioned symbols to a degree unmatched in larger epics. For example, "gold" is mentioned in *The Lay* 22 times (more than any other object), "fire" two times, "light" 13 times, and "darkness" six times. The fact that references to "light" outnumber those to "darkness" helps to lend a cheerful note to *The Lay*. The main symbol, "the Sun", is mentioned seven times, and the name of the magic bard Boyan is also mentioned seven times. He was probably the grandfather or great-grandfather of the author, who himself points to the symbolism of the number Seven: "In the seventh age of Troyan [apparently a pagan deity—A.R.] Vseslav [a Polovtsian prince—A.R.] cast lots." Seven became a magical number of the world, constantly reappearing in heroic epics.

Mediaeval banners, always bearing important feudal symbols, were also incorporated in this set together with the "Sun-gold-fire" and even "the number seven". The epic Khan Jangar had a special banner that "outshone seven bright suns". Turkic Khagans (military leaders) had their banners decorated with a golden wolf's head (the wolf is a totem for the Polovtsi too, the wolf symbol is significant in The Lay and the grandfather of the heroes, Oleg, like his ancestors, bore the title of Khagan). The Song of Roland mentions Charlemagne's banner (aurea flamma—the golden flame), which Charlemagne apparently did not have. But it was made the state banner of France in the 11th century by the Capetians.

The phenomenal saturation of *The Lay* with "Sun-gold-fire-light-darkness" symbols and their organic links with other traditional symbols and, most important, with the actual content of the epic, is attributable, in my opinion, to the chronological association of the "fate" of Igor and his ancestors with solar eclipses, an important intellectual and psychological factor in their life and in that of all their contemporaries. It is not, however, only these historical and ideological facts that determine the national originality of *The Lay*. Heroic epics of every people have distinct national traits. Yet it is more difficult to define the national peculiarities than to identify and compare the recurring international typological features that can ultimately be traced to the general laws of mediaeval feudalism.

Since all epics idealise their heroes, a comparative study of specific works in which that phenomenon is manifested provides the basis for revealing the peculiarities of every epic. The ways of idealising heroes often varied, because they were linked with the national mythological and folklore traditions, cultural and aesthetic notions, the diversity and historical distance between the objects in time, and poetic differences (plot, conflict, composition, the system of images, stylistic devices, etc.). They were also linked with different social and personal circumstances of the poets and their individual talents.

In this respect, too, there are new vistas opening for the study of The Lay. It derived from the old Eastern Slavic culture of princes and their warriors, in particular, the poetic tradition (the heritage of Boyan and folklore) that was in touch with the traditions of the East and West. The Lay, then, poetically reflected the age-old ties, cultural relations, and poetic symbols of the Russians and the Polovtsi (Kumans). All the Olgovich princes (the heroes of The Lay) were of mixed Russian-Kuman origin, like many of their warriors and probably the author himself. Those were the relations between the Slavs and the Turks, the Europeans and the Asians.

In the Middle Ages the border between Europe and Asia ran along the Don River (mentioned in *The Lay* 15 times). "Igor leads Donward his warriors" and says: "I ...wish... to drink a helmetful of the Don." His grandfather Vladimir Monomakh once drank of the Don waters "from his golden helmet". The border situation was characteristic of Eurasian epics. The *Nibelungenlied* and *Edda* reworked the legends of Germanic-Hun (also European-Asian) relations. Cantar de Mio Cid portrays the events of Reconquista in the south-west of Europe which also represented European-Asian (and African) ties. Another Christian-European "border" poem, The Knight in the Tiger Skin, devoted to Princess Tamara of Georgia by her courtier Shota of Rustavi, took its source from Asian (Arab-Indian, etc.) legends.

In the light of these historical circumstances and epic situations it is possible to attempt a definition of the various ways of idealising

heroes in the great epics. The Knight in the Tiger Skin is already dominated by a pre-Renaissance world perception. The poem unfolds in a conventional Oriental setting, almost outside time and space. Here, nothing can prevent absolute idealisation of the heroes based on epic fantasy. The mental life of the heroes has already acquired intrinsic value, independent of Christian, Moslem or Buddhist ethics. The author advocates "just" monarchism. However, by setting his story in another land he can create the image of an Arab soldier Avt'handil, who breaks his vassal's pledge. Avt'handil leaves his country against the will of his Tsar, and this does not incur the poet's sensure. The hero wants to go to Indian Prince Tariel to whom he is irresistibly drawn (a modification of ancient inexorable "fate"). It would have been impossible to challenge feudal relations and religious commands (the struggle for "faith") if the story were set in Georgian or any other national environment. But here the concept of "friendship" rules out that of "betrayal". The hero's behaviour is prompted by feelings (love, friendship, enmity). The poem asserts the spiritual freedom of the individual (in the upper crust of the aristocracy) and his alleged independence of political reality. The poet sets up and resolves all conflicts in a way favourable for the heroes. An atmosphere of harmony and optimism pervades

Just as in the Georgian poem an imaginary situation liberated the heroes from the prescripts of Christianity, so the Nibelungenlied liberates its heroes from the same demands by making them dependent on "fate". The heroes are idealised precisely because they despise fate. Their piety is superficial. The "heavenly" forces do not yet help them, while their feudal obligations are already in force. Hagen treacherously kills Siegfried during a hunt (a typical situation) not out of vengeance or greed but because of his vassal's duty to King Gunther and his wife Brünnhild. Three kings of Burgundy set out to pay a visit to Etzel, the king of the Huns, although they know beforehand that their sister Kriemhild (the widow of Siegfried and wife of Etzel) will take revenge and their death is inevitable. A tragic perception of the world prevails because ancient German legends were couched in the court forms of advanced mediaevalism. The plot of the Nibelungenlied is addressed to old times (5th century) but in its mood it is a protest against the feudal discord of its own time.

The Lay of Igor's Host, The Song of Roland, and Cantar de Mio Cid occupy a median position between the above-named poems in terms of the methods used to idealise their heroes. The Song of Roland contains fewer survivals of mythology than the Nibelungenlied, but has many more references to facts of contemporary feudal culture. The Song of Roland is also set in the past (8th century), but it is treated not as a legend but as an account of historical (in many respects pseudo-historical) events that take the form of frank inventions. The ideals of French chivalry predominate; even the enemies (Emir

Baligant and others) are portrayed as noble knights. The Song of Roland includes Christian notions. Dying on the battlefield with glory, Roland "raised his gauntlet to Heaven and it was received by Archangel Gabriel". Although the main hero dies, The Song of Roland is not tragic. On the contrary, the idealisation of the heroes is based on the typical optimism of Christian knights. That is why The Song of Roland is crowned with a spectacular (fantastic) Christian victory. Charlemagne, and his multinational European armies defeat the Arabs and the Moors who are regarded as "pagans" (although they were actually Moslems).

Cantar de Mio Cid is linked with reality to a much greater degree because the Spanish Reconquista, which occurred in the lifetime of the poet (mid-12th century), made it impossible to treat the plot along the sweeping epic lines of The Song of Roland, let alone the Nibelungenlied. The author of Cid, like the author of The Lay of Igor's Host cherished the ideas of patriotic unity because the wars of Spanish feudal lords against the Arabs were attended by internecine strife among the Spanish and the struggle of the Russian feudal lords against the Polovtsi by internecine fighting among Russians. As portrayed by the poet, Cid Campeador (soldier) is a champion of Spain's interests. The prototype of Cid, an aristocrat named Ruy Díaz de Bivar (d. 1099) served the kings of Castille and Moslem rulers. But Cantar de Mio Cid portrays him as a patriot devoted to King Alfonso (although the king had done him ill). He is a knight of humble origin who conquers dishonest aristocrats (the Infantas of Carrion, etc.). The idealisation of the hero is based on his portrayal as a noble personality (though occasionally inclined to compromise) in keeping with the Spanish notions of "duty" and "honour". Cantar de Mio Cid is neither tragic nor optimistic, being dominated by a spirit of stern justice. It portrayed events no more than half a century old. Accordingly, it included descriptions of feudal and even urban life, with epic colours added.

The Lay of Igor's Host is not as epically "descriptive", its story line is not as elaborate, and the "personal theme" is restricted, although the author's involvement is most tangible. Judged in terms of poetic stages, The Lay goes beyond the stage of short epic songs, such as the German Hildebrandslied (8th century) or the British The Finn Fragment (10th century), and the songs of Norse and Icelandic scalds. While retaining certain features of that genre (brevity, circumscribed plot, and metaphoric saturation), The Lay of Igor's Host comes close to songs extolling feats as a full-fledged mediaeval (notably French) genre.

The originality of The Lay, however, lies in its important Old Russian features. Compared to The Song of Roland and Cantar de Mio Cid, the religious motives of Christians fighting pagans are rather muted. The heroes are Christians but epic idealisation links them firmly with their Slavic pagan past and even their origin (from

Dazhbog). Igor and his allies make war against a related tribe of Polovtsi (most of whom were shamanists). But they fight not so much for their "faith" as "in the name of the Russian land" "against the Kuman land".

As distinct from the other poems described here, The Lay of Igor's Host is more related to reality, being about heroes whom the poet knew. The author was addressing his contemporaries, and that limited his epic fantasy on the one hand, while on the other enabling him to compare his own time with the past epoch of his heroes' ancestors. The poet contrasted the great "grandfathers" with their puny "grandsons", using as a reference point in his narrative the time span "from Vladimir of yore to nowadays Igor". In other words, he recalled Igor's great-great-great grandfather St. Vladimir (who adopted Christianity in 988) and his son "old Yaroslav", and in their person the vast and powerful Rus of the late 9th-11th centuries which could be compared to the empire of Charlemagne (late 8th-mid 9th centuries), as glorified, for example, in The Song of Roland. However, both empires split into warring kingdoms and principalities which was characteristic of early feudalism. The poet makes a poignant and epically exaggerated statement when he says that "now, brothers, a cheerless time has set in.... The strife of the princes against the pagans [the Polovtsi—A. P.] has come to an end, for brother says to brother: 'This is mine, and that is mine too', and the princes have begun to say of what is small: 'This is big'." The internecine wars between the princes far exceeded their wars against the Polovtsi in scale and frequency. Besides, the princes often invited Polovtsian khans to join them in attacks on other Russian principalities. The Lay of Igor's Host, then, voices a general critical assessment of feudal politics in a manner which is unusual for the epic tradition.

Unlike the chivalrous poems (The Song of Roland, Nibelungenlied, etc.), The Lay of Igor's Host is marked by a feudal "democratism". The poet's ideals are close to the injunctions of Vladimir Monomakh, mentioned in The Lay, to take care of the peasants, and defend them against the Polovtsi. The poet admires the valour of Oleg (Igor's grandfather) in his just struggle against Monomakh for the throne of Chernigov but he writes with sorrow of the consequences of these wars. "Then across the Russian land, seldom did ploughmen shout (hup-hup to their horses) but often did ravens croak as they divided among themselves the cadavers." He admires Vsevolod as an ideal warrior: "You stand your ground, you spurt arrows at warriors, you clang on helmets with swords of steel. Wherever Bull bounds, ... there lie pagan Kuman heads." For all that the poet says, through the mouth of Svyatoslav, that Igor and Vsevolod did not shed pagan blood "honorably". Thus, reality (the campaign's failure and feuds between princes) accounts for the poet's mixed feelings towards his heroes. The author used the vehicle of poetry to speak out against the feudal fragmentation of Rus, which lends prominence to the patriotic ideas in *The Lay*. Poetic idealisation of reality coupled with a critical attitude, as manifested in the lyrical epic, *The Lay of Igor's Host*, proved, in the long run, to be one of the enduring features of Russian literature.

The epics of the Middle Ages express vital aspects of the culture of the time which revealed many similarities in different peoples. Lofty poetry, patriotic ideals, the unfading beauty of such epics play an important role in drawing nations closer together and fostering their cultural exchanges. Belonging to a common type of poetic creation, the heroic epic of each people revealed original traits and in this way every people contributed to the treasury of world poetry through its artistic activity. The study of *The Lay of Igor's Host* on the basis of a literary-historical typology has helped to reveal the national originality of this splendid poem and place it prominently among the world's heroic epics.

NOTE

¹ K. Marx, F. Engels, Werke, Berlin, 1973, Vol. 29, p. 23.

Overcoming Language Barriers in Modern Society

YURI MARCHUK

A characteristic feature of modern society is the dramatic growth in the volume of communication, most of which is of scientific and technological nature. Despite the fact that an "information explosion" does not apparently occur since society copes with processing immense amounts of information at an acceptable rate, language barriers significantly slow, down the spreading of scientific and technological data and with it scientific and technical progress.¹

In my view, the term "barrier" is not particularly apt in describing the type of language obstacles we usually deal with. A "barrier" is something rigid, to be overcome in a leap or bound. In actual fact, language obstacles may be diffuse: a specialist may understand the general meaning of a text in a completely unfamiliar language from the formulas occurring in the text, inserts in a familiar language, etc. The overcoming of such a barrier has little in common with a bound. Still, the word has gained general currency in the literature on science and technology and may be viewed as a term, albeit not entirely suitable, perhaps.

During the recent one hundred years, reading and writing have been learnt by many millions of people. Apart from the four or five generally accepted languages, which have for centuries monopolised information exchange in the areas of literature, diplomacy, science, religion and commerce, a great number of natural languages previously restricted to everyday communication have now come to the fore. These new languages (new in the sense of their late emergence on the world scene) now justifiably lay claim to the status of a full-fledged means of communication in the areas listed above, and others. The evolution of the status of national languages is

brought about by radical changes in the modern way of life, such as the spreading of the means of written communication due to reduction in the cost of producing and distributing printed matter, wide use of audio-visual systems in daily life, the development of telecommunications spanning vast distances, reduction of the volume of mental work through mounting computerisation, the falling cost and increased speed of transportation which enhances direct physical contacts between speakers of different languages. New independent states have emerged; the world community has been joined by population groups that previously existed in isolation; political, economic and cultural life is further internationalised. All of this undoubtedly has an impact on the language situation in the world.

Three main modes of overcoming language barriers seem to be theoretically possible: the devising and spreading of a unified universal language—at least for communication in the scientific and technological areas; the study of foreign languages by the main body of communicants; and translation from one natural language into others.

Throughout the centuries, the dream of achieving general well-being and fraternity through a single common language compelled scholars to work on an artificial language common to all mankind.² All artificial languages are divided into two classes. The first class includes philosophical languages, claiming to be flawless logical classifications of the entire sum of human knowledge. Languages of the second class are simplified copies of natural languages. They assume no classification of concepts or categories other than those contained in the natural languages. The limitations of the first class of artificial languages were clearly shown in the book of P. Denisov. The theory of a "unified language of science" must be examined with caution: the only apparent possibility here is the formalisation of some clearly well-established exact sciences. Decreeing the whole of mankind to switch to some common language of the Esperanto type is also in the realm of utopia, of course. That does not mean at all that attempts to create relatively universal artificial languages of science and technology in separate areas are meaningless. On the contrary, the "universal applicability" of information languages to more or less extensive areas of knowledge is becoming a reality, making it possible to solve a number of vital tasks of information retrieval. But these attempts do little to help to overcome the natural language barriers.

The Earth is at present inhabited by some 4,500 million people speaking 3,000 languages, with 1.4 million speakers per language on the average. However, some languages are more widespread as a means of scientific and technological communication than others. Thus, about 120,000 papers published annually are in English; 60,000, in Russian; 50,000, in German; 30,000, in French, and the same number in Spanish and in Japanese; 10,000 in Italian, and the

same number in Dutch. English is thus more widespread as a means of scientific communication than other languages, although the number of translations from it in the European countries decreases in view of the fact that many scientists and specialists have a command of it and do not need the translations.4 Does it follow that a time will come when English will become the universal language of science, technology and international communication? Those who direct information services reply in the negative. The growth of national self-awareness, the development of young states, and the scientific and technical progress in the whole of the world, not just in the English-speaking countries, will certainly prevent any single natural language, English or any other, from becoming established as a universal means of communication. According to information specialists (see Note 3), the higher the level of a nation's development, the greater the price it is ready to pay for the right to use its own language. For instance, Japanese publications were in the past accompanied by summaries or annotations in English, while recently there have been numerous deviations from that rule. The number of publications in Arabic, Malay, and rare languages is growing; Russian is playing an increasing role in world mass communication, science, technology, commerce, as are the languages of the other countries of the socialist community. The main body of translations at the European Translations Centre in Delft in the Netherlands is made up of translations of scientific and technical texts from Russian, which ranks second in the world for the number of publications.

A single common language holds forth little promise as a means of overcoming the language barrier.

The knowledge of foreign languages is spreading with the advance of civilisation, of science and technology. Various foreign languages are now taught at schools throughout the world. Specialists believe, however, that the knowledge of a foreign language acquired at school is inadequate as a means of communication in that language; it is even inadequate for reading the literature in one's speciality. Knowledge of a foreign language acquired at later stages of education does little to improve the situation. According to the All-Union Translations Centre statistics, the main body of translations in the USSR (more than 60 per cent of the orders) are translations from English into Russian. The increase in the need for translations is also in this area, and in 65 per cent of the cases the material to be translated is articles from journals. That indicates, among other things, that the specialists have an inadequate knowledge of the language after having studied it at school, then at a higher educational establishment, and sometimes subsequently at postgraduate courses. On the whole, foreign languages study can hardly be regarded as an effective means of overcoming language barriers on a mass scale.

At present, the most effective and real means of overcoming language barriers is translation from one natural language into others. Due to changes in the overall language situation under the impact of factors mentioned above, the amount of translation being done has soared: in Europe alone, from 80 to 240 million pages with 250 words per page, are being translated yearly; that means from 20,000 to 60,000 million words annually, costing between 1,500 and 4,800 million dollars. The margin of error is so great because a more precise figure is difficult to give: many translations are done not by professional translators but by secretaries, the specialists themselves, etc., and are therefore not covered by the statistics. The number of professional translators in the world is between 90,000 and 260,000; this naturally does not include the enormous number of non-professional translators.

Processing of intellectual information is becoming a characteristic feature of modern society. Certain theories even refer to modern society as a whole as an information society.⁵ Accordingly, the modelling of information processes is a most important direction of present-day scentific and industrial development. In some authors' view, the main features of the new language situation may be formulated as follows: (1) a world of artificial languages has taken shape in the technological sphere of society; (2) these languages are functioning more and more independently, forming a new means of communication; (3) a process of intense intrastructural and functional development of artificial languages is taking place; (4) the development of artificial languages is accompanied by processes characteristic of the natural languages—differentiation, integration, and interference; (5) there is a tendency towards artificial and natural languages coming closer together; (6) an increasing part of society is actually becoming multilingual, mastering several artificial and natural languages.⁶ All of this is undoubtedly true, and professionalism makes communication in several languages easier. That is why we objected at the beginning of this article to the term "barrier": a programmer, who has no command of his colleague's native language, will still be able to communicate with him on a number of special problems, the barrier between them being not all that impregnable. At the same time, neither ALGOL nor LISP will be able to replace any other language, and even within the framework of a definite topic of conversation some sort of introduction will be needed and an account of some general problems, and that part of the communication can be realised only in a natural language, with or without translation. It may therefore be asserted that naturalartificial multilingualism does not eliminate language barriers. On the contrary, growing professional interests demand a growing number of meetings between speakers of different languages. Specialists come to the conclusion that an increase in the number of translations. satisfying the need for translation, does not decrease the demand but rather leads to its growth. There is no glut on the translation market as the amount of translations grows: on the contrary, the market grows as there is greater demand proportionate to the expansion of communication. The translation market is now growing at the rate of 10 per cent a year.

The extent of the language barrier "separating" the specialist from the literature in the language unfamiliar to him may be quantitatively determined according to the formula:

$$L = S1(1-R1/R) + S2(1-R2/R) + ... S_m(1-Rm/R),$$

where L is the index of the level of the language barrier for a reader or group of readers in a given area of knowledge; m is the number of languages in which publication in the given field appear; S1 is the share of the world literature in the given area published in language 1; R1 is the number of readers in the group that has a knowledge of language 1; R is the number of readers in a group (for each individual reader R=1); R1/R=1 for each known language and 0 for each unknown language. The following is an illustration of a computation for an English-speaking chemist without any knowledge of foreign languages: S English (e.g., according to the bibliography in the Chemical Abstracts journal)=0.47; S Russian=0.27; S Japanese=0.08; S French=0.03; S other German = 0.09: languages=0.06. Using the formula, we shall obtain L=0.53 for an individual reader. That means that 53 per cent of the literature in his field remain inaccessible to such a reader.7

The nature of translations has basically changed: earlier, mostly religious, diplomatic and literary texts used to be translated, while now commercial translations occupy first place in the European countries (35 per cent), followed by scientific and technical translations (21 and 20 per cent respectively), legal translations (9 per cent), etc. Literary translations in the modern world amount to a mere 0.3 per cent. Scientific and technical translation is assuming special importance. A thematic analysis of the scientific and technical literature translated might provide data of great interest for informatics, the science of science, and the sociology of culture. During the recent 20 years, according to the Index Translationum, the amount of translated literature has doubled, and the share of scientific and technical books in the overall translations list has grown significantly. In Japan, that share is 20.5 per cent, in the USSR, 19.2 per cent, in Latin America, more than 17 per cent, in the Federal Republic of Germany, 11.2 per cent, in the Scandinavian countries, 10.6 per cent, and in Burma, 0.5 per cent. The share of "pure science" is gradually increasing in the overall number of translated scientific books: in 1956-1961 it was 36 per cent, and in 1974-1977. 45 per cent. This growth is most marked in the USSR (from 29 to 65 per cent), Rumania (from 21 to 51 per cent), and Turkey (from 6 to

29 per cent). In some countries the correlation is changing in favour of the applied sciences (The Netherlands, Denmark, Yugoslavia, etc.).8

These are the main factors necessitating the search for means of overcoming language barriers. Since translation from one natural language to another is, as has been stated, the main means of this kind, the problem of translation automation is becoming very urgent.

The relation between the theory of translation and linguistics is a very interesting one. On the one hand, translation is a particular case of man's language activity, and occupies a rather modest place in it as such. Translation problems are only a small part of the problem range of linguistics. On the other hand, any translation, both in theory and especially in practice, has substantive links with the creative, generative aspects of language activity, and any theoretical consideration of the principal aspects of translation necessarily involves the cardinal problems of the science of language. For this reason, attempts to model translation, to make it amenable for automatic synthesis, attempts to compile corresponding algorithms for computer realisation, are an important part of the problem of the artificial intellect. The author holds the view that precisely the problem of translation automation made a great impact on theoretical linguistics, bringing into being structural and mathematical methods of studying language and speech and facilitating the development of a number of modern concepts in the humanities: those of model, quantitative and theoretical-information measurements, grammar and mechanism in the language, etc.

Years of research and numerous experiments have shown that fully automated high-quality machine translation will not be feasible in the foreseeable future. In most cases, modern machine translation is computer translation, in which man takes an obligatory part in editing the text before, during, and after the translation. This situation is due to the fact that the computer is incapable of solving all the difficulties of translation, for some of them cannot be overcome even by man, thus lying outside the limits of fully adequate translation. Translation can therefore be presented as consisting of two kinds of activity: the routine activity of selecting lexical translation equivalents, the search for such equivalents in dictionaries or encyclopaedias, rendering the constructions that have wellestablished equivalents in the target language, etc.; and the creative activity of the human translator solving tasks of a more difficult nature or making decisions about the situations where translation is impossible at all, searching for ways of conveying meaning where the target language has no analogues for the concepts expressed in the source language, etc. The first or routine part of the work may be handed over to the computer, but the second or creative part will have to be done by man. The difficulty of machine translation in the full sense of the term, when all the tasks of translation are entrusted to the computer, is that the latter makes no distinction between the easy and difficult in translating and is equally ready to tackle anything, which results in a great number of errors.

Dividing work between computer and man is no easy task; it requires construction of special algorithms of analysis and translation intended to achieve precisely this division of labour. Most suited to this task are, as has now become clear, algorithms of machine translation based on programmes for selecting translation equivalents for the given pair of languages, i.e., algorithms in which the surface structures are one of the principal objects of modelling and the deeper structures are only involved when surface ambiguity cannot be resolved by the surface structure-related methods.

Machine translation is now in the fourth decade of its development. The first period, from the very first works to about the mid-1960s, was marked by great enthusiasm and exaggeration of the actual possibilities of computers and their role in the analysis of textual information for the purposes of translation. The 1960s saw a diminishing interest in the problem: at that time, the fundamental nature of the difficulties disclosed by the first attempts at machine translation became clear. In the 1970s and at present, a sober appraisal of the possibilities and prospects of automatic translation prevails. The emergence of new instruments for carrying on a dialogue between man and computer extended the possibilities of practical application of systems of machine translation. A characteristic feature of the present-day situation in this field is the merging of the problems of machine translation with those of using automatic dictionaries in translation and editing. The reason for this merging is precisely the fact that the modern means of processing intellectual information—computers of varying capacity, with pushbutton keyboards convenient for human operation (permitting the feeding and processing of textual information at different rates)—introduce automation "from lower down", i.e., from simple linguistic tasks, so that the solution of difficult tasks is made easier.

The quality of modern machine translation where it is done solely by the computer is not very high. The purely automatic product of modern algorithms and systems of machine translation cannot be compared with the results of the translator who performs complex operations, sometimes without being aware of them, in search for the equivalents of language entities of different levels under complex conditions. The economic effectiveness of the systems depends on their orientation towards certain flows of translated information. Where the texts in the source language are not too complicated in structure and lexical composition, superficial editing may produce satisfactory results, while texts that are difficult to translate demand so much editing that the advantages of automation may be nullified. Introduction of machine translation in the practice of information processing therefore involves differentiation of translation flows and

is most effective in specialised organisations carrying amounts of translation sufficient for selection of the suitable flows. The All-Union Centre for the Translation of Scientific and Technical Literature and Documents may serve as an example.

For several years, the Centre has made use of a system of English-Russian machine translation AMTER (automated machine translation from English into Russian) translating texts on computer technology and programming (with post-editing). The demand for translations is great enough, and some materials, such as packages of applied programmes, are accepted by clients practically without post-editing; at the same time other materials (which are sometimes also programme descriptions, only written in another genre, e.g., as a magazine article) require substantial post-editing, so that the translation essentially becomes man-made rather than machine-made. In the process, a sort of psychological barrier also has to be overcome: the client will agree to wait for a good, well-edited translation rather than accept a speedily produced but stylistically poor machine product, despite the fact that he may be badly in need of information.

Thus machine translation at the present stage is largely a technological problem. However, the tasks of improving the machine product in the process of translation, and of increasing the effectiveness of the synthetic linguistic models applied, acquire even greater significance. Importantly, translation modelling must reflect the gradual nature of revealing the properties of language structure by machine. Translation is not a process in which only one task and one set of initial parameters is given. As translation is carried out, the units of translation are specified and a whole series of tasks solved. The linguistic features of modelling for constructing systems of machine translation may be described as follows: translation properly speaking is modelled, and not indexing, summary writing or any other transitions to "the language of meaning"; underlying models of translation must be principles for optimising the search for translation equivalents for the given pair of languages. In view of this, of special significance are methods of contrastive linguistics, comparing modes of expression in different languages; man's operations in translation deserve special attention in this respect. Although the machine need not copy these operations, their analysis may result in the production of effective algorithms. Of special significance is the context. Only from the context can the computer obtain information needed for choosing the translation equivalent correctly. Data on the frequency of occurrence of units in language and speech are most important.¹⁰ The theory of sublanguages, to which Soviet linguists have made major contributions, assumes special prominence. Practically all the actually operative systems of automatic text processing are in one way or another suited to the specificity of the sublanguages of science, technology, or other special types of communication. Statistical, information and linguostatistical models of

sublanguages are designed and computer-implemented within the framework of synthetic linguistic modelling.¹¹

We believe that in improving linguistic models of translation the focus must now be on the technology of processing language data in terms of translation proper and not of abstract descriptions theoretically suitable for most diverse purposes. This inductive approach does not at all rule out fundamental theories and the need for following the deductive path as far as formalisation of the most important, semantic area of language functioning is concerned. We now witness extensive efforts to create systems of artificial intellect, robotronics, and generally mechanisms that would be able to reproduce mechanical operations usually carried out by man. It should be noted that discussion of artificial intellect now touches only on those aspects of man's activity which are very remote as yet from the complicated actions of the type involved in language activity in, say, translation from one natural language to another, deduction of complex syllogisms (as distinct from elementary ones), using knowledge of the external world, encyclopaedic knowledge, etc. The semantics of modern artificial intellect systems is now restricted to elementary mechanical operations in a definite sequence or to producing answers within a fairly limited object domain. Significantly, even in this case researchers feel the need for studying human operations.¹² The semantics of translation from one natural language to another is much more complicated, deep, and more intimately connected with a great number of factors that have to be taken into account. For this reason, translation of utterances into the "language" of meaning", which would be the starting point for arriving at utterances in another language, has not been practically implemented by anyone on a scale sufficient for making such a semantic language the basis of constructing a machine translation system. A universal "language of meaning" as a mediator between two or more natural languages was never devised, although work on it was done for many years within the framework of machine translation research by various groups, including those that had adequate computer equipment and means of data processing.

It may be assumed that the next step in machine translation will be made through combining deductive studies in the formalisation of the semantics of natural languages with the results of essentially inductive development of applied synthetic models. These models will be oriented towards optimising the search for translation equivalents in specific pairs of languages taking into account the specificity of the sublanguages of scientific and technical communication. Effective systems of machine translation and translation with the aid of computers will undoubtedly become one of the most powerful and probably predominant means of overcoming the growing language barriers.

The problem of overcoming language barriers has three aspects: social, technological (in information languages) and the aspect of communication with computers in a natural or artificial language the overcoming of the differences between natural and artificial languages. 18 We have dwelt sufficiently on the problem of universality of language communication in the social sphere. Prospects for a unified common language for all of mankind are extremely nebulous, and translation remains the principal means of implementing communication. The technological sphere poses its own class of tasks in the way of unimpeded communication. It includes the problem of ensuring the compatibility of information systems using different information languages, designing unified languages for conveying homogeneous information, the development of communicative formats for data presentation, working out new (if possible, universal) programming languages and packages of applied programmes. The whole range of technological tasks is centred on a single problem, that of developing effective means of communication between man and computer. Finally, the third aspect of the problem, overcoming the differences between natural and artificial languages, is the central link in the overall problem of algorithmic processing of semantic information presented in a natural language (in the form of texts). That is the task of communication with the computer.

From the very inception of computer technology, a special language was used in communicating with computers. Originally, only a small group of the initiated had command of that language, it was entirely a machine language consisting of commands, reflecting more or less directly the operations of the computer memory and the processor. As the computers were improved, further development of languages for communication with them brought these languages closer to those more familiar to man. The very first programming languages, such as ALGOL, FORTRAN, LISP, and others, have a vocabulary and a syntax, becoming similar to human languages, although the similarity is not too obvious. The circle of computer users extended accordingly, with programmers ceasing to be a caste. The present-day variety of computers of different capacity, the appearance of new input-output mechanisms, of the dialogue operation mode, etc., make computers available to a broad range of consumers, from researchers in narrow fields to housewives. The languages of communication with computers are increasingly becoming similar to natural languages. It becomes clear in the process that no artificial language can compare with natural language in power and ability to express a content concisely. All the inconsistencies, illogicalities, redundancies and other "negative" features pointed out at the beginning of studies in the formalisation of natural languages proved in fact to be best adapted to expressing a content in a given national world picture. The endeavours of programmers and designers of new computer technology are now aimed at bringing programming languages maximally close to the natural one and making computers solve labour-consuming tedious tasks so that man need not waste effort in mastering an unfamiliar mode of coding and communication.

It is easy to see that the role of natural language in this aspect of overcoming language barriers does not decrease either. Undoubtedly, artificial-natural multilingualism lowers the threshold of the language barrier without eliminating it completely. That means that the instruments of automation and mechanisation of translation from one natural language to another will hardly cease to be vital in this kind of multilingual situation. The future will show what elements of the present-day language situation will do most to facilitate the overcoming of these barriers. It is clear now, however, that translation still remains the most effective and widespread means of solving these tasks.

NOTES

- ¹ The present-day information situation is described in detail in the monograph Linguistic Problems of Algorithmic Processing of Communications, Moscow, 1983 (in Russian).
- ² P. N. Denisov, The Principles of Language Modelling, Moscow, 1965 (in Russian).
- ³ Better Translation for Better Communication: a Survey of the Translation Market, Present and Future, Prepared for the Commission of the European Communities, Oxford etc., 1983.
- ⁴ Third European Congress on Information Systems and Networks. Overcoming the Language Barrier, Luxembourg, 3-6 May, 1977, London-Paris-New York, 1978.
- ⁵ Better Translation for Better Communication....
- ⁶ Linguistic Problems of Algorithmic Processing of Communications, p. 47.
- ⁷ Better Translation for Better Communication....
- ⁸ A. Ya. Shaikevich, "Scientific and Technical Translation in the Modern World: a Statistical Analysis", Improving the Quality of Translation of Scientific and Technical Literature and Documents. An All-Union Conference, Moscow, 1982, pp. 23-25 (in Russian).
- ⁹ Yu. N. Marchuk, Problems of Machine Translation, Moscow, 1983 (in Russian); J. W. Hutchins, "The Evolution of Machine Translation Systems", Practical Experience of Machine Translation, Ed. by V. Lawson, Amsterdam-New York-Oxford, pp. 21-37; J. Slocum, Machine Translation: Its History, Current Status, and Future Prospects, Linguistic Research Center, University of Texas, Working Paper LRC-84-3, Austin, May 1984, p. 29.
- ¹⁰ R. G. Kotov, Yu. N. Marchuk, L. L. Nelyubin, "Machine Translation in the Early 1980s", Voprosy yazykoznaniya, No. 1, 1983, pp. 31-38.
- 11 L. L. Nelyubin, Translation and Applied Linguistics, Moscow, 1983.
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Following the Path Charted in Helsinki

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August 1, 1985 will mark the tenth anniversary since the successful completion of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. This date will be made even more prominent by the afterglow of the 40th anniversary of the Victory over nazy Germany. This is certainly an accidental coincidence but, upon reflection, it would seem that history itself, having seen to it that the anniversary of the great Victory would be followed by the jubilee of the Helsinki Conference, warns that peace won in the fiercest and bloodiest of wars must be preserved and consolidated through the concerted efforts of states.

The peoples' craving for peace in Europe has taken the form of specified obligations of participant states in the European Conference, which are set down in an outstanding document of our times—its Final Act. For Europeans or at least for their overwhelming majority, this is not merely some 30,000 words or a speculative construction which, though skilfully built by diplomats, is divorced from life, but a condensed expression of the experience accumulated by the peoples and the conclusions drawn by them from their bitter past experience.

An international instrument gains or loses in importance, depending on the extent to which it serves the people and a historical stage. The final document of the European Conference reflects the aspirations, which constitute the historical essence of the present epoch, i.e., to ward off the threat of nuclear holocaust and to ensure a turn towards cooperation among states with different social systems. Today, ten years following its conclusion at the highest political level, the Final Act has retained all its urgency and relevance.

Naturally, the process of European cooperation, just like any other major social phenomenon, has been developing unevenly. It has experienced not only accomplishments and success. The restructuring of international relations launched in Helsinki is a complex and long process, and the opposition of the forces, which rely on tensions and take full advantage of the people's fears of war, is most strenuous. Comparing the international situation in which the Helsinki Conference was prepared and held with the present state of affairs would make it quite obvious that many things in the world have assumed a disquieting state. This could not but affect European affairs as well. The path traversed since the Helsinki meeting has zigzaged at times, with occasional reverses. Yet, it can be safely said that the positive elements outweigh the others. The significance of the Helsinki accords as a factor of peace and cooperation has increased rather than diminished. What would the situation be today, had those accords not existed?

Indeed, how feeble and clumsy are the attempts made in the West to interpret the Final Act as if it boiled down merely to what they call "humanitarian issues", which are distorted beyond all recognition. The document, representing a judiciously weighed balance of the interests of 35 states, is treated as a home book to be interpreted as anyone sees fit. This is a glaring example of unceremoniousness or plain ignorance, if not worse.

It is worth recalling time and again the true gist of the Helsinki accords.

First and foremost, they constitute an international legal form of consolidating the territorial and political results of the Second World War in Europe. The European states, together with the United States and Canada, have declared in no uncertain terms that they regard as inviolable all one another's frontiers, as well as the frontiers of all the states of the continent. They have pledged to refrain now and in the future from encroaching on these frontiers and from any demand for, or act of, seizure and usurpation of part or all of the territory of any participating state.

The fact is that over the last decade territorial issues have been practically removed from the agenda of European politics. This is the first time in the continent's history, abounding in inter-state strife and quarrels over nearly every square kilometre of land and wars of annihilation waged in order to re-carve the political map, that not a single European state—we repeat the word "state" for we do not mean certain revanchist groups which, far from disappearing, have of late galvanised their activities—has put forward any territorial claims. This is something that would have seemed incredible just a few decades ago. Today, this is the most important result of the implementation of the Final Act provisions.

Not daring to come out openly against the sacred principle of the inviolability of frontiers, its opponents resort to camouflage. The United States and certain other NATO countries would not be averse to raising anew and keeping afloat the question of a so-called

"division of Europe", which means promoting the revanchist sentiments which are being ignited once again all over the FRG, without giving second thought to whether the edifice of European security, which already bears the heavy load of new US first-strike missile deployment, would be able to sustain the added burden of territorial claims. But a mighty barrier stands in their way, for in the wake of the Helsinki Conference the European peoples have come to regard any attempt, however feeble, to destroy the existing frontiers in Europe as unlawful and eroding the mutually established foundations of stability and peace on the continent. No one can disregard the international legal formalisation of the new geographical and political realities in Europe.

Also topical is another major feature of the Final Act, namely the establishment of principles guiding relations between the participating states or, if we were to lay bare, so to speak, still another political stratum, the assertion of peaceful coexistence as the only possible basis of relations between countries with different social systems.

Since its very inception our country has been proposing peaceful coexistence with the states of the capitalist system. Yet, it has taken the West many a decade to learn to pronounce these words and even longer to have the principles underlying this concept embodied in an international document—the Final Act. Naturally, no one ever expected this to be tantamount to automatic compliance with the new provision of international life by those accustomed to thinking in terms of different norms. To all appearances, they still have to master the art of equal cooperation. Yet, this by no means detracts from the importance of this fundamental document. It was not simple to write it with 35 pens and to formulate ten principles guiding inter-state relations. The ensuing ten years have proved that they fully retain their significance. Furthermore, the signatories to the Final Act deemed it imperative to emphasise the import of the principles contained therein at the Madrid Meeting in September 1983. This is yet another confirmation of the fact that they have no alternative. Indeed, what can be contrasted to peaceful coexistence apart from the odious and deadly ideas of confrontation? It can be safely said that the principles of inter-state relations, as they appear in the Final Act, will be put into practice on an ever growing scale.

The Final Act is not simply a code of rules but also a programme of cooperation between states in a wide range of fields, from economics, science and technology to cultural exchanges, information, and human contacts. From this viewpoint, it has proved its vitality. Suffice it to recall numerous agreements, which render more specific the Helsinki Accords on a bilateral and multilateral basis, long-term programmes of cooperation in the spheres of trade, economy, industry, science and technology and culture, industrial cooperation between Europe's Eastern and Western countries,

congresses and symposiums, and many other examples of weaving a cloth of business cooperation in Europe.

Certainly, facts of a different nature are also known, namely attempts to apply restrictions to trade with the USSR and other socialist states, to erect artificial barriers in the way of scientific exchange, and to resort to economic "sanctions" and even economic blockade. It would be unrealistic to think that the aggravation of the military and political situation in Europe would somehow bypass the business sphere. But the development of broad economic, scientific, technical and other contacts over the last decade, in our view, outweighs the damage inflicted by the opponents of the Final Act. It is also noteworthy that the provisions of the document have been successfully used to show the untenability of the subversive actions by the US and NATO.

The broad range of problems relating to the present and future of Europe, encompassed by the Final Act, is also demonstrated by such a distinctive feature of the document as a comprehensive approach to the solution of tasks, which life itself has put to the countries of the continent. Since questions of cooperation in the fields covered by the "third basket" have sharpened, or, to be more exact, have been deliberately sharpened by certain quarters in the West, it would be proper to underline once again that the Final Act was not, and could not have been, conceived as a "psychological warfare" tool. On the contrary, it stresses that cooperation of states in humanitarian and other fields should take place in full respect for the principles guiding relations between the participating states and, consequently, in respect for the right of each state to determine its laws and regulations. Some people prefer to "forget" this clause which is of basic importance. This is quite understandable for it cuts the ground from under the feet of those who try to speculate on the false thesis that allegedly, having signed the Final Act, the USSR and other socialist countries must fulfil all demands, which certain quarters in the West may take it into their heads to press. Humanitarian matters have been and will be dealt with on the basis of the domestic legislation of each sovereign state, and the Final Act fully confirms this, unequivocally rejecting claims to interference in others' affairs.

The time that has elapsed since the Helsinki Conference has been a period of large-scale developments in numerous spheres of cultural and intellectual activities. Here, too, the selfsame trend prevails, namely the use of the Final Act in the interests of cooperation between peoples and the promotion of mutual feelings of affinity and respect.

Even a brief analysis of the provisions of the Final Act and its real content shows that it has sufficient reserves of both flexibility and durability. Its gist is not to incite disputes or enmity among states but to bring them closer together for the sake of stronger security and cooperation in Europe.

The Soviet Union's policy is aimed at asserting in international practice the norms and principles agreed upon in Helsinki, and at advancing European cooperation. As is known, the obligations stemming from the Final Act are of a voluntary nature. Nonetheless, the Soviet Union has deemed it necessary to reflect in full in its Constitution all the ten principles which, according to the decision taken by the states participating in the Conference, would be guiding their mutual relations. A wide range of legislative acts have been adopted, building upon the constitutional provisions. Some of these govern the activities in the USSR of representatives of foreign firms, banks and organisations, the entry to and exit from the USSR of Soviet and foreign citizens; others contain practical arrangements to improve working conditions of foreign journalists; still others establish additional guarantees for the real implementation of civil rights and liberties, and others still are aimed at ensuring effective environmental protection. In brief, the most substantial clauses of the Helsinki document have been incorporated in the foundations of the Soviet Union's legal system. Strictly abiding by the letter and spirit of the Helsinki Accords, the USSR has been doing its utmost to ensure that developments in Europe proceed along the road of peace, security and detente. This is the objective of numerous Soviet initiatives and the practical actions of our country on the European and international scene.

The policies of the USSR and its allies which are true adherents of the Final Act, appear particularly constructive against the backdrop of the unsightly actions of the US and NATO. US nuclear missile deployment in several West European countries exposes Washington's utter indifference to the fate of the European nations and, for that matter, to the Helsinki Accords which are outside the mainstream of the US Administration's current policy aimed at achieving military superiority. The same is also true of their NATO partners, especially those which have yielded their territory for American missile deployment.

Does this mean a violation of the Final Act? Yes, most certainly; the same as the repeated violations, which have occurred and continue to occur, of another crucial international instrument—the UN Charter. Yet, this should not belittle the significance of the fact that such documents do exist and on the whole bear fruit.

There is another side to the matter. The common sense of West Europeans makes itself felt, being manifested in mass protests and demonstrations against US missile deployment in Europe and against nuclear insanity in general. The struggle originating at the grass roots is turning into a phenomenon encompassing the entire European continent, which corresponds to the scale of the Final Act itself. Such sentiments of the widest general public cannot but be felt at the government levels as well. Is not this the root cause for the fact that no single country participating in the European Conference has divested itself of the obligations assumed under the Final Act? On the contrary, all of them, so to speak, keep swearing by Helsinki, although some of this smacks of Pharisaism.

As to bilateral relations between states, the Helsinki Accords have been, on the whole, implemented successfully. Virtually all the European states have participated in the negotiation and conclusion of appropriate agreements in various fields. As a result, today inter-state contacts in Europe rest on a contractual basis, more ramified and solid by far than before Helsinki. It has weathered the buffetting winds of "counterdetente". The practice of political contacts has taken root. It is noteworthy that the mechanisms of East-West consultations which are very sensitive to the fluctuations in the international atmosphere have proved quite viable. Those who would study the diplomatic history of recent years would face a tough job, indeed, for post-Helsinki negotiations, meetings and discussions between the leaders of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries and the heads of West European states or governments and leaders of major political parties probably outnumber similar arrangements held in the past over many decades. Political contacts reflect the desire of the European states with different social and economic systems to promote mutually advantageous cooperation and their interest in ensuring the stable functioning of the system of bilateral ties.

The Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe has inaugurated the multilateral process of European cooperation. It is worth recalling in a chronological order at least some of the forums held since:

- the meeting of experts from 35 states (in Montreux in the autumn of 1978 and in Athens in the spring of 1984) with a view to continuing the examination and elaboration of a generally acceptable method for the peaceful settlement of conflicts;
- the meeting of experts in Valetta, capital of Malta, in February-March 1979 and the Venice seminar in October 1984 on economic, scientific and cultural cooperation in the Mediterranean:
- the Geneva meeting on the protection of the environment, held in the autumn of 1979 on the initiative of the Soviet Union, which adopted decisions to continue joint research work, exchange information and organise permanent monitoring of the state of European atmosphere;

- the European scientific forum in Hamburg in February-March 1980, which made it possible to hold the first exchange of views in the European history on matters related to the development of scientific cooperation on the continental scale;
- the meeting of experts in Ottawa in May 1984 on matters concerning respect for human rights and basic freedoms in all their aspects, as embodied in the Final Act.

The meeting of experts held in Budapest in November 1984 has initiated preparations for a European cultural forum which would take place there in the autumn of this year.

Finally, a meeting of experts will be convened in April 1986 in Bern to discuss issues of developing human contacts.

It would be proper to dwell separately on the meetings of representatives of participating states of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, the first of which was held in Belgrade from October 1977 to March 1978.

The difference in scale between the Helsinki Conference and the Belgrade Meeting has in the course of time become evident to everyone. Yet originally the United States and some of its NATO allies clearly intended to impose a different concept of the European process and railroading a concluding document in Belgrade which would compete with the Final Act. The gist of their approach was to try and weed out everything but the so-called humanitarian issues from European affairs. At the Belgrade Meeting the United States and its closest NATO allies did not advance a single constructive proposal on European security, military detente, or enhancing the effectiveness of the principles of inter-state relationships; the relevant initiatives of the socialist countries were rejected. Yet, even the remaining set of issues of a humanitarian nature was not, according to NATO's plans, to come up for businesslike discussions. The United States, where the principle of genuine social equality is often treated as a sacrilege, where racism is actually encouraged by law, and international terrorism ranks as state policy, attempted to pass itself off as a human rights champion. The rationale was self-evident, namely to turn confrontation between states with different social systems into a dominating tendency at European forums and to make the latter an arena for interfering in the domestic affairs of the socialist states.

Yet all the efforts to use the Belgrade Meeting to change the direction opened in Helsinki were in vain. It was through the efforts of the Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist community that the key issues of security and cooperation were invariably in the focus of discussion. The same thrust was maintained by such proposals as the USSR initiative to conclude a treaty on the non-first-use of nuclear weapons among the participating states of

the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe; the draft document submitted by the GDR on halting the activities of fascist, revanchist and neo-nazi organisations; and Poland's proposal providing for a commitment to speed up the lifting of trade barriers and not to erect new ones.

The attempt to emasculate the Final Act did not win support of some Western, primarily neutral and non-aligned, states either. In the concluding document the participating countries reiterated the historic significance of the European Conference and their readiness to comply with all the provisions of the Final Act unilaterally, bilaterally and multilaterally. The stake on confrontation failed miserably. Plans to stop the all-European process miscarried. Another meeting to be held in Madrid was scheduled, although it should be acknowledged that otherwise the final document was somewhat proforma by nature.

The "first bell", which sounded in Belgrade, bespeaking a course at confrontation with the Soviet Union which was increasingly asserted in Washington's policies, heralded another clash between the two conflicting trends in the European process. And this is what actually happened at the Madrid Meeting, held from November 1980 to September 1983.

The international political climate in which the conference was conducted, complex as it was, experienced a sharp turn for the worse following the Reagan Administration's coming to power in the United States. Ever greater became the need to secure positive results and to ensure that even in an aggravated international situation the Final Act continue to work in favour of peace in Europe. Tensions would have further heightened, had the all-European process suffered a defeat at Madrid or even merely marked time, as at Belgrade. The Soviet Union and other socialist countries were striving for weighty agreements on all the sections of the Final Act. As to the United States, not only did it display no interest in scoring a success in Madrid but openly gave to understand that a concluding document of the most general and formal nature or even a statement about failure to come to terms would suit it admirably. The main objective for the US was to take advantage of the Madrid forum to conduct propaganda against the socialist states. The obstructionist course, whose implementation involved, albeit in a varying degree, other NATO countries as well, resulted in the Meeting quite often facing an impasse and being protracted.

And yet it succeeded in coming to a constructive conclusion. This demonstrated once again that detente was deeply rooted in Europe, that the all-European process was alive and that the course of the Soviet Union and other socialist states at supporting it was fully justified. The declaration made at the 26th CPSU Congress about the readiness of the USSR to extend confidence-building measures to all

the European part of its territory, provided Western states would correspondingly enlarge the confidence-building measures zone too, unravelled one of the most intricate knots. Another major step was made in May 1983 when the USSR suggested that the Madrid Meeting be concluded by adopting a draft of the Concluding Document as it was tabled by neutral and non-aligned countries, although it did not take into account certain weighty observations of the Soviet side. That bold initiative, unexpected for the United States, placed the latter in isolation and forced it, in the final analysis, to agree to mutually acceptable accords.

The Concluding Document adopted in Madrid, which was worked out in the course of a lengthy diplomatic struggle and the harmonisation of the viewpoints of 35 states, represents a balance of interests and bears an imprint of give-and-take. The main thing, however, is that it rests on the solid principles of inter-state relations, enshrined in the Final Act, and proclaims a need fully to respect and apply those principles and to enhance their efficiency by all possible means, both legislative and practical.

The participating states reiterated their interests in further developing trade and industrial cooperation and expressed their intention to make efforts with a view to scaling down or removing obstacles of all kinds in this sphere, which is very relevant in the light of the well-known actions of the US and NATO. In spite of the sharp confrontation on humanitarian matters, the recommendations which were finally adopted can promote cultural exchange, wider dissemination of information, and contacts among individuals, organisations and enterprises.

Among the substantial and useful recommendations agreed upon in Madrid, there are accords which stand out for their significance. They have been united in a separate section of the Concluding Document and represent an extensive decision to convene a conference on strengthening confidence and security and disarmament in Europe.

The adoption of that decision required considerable and lengthy efforts.

As is generally known, soon after the Helsinki Conference the member-states of the Warsaw Treaty Organisation promulgated the idea of holding such a conference. France's proposal to convene a disarmament conference went along the same lines. Following the start of the Madrid Meeting, similar proposals were put forward by a number of states. This signified that the idea of a European forum on the above-mentioned issues was carving its way, although differences in the approaches thereto concerned not only the

conference's title but the very concept underlying its convocation and the tasks it was called upon to fulfil.

As far back as during the Helsinki Conference the Soviet Union and other socialist states pointed out the organic linkage between political and military detente and expressed the view that the moves towards political detente in Europe be supplemented with measures conducive to military detente. The Final Act adopted in Helsinki specifically states the complementary nature of the political and military aspects of security. The document contains certain confidence-building measures in the military sphere and provides for their development and expansion, and stresses, at the same time, a need for more sweeping measures which by their scope and by their nature constitute steps towards the ultimate achievement of general and complete disarmament under strict and effective international control, and which should result in strengthening peace and security throughout the world. That was a point of departure for the future conference.

The negotiation of the tasks for or, using the diplomatic vernacular, the mandate of the Conference, which would guide its very proceedings, was characterised by an exceptionally stiff struggle going on till the very last days of the Madrid Meeting. The agreement reached set out the aim of the Conference, namely to undertake, in stages, new effective and concrete actions designed to make progress in strengthening confidence and security and in achieving disarmament. It was stipulated that the first stage of the conference would be devoted to working out a set of mutually complementary confidence and security-building measures aimed at reducing military confrontation in Europe.

On January 17, 1984, the foreign ministers of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe participating states opened the Conference in Stockholm. Several rounds have been held since then at which the initial positions of the sides have been identified, respective proposals have been tabled, and the essence of the disagreements has been pinpointed.

The USSR's principled approach to solving issues facing the Stockholm Conference has been set forth in the statements made by Soviet leaders who stressed that the task of the Conference is to build confidence among nations both in the political and the military spheres. The Soviet Union will strive to ensure that in Stockholm the Helsinki Final Act be further practically developed in new important accords. The road to success lies through the combination of large-scale moves of a political and international legal nature with military-technical measures.

What are the specific proposals of the Soviet Union?

— The nuclear-weapon states participating in the Conference should assume, as it has been done by the USSR, an obligation not to

be the first to use such weapons. Such an obligation could be assumed unilaterally by every nuclear-weapon state or become a subject-matter of an appropriately formalised international accord.

- To conclude a treaty on the mutual non-use of military force and maintenance of relations of peace. An obligation not to be the first to use military force in general against one another could become a pivotal clause of such a treaty.
- States should assume an obligation concerning the nonincrease and reduction of military spending in terms of percentage points or in absolute terms.
- To strive to rid Europe of chemical weapons and, in the first place, to ensure the non-stationing of those weapons where there are no such weapons at present.
- To reach agreement on the establishment of nuclear-free zones in various parts of Europe.
- Taking into account the useful experience of the implementation of the confidence-building measures provided for in the Helsinki Final Act, to begin elaborating additional confidence-building measures, more significant in character and broader in scope.

But what has been brought to Stockholm by the United States and other NATO countries? The line followed by Washington and its closest allies at Stockholm reflects the course of the US and NATO at attaining military superiority over the USSR and the Warsaw Treaty countries.

There is a noticeable element of pressure in the very fact that the United States is to be seen at the Conference, because the US Administration which has been trying to portray the Helsinki document as just a few provisions of a humanitarian nature, participates in the European Conference which does not discuss such matters at all and to the idea of which Washington has long been turning a deaf ear. This is not a paradox but a manifestation of the vitality of the process started in Helsinki.

In all likelihood, Americans are thinking along the following lines: since they have to be in Stockholm, they might as well try and use the forum in the interests of the selfsame policy of force and for upsetting the military equilibrium. Hence, a package of measures tabled by NATO countries which include exchanges of annual plans for military activities subject to notification; exchanges of information concerning the structure of ground and air forces, out-of-garrison activities, mobilisation arrangements of states, and the obligatory invitations to observers; the requirement of on-site inspections is also over-emphasised. A common denominator for all those proposals is the idea of the "transparency of military activities" of states within the European region or, speaking in a language easily understood by

all, this means an obsession to ferret out data concerning the armed forces of the USSR and its allies.

Such an approach leaves little room for confidence among states. On the contrary, it can contribute to increasing distrust and suspicion. What's more, since the measures proposed by NATO strategists are meant to be applied to the whole European part of the USSR, while they do not mention a single square inch of US territory, it is quite easy to see what sort of unilateral advantages the United States and NATO would gain through the adoption of their approach.

This is just one aspect of the NATO position. No less indicative is another one, i.e., the proposals submitted by the member-states of the bloc envisage no restraints of military activities and entirely bypass the questions touching upon the very core of the problem of strengthening confidence and security in Europe. In practice, the US and its NATO allies maintain bluntly negative positions on all Soviet proposals of a political nature.

It is true, though, that no one NATO country ventures openly to come out against the principle of the complementary nature of the political and military aspects of security. Instead they have embarked on a course of circumventing the discussion of the urgent political issues raised by the Soviet Union and of trying to draw the participating states into the examination of military-technical measures as interpreted by NATO.

Yet, the Soviet proposals have not been withdrawn from the agenda of European political life. At the Stockholm Conference, too, things are progressively, albeit slowly, moving towards the discussion of large-scale confidence-building measures, which strike a responsive chord all over Europe, including NATO countries.

Accepted was the Finnish proposal to set up two working groups for the concrete discussion of measures to consolidate confidence and security in Europe, both in the political and military spheres on equal footing. The majority of West European states are beginning to show an inclination to participate in a search for a serious agreement on the non-use of force.

The Soviet Union and other socialist countries have been strictly abiding by the mandate for the Stockholm Conference, agreed upon in Madrid, without seeking any unilateral military advantages for themselves. Interested in the Conference's success, they naturally believe that this equally applies to its other participants as well. The main direction for further progress has been tested by the experience of the all-European process, with the Stockholm Conference being its substantial part. According to its mandate, this is the observance of equality of rights, balance and reciprocity, equal respect for the security interests of all the Conference on Security and Cooperation

in Europe participating states. In more specific terms, the question now is that Western countries should remove the artificial barriers obstructing the work of the Conference and take more constructive positions at Stockholm. Such a contribution to the European affairs would be the best confirmation of commitment to the Final Act in connection with the tenth anniversary of its signing.

The Soviet Union and other socialist states are in favour of properly observing the tenth anniversary of the European Conference and ensuring that it bear positive results.

A difficult but fruitful path has been traversed since the Helsinki Conference. Now that so many years have elapsed it is becoming ever more apparent that the construction of a new system of international relations in Europe, based on the Helsinki Final Act, is by far more difficult than it seemed in 1975. Most intensely opposed to European cooperation are the forces which have not yet grasped the lessons of the Second World War and the cold war. They have not yet learnt to take into account the realities of the present-day world and are unwilling to realise that the historic dispute between capitalism and socialism cannot be resolved by means of war. This has been once again emphasised by the celebration of the 40th anniversary of the great Victory over fascism. It should be reiterated, however, that the positive accomplishments do outweigh. We have accumulated initial experience, previously unknown in history, of interaction among the states of the continent and of cooperation in various fields on a Europe-wide basis. Concrete results of the implementation by European countries of the Helsinki Accords are easily discernible over a wide range of spheres, from political dialogue, trade, economic and cultural ties to joint scientific research.

The Final Act of the European Conference has proved its vitality. The strength of this outstanding document of today lies in its resting, not on some transient or expedient interests of states but in its expressing the cardinal trend of European development. Reflecting the aspirations and hopes of the overwhelming majority of the continent's population, the ideas enshrined in the Final Act have penetrated the very fabric of the continent's life and have stirred all its strata, so much so that all attempts by the opponents of detente at erasing these ideas from the consciousness of the peoples have proved to be futile. The practice of translating these ideas into reality, notwithstanding all difficulties and complexities, has conclusively shown that detente in Europe is not the elusive Blue Bird of fairy-tales. It can be attained in reality, provided the signatories to the Final Act exert their efforts to this end.

General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee M. Gorbachev said: "We value the successes of detente achieved in the 1970s and are ready to take part in carrying on the process of establishing peaceful, mutually beneficial cooperation between states on the principles of equality, mutual respect and non-interference in internal affairs." A major direction of accomplishing this task has been determined by the path embarked upon in Helsinki.

NOTE

¹ Pravda, March 12, 1985.

Colonial Expansion in the Indian Ocean in the 16th-18th Centuries

KLARA ASHRAFYAN

By the time the first European ships (Portuguese, followed by Dutch, English and French) made their appearance in the Indian Ocean, coasting and foreign trade there had long-standing traditions. Maritime routes between Asian and East African countries, known centuries prior to the Great Geographical Discoveries, became more numerous and bore more traffic in the second half of the 13th and the 14th century. Advances in shipbuilding, arising from the overall progress of the productive forces in the feudal Orient, had switched a considerable part of the intra-Asian trade from land to sea. Maritime trade was also promoted by an accumulation of navigational experience (Vasco da Gama's ships were conducted from Malindi to Calicut on the Malabar Coast of India by famous East African pilots). It amounted, in fact, to a scientific investigation of the Indian Ocean.

The increased significance of Ocean in the Asian maritime trade during the latter half of the 13th century was due also to the fact that the Mongol invasion had deprived the old land routes and many cities, which served as trade centres and trans-shipping points, of their former importance.

Commercial navigation in the region was based on barter until the end of the 15th century. All the countries of the Indian Ocean were equally interested in commodity exchange; that fact guaranteed peaceful navigation ensured also by military balance in the region, since all the countries, notwithstanding their differences in socio-economic development, formed a unified region, in terms of their formational development. The large role India played in maritime trade in the 14th and 15th centuries was due not to her military superiority but rather to her mid-Ocean location: she was the connecting link between the western and north-western coastal

countries and the eastern part and South Sea islands. Indian ports served as trans-shipping points on the far-flung sea lanes. Asian and African merchants were also greatly attracted by India's fabulous riches and abundance of agricultural and manufactured goods.

Thus, peaceful trade in the Indian Ocean in which, besides Indian merchants, Chinese, Javanese and especially Arab traders participated, contributed to the normal functioning of the Oriental countries' economies and to the "natural" course of the historical process.

The picture changed dramatically when Europeans appeared in the Indian Ocean immediately following the discovery of the sea route to India in the late 15th century. It was a signal event of the epoch of the Great Geographical Discoveries caused by the logic of the socio-economic development of the West European countries, then on the threshold of capitalism, and promoted, to a great degree, by the seizure of Constantinople by the Turks in 1453: the latter event had led to a decline of the Levantine trade, stemmed the flow of Asian commodities to Europe and deprived the trading capital of some Western countries of a vital source of accumulation. The search for a sea route to India around Africa, which was crowned with success in 1497, had been undertaken with the hope of establishing direct contacts with Asian countries bypassing Constantinople. The appearance of Europeans in the Indian Ocean turned this area, until then a vast "inland sea" of the Asian-East-African region, into a scene of East-West international contacts, whose nature was determined by the specific features and the development level of economic and social relations in Asia and Europe.

The majority of Oriental countries, including India, the largest in Asia and the Indian Ocean, had developed feudal relations by the turn of the 16th century. Ages of irrigated farming and gardening, perfection and diversification of labour implements and accumulation of practical skills and production experience as well as favourable natural conditions permitting high yields of industrial and food crops, spice plants, fruit, etc., had created a huge economic potential. A substantial increase in population was a sign of the social and economic progress in Asiatic societies in the Middle Ages and, at the same time, a factor for further economic development in conditions of extensive manual production. Even in the period of the Industrial Revolution, marked by the rapid growth of the national wealth in the West and economic decline in the East, their gross national product per capita differed but little in favour of Europe.

A telling indicator of the development level of Asiatic societies at the stage of developed feudalism was the prospering mediaeval town. It was the key element of the socio-economic structure at the stage when handicrafts (in the form of commodity production of economically independent small producers—handicraftsmen) territorially separated from agriculture.

The mediaeval Asian town, as a definite result of the development of productive forces in agriculture and rural handicrafts and of the entire system of feudal socio-economic relations, promoted in its turn their further progress. Urban-concentrated commodity-money and exchange relations influenced the rural economy by stimulating commercial agriculture (cultivation of industrial and sale crops), property and social differentiation in rural communities, the loss by some community members of their rights to land through rent commutation and inflated usurer exploitation. Mining became more prominent in economic life.

In the towns, which were the centres of vast agricultural regions, the handicrafts flourished: shipbuilding not much inferior to the European, widely-famed production of textiles, papermaking, manufacture of leather and leather goods, metalworking and so on. Diversification and specification of crafts caused sporadical emergence of scattered and centralised manufactories, which secured the artisans' bondage to the merchants financing them, thus augmenting the scale of application of hired labour.

The simplest primary form of trading capital activity—that of buying up finished products from small producers—was already widespread in India, even in remote mountainous regions including Kashmir, where merchants purchased fine wool for making the famous Cashmere shawls. A more refined form of making the small producer dependent on trading capital—that of lending money—was limited to regions with more mature commodity-money relations; it led to the impoverishment of artisans and a notable part of the peasantry and to the loss of their economic independence.

By the turn of the 16th century, the Indian Ocean countries, India included, had already fallen behind Europe in their socioeconomic development despite their marked achievements in material and non-material culture, their immense riches and high economic potential. Neither urban development, nor shifts in agrarian relations had resulted in Asiatic societies in the primary accumulation of capital and emergence of capitalism since they lacked the major premise of this process—massive alienation of the basic rural and urban producer from the means of production. Both farmers and handicraftsmen remained owners of the means of production (land or shop respectively). Money and commodities had not become a source of capitalist accumulation, that is, the marketing of products of one's own labour did not lead to capital formation. (There were, naturally, Asian merchants who had great fortunes.) In the 17th and 18th centuries the process of alienation of urban and rural producers from the means of production became more pronounced. However, determined by the conditions and logic of the internal development of Asian countries, this process took place in the conditions of colonial expansion.

The more rapid rate of Western development and the ensuing gap between East and West had become evident already prior to European expansion. It was caused apparently by the relative immobility of Eastern social structures resting on more ancient traditions than in the West. Nature played no small part in sluggish development rates, too: vast tracts of cultivable lands lay idle, while warm and humid tropical and subtropical climate ensured high crops with relatively low labour input and a minimum of equipment. This did nothing to stimulate the speedy development of productive forces, updating labour implements and improved production methods.

The relative immobility of the Asiatic feudal societies as compared with more dynamic Western ones was partly due to the stability of their patriarchal-communal fringe. The "aggressive" nature of the tribal (nomadic) periphery displayed in relation to the profoundly stratified agricultural oases and thriving towns not infrequently resulted in their devastation and ruin from Seljuk, Turkic and Mongol invasions. Thus, the slow, ages-long disintegration of the tribal primitive-communal system contributed to the preservation of the survivals of the patriarchal-communal structure in the Asiatic feudal societies, braking their progress and even making reverses possible. In this way, the East lagging behind due to slower development rates but still possessing considerable economic potential and showing definite progress became an objective of colonial expansion.

In the early 16th century, the comparatively high level of socio-economic development in a number of West European countries did not manifest itself through broader economic contacts, or trade. Products of European pre-machine industry of the period of the primary accumulation of capital, their range and quality (fabrics in particular) could not promote commodity exchange with Asia or compete with Asian goods. The fact that the Eastern market displayed a lack of interest in European commodities could be accounted for by its own specifics and by an abundance of products of local agriculture and crafts, including weaving. Adam Smith wrote in the late 18th century, a period marked in the East by the decline of towns, crafts and trade, that where handicrafts and industry were concerned, China and India were but slightly inferior to any part of Europe. The protectionism in England exercised by the state was not an accidental phenomenon: it was designed to free home textile industry and markets from Oriental, particularly Indian, competition.

In the 16th-18th centuries European products were too expensive to compete successfully with Asian goods. European scientific and technological achievements (prior to the Industrial Revolution) did not immediately affect prices on European manufactory goods and produce of Asian handicrafts. The latter had a great advantage due to cheap labour and higher artisan skill. Even the Industrial

Revolution in England—the introduction of the machine loom and spinning Jenny which had raised labour productivity 40 and 200 times respectively—failed to bring about an immediate increase in European exports to Asia. It was only in the 1820s-1830s that the advantages of machine production began to be manifested in the East-West trade. The many price cuts on textiles, including cotton fabrics, had by that time led to their share in British exports to the Orient rising from 1 per cent in 1816 to 15.5 per cent in 1831 and to 23.3 per cent in 1840.

Owing to the Industrial Revolution, Western Europe began to regard Asian countries as a market for their goods; at the same time they began to be increasingly used as raw material sources.

Raw material imports had started long before the Industrial Revolution occurred. Back in the 1640s the enormous quantities of cotton yarn shipped home by the British East India Company in Gujarat triggered off protests from local weavers. Europeans were also interested in importing wax, raw silk, indigo, saltpeter, and especially spices.

There were different ways in which European merchants obtained spices, raw materials and handicraft products, primarily fabrics—in short, everything that was termed "Oriental treasures". Some of them were bought on Eastern markets for precious metals. Their immense supply, created through plunder of the American colonies, caused a price revolution in Europe. In the 16th-17th centuries the outflow of gold and silver from Europe in exchange for Asian goods aroused displeasure in certain European circles. Martin Luther, for example, argued that Asian trade served only to increase luxury, because it pumped money from the state and the people. The opinion prevailed that trade with Asia in exchange for precious metals enriched the pagans (Daniel Defoe). According to François Bernier, the Asian countries were an abyss swallowing gold and silver. Actually, however, this trade enriched not Asia, where precious metals were accumulated primarily in the coffers of feudal lords and their vice-regents, but Europe because her merchants sold their Asian purchases in other Asian and African countries: in this way in the 16th-18th centuries they branched out into new Eastern markets with Eastern goods. It is noteworthy that in Europe prices on imports were much higher than in the countries of their origin (spices, for example, were ten times more expensive).

In the final analysis, European trade with the countries of the Indian Ocean contributed to the accumulation of European capital, while draining Asian markets and exhausting the raw material sources of local handicrafts.

European merchants would never have gained such enormous profits had they not resorted to extra-economic coercion in their trade with the Asian countries, to methods and practices, which undermined the formerly extremely strong positions of Asian merchants' capital on domestic and foreign markets.

In the period between the 15th and 18th centuries, the advantages of the European socio-economic system became abundantly clear in improved military organisation and hardware. As distinct from Asian ships, the more sturdy and easily-manoeuvred Portuguese vessels carried guns and soldiers were armed with arquebuses and later with muskets. Artillery determined the outcome of one of the earliest naval battles in 1501 between Vasco da Gama's ships and the 18-vessel fleet of the Calicut sovereign, the latter suffering a crushing defeat.

European naval superiority was backed up with bases and fortresses along the Asian and African coasts. Portugal, for one, possessed a whole system of fortresses along African, Arabian and Asian coastlines which were used as troop stations, warehouses for imported goods (mainly fabrics and spices), and dry docks. From these fortresses the Portuguese carried on their expansion and controlled slave traffic.

The Dutch had fewer fortresses, while the British who, beginning with the early 17th century, began to jostle the Dutch and the Portuguese, had practically none. They had decided that, owing to "prejudice" on the part of local authorities and costly building expenses, fortified bases were not advantageous. The absence of British fortresses did not signify, however, a "peaceful infiltration" of India and other countries of the region: it was merely substituted with naval might. Leaning on their naval superiority and coastal bases the Europeans went in for piracy on the high seas. Their great armed vessels could overtake and capture their victims both in coastal and open waters. In the 16th century "coastal" piracy in the Indian Ocean became a regular trade.

Another practice was raiding, i.e., the sinking of Asian merchantmen and those of European rivals without seizing their cargoes to inflict damage on competitors. The "knights of primary accumulation" acted within the law inasmuch as both piracy and raiding enjoyed diplomatic, military and political protection from the European states, which not infrequently financed such "expeditions" and shared in the plunder.

The Portuguese, with the British and Dutch following suit, introduced a "passport" system—selling licences to Asian ships to enter or leave port. This system, while not excluding Asian merchants from commerce, greatly restricted their operations and made them dependent on the Europeans. Charterage to Asian merchants became a widespread practice, especially with the Dutch and British.

Charterage, to an even greater degree than the "passport" system, made the Oriental merchants dependent on European

trading companies and contributed to the decline of navigation in the Indian Ocean countries.

The Europeans used their superiority to monopolise Eastern trade in the Indian Ocean and to jostle Arab, Indian, Javanese, Chinese and other merchants from Asian and East African markets. They used extortion, forcing local rulers to grant them all kinds of "concessions" (primarily total or partial exemption from tariff restrictions), through intrigues, political and military blackmail or exploiting contradictions between them. This put the Asian merchants at a disadvantage, as compared with their European counterparts. They began to find maritime commerce increasingly less profitable. Some of them became junior partners or compradore agents effecting connections between European trading capital and the Eastern market.

Under the protection of battery guns and using Oriental agricultural and handicraft goods European trading capital branched out into new Eastern markets. As stated above, the Europeans obtained their merchandise not only through purchase or in exchange for European goods (and at an unequivalent rate at that), but also through piracy and sheer violence—a major instrument of primary accumulation of capital in Europe. Throughout the colonial wars of the 16th-18th centuries waged in the Indian Ocean countries and on the high seas, violence was coming to the fore as a vehicle of economic coercion.

The fate of Asian trade in the Indian Ocean and with it the course of history in the seaboard countries were settled by the naval superiority first of the Portuguese, then the British and some years later, of the Dutch.

As early as the beginning of the 17th century, the system of passports and piracy on the high seas caused a depression and decline in intra-Asian trade in the Ocean and the South Seas. In 1626, Francis Pelsaert, a senior Dutch factor, reported that all the Asian markets from the Strait of Hormuz, Mokha and Aden to the Malabar Coast, Malacca, Java and Sumatra were choked with their own goods. It is interesting to note that Pelsaert's Asian contemporaries were fully aware of the cause. All of them, he wrote, are unanimous in laying the blame at the door of the British and Dutch.

The independent trading activity of Asian merchants gradually dwindled and was taken over by the Europeans. At the same time its structure changed to the detriment of Asian economies. First, the share of finished goods, mostly fabrics, increased at the expense of spices, then raw materials (raw silk, cotton and yarn) pushed out fabrics. This arose from the needs of the growing industry in the metropolitan countries. The volume of export commodities also rose, and production for domestic consumption was curtailed.

The European maritime trade monopoly, resting on force of arms and effected through passports and charterage, undermined the

long-established trade links among the Asian nations and cut off remote interiors from the rest of the world. The export-oriented trade and to a certain extent, industry, dampened any tendency to create domestic markets and disrupted former trade routes.

Under these conditions two major tendencies were manifested in the evolution of Asian trading capital: formation of compradore elements and the "feudalisation" of representatives of money capital who acquired landed property or became tax farmers on the lands of big feudal lords. The latter tendency, although evident somewhat earlier, became especially pronounced in the 17th and 18th centuries. Together with the formation of compradore elements it was a direct result of the situation in the Indian Ocean having an unfavourable effect on Asian trade.

European colonial expansion of the 16th-18th centuries brought about deformation of social development in the Indian Ocean countries and changed their course of development. Feudal stabilisation manifested in the consolidation of the feudal state in a number of Asian countries in the 16th-17th centuries was a major result of the European onslaught. Feudal re-centralisation of that period which followed feudal disintegration of the 14th-15th centuries was only partially caused by internal factors, such as feudal lords' interest in crushing popular movements or the urban upper circles' striving to obtain more favourable trade conditions. The present author sees its main spring in an external factor, namely, European colonial expansion.

Japan was the only country which profited from the later feudal re-centralisation. As distinct from many other Asian countries, the patriarchal-communal fringe of feudalism was less stable there and it was unable to brake the evolution of feudal relations. Natural factors, land-hunger in particular, stimulated technical and agronomical innovations. These and a number of other specific factors had speeded up the formation of more mature forms of feudal relations even prior to European expansion. The country approached the threshold of their disintegration earlier than other Oriental countries. Tokugawa's policy of centralisation was also effective due to Japan's relatively small territory. The ending of feudal internecine wars favourably affected the economy, agriculture and urban crafts. State protection ensured rapid development of manufactories (mainly state-owned), producing fabrics and sake. Japan's policy of seclusion enforced by the imperial acts of 1633, 1636, and 1639, which forbade any Japanese subject to go abroad on pain of death or to build ocean-going-ships, and restrictions on Christian missionary activity and entry of foreigners separated Japan from the rest of the world. Whereas a similar policy in Korea and China and the ensuing isolation led to the conservation of feudal relations, in Japan it was exploited to develop the national economy: capital previously invested in foreign trade started to flow into production and domestic trade, stimulating the development of a home market and communications.

In a number of other Asian countries the centralisation tendencies of their rulers fell short of the desired results. Despite the efforts of the Mongol rulers, India remained fragmented: besides the Moghul Empire, there were several relatively large states and many more of less independent principalities. This gave the Europeans opportunities to contrive by intrigue, to set the feudal lords at loggerheads, and to provoke internecine strife and feudal rebellions to reach their own ends.

Re-centralisation failed to protect the majority of Asian countries from further European infiltration and led instead, in the 16th and 17th centuries, to still greater influence of the feudal elements and their domination over the towns and urban estates. Far from encouraging local handicrafts and sporadic manufactories, the state promoted raw material exports (cotton, raw silk, indigo) which brought enormous profits for the feudal lords. The robbing of merchants through countless ruinous fines and extortion became an established practice.

The negative sides of re-centralisation were accentuated in a number of Asian countries by the fact that it was carried out by the feudal lords, who either came from or leaned on tribal nobility and tribal armed Turkic, Afghan, Iranian and other detachments representing the most conservative elements of the feudal class of the corresponding countries.

Thus, the conservation of feudal relations ("feudal stabilisation") of the 16th and 17th centuries in the majority of Asian countries, which altered, to a degree, the earlier course of the historical process, was mainly a result of the colonial expansion of European countries, with the Indian Ocean as one of its theatres.



Max Weber's Methodology of History

MIKHAIL BARG

The vast literature on the legacy of Max Weber, unfortunately, contains no fundamental studies of the subject which interests us here. And yet the mounting interest of scholars in the problems of the theory and methodology of history makes such a study imperative.

The legacy of Weber, a 20th-century major bourgeois historian and sociologist, is striking in many respects. It is unrivalled in non-Marxist literature for diversity of scientific interests—matched by an amazing and equally diverse erudition—the methodological sharpness of historical-sociological structures, and the wealth of analytical means employed. At the same time, if one regards Weber as a historical thinker—and this is the aspect that interests us here—one cannot help marvelling at the lack of a coherent and consistently elaborated theory of the historical process and its cognition. In spite of all the reservations and conflicting declarations on these questions, Weber remained essentially captive, on the one hand, of Rickertian ideographism and, on the other, of the positivist conception of history as a predominantly empirical science, "auxiliary" with regard to sociology.

In other words, the most reliable way of determining Weber's place as methodologist of history seems to be not to confine the study to the predecessors Weber cited, but to consider his views in terms of the perspective and in the context of the Marxist approach to history. Weber himself, being acquainted with Marx's doctrine (he repeatedly turned to Capital in his student years and later), seldom if ever cited Marx; he ignored Marxist philosophical heritage and considered himself an opponent of Marx as regards the worldview. However, the important thing is this: addressing himself to the range of problems raised by Marx Weber, in our view, while creating his "own"

methodology of history, borrowed some of Marx's principles and translated them into the language of neo-Kantianism so skilfully that those who knew Marx only by hearsay regarded them as something original, as a "genuine discovery" of a historical method and as an instrument most effectively challenging the materialist conception of history. This was reflected, among other things, in Weber's doctrine of the "ideal-type" still seen by his adherents as a counterweight to Marx's doctrine of socio-economic formations.²

Another striking fact is that Weber's basic methodological principles have endured in the perception of those historians, who reject not only Marx but also Hegel. At the same time, the doctrines of Weber's teachers, Wilhelm Dilthey and Heinrich Rickert, are regarded by many modern Western historians as outdated and obscuring the view of historiographical problems of today. Suffice it to mention such prominent historians and methodologists as Othmar F. Anderle, Geoffrey Barraclough, George Duby and others. This latter fact is not as difficult to explain as it may seem at first sight. For all the originality of Weber's insight, his talent as a thinker was not of a "system-building" kind. He was humstrung not only by his adherence to empiricism but first and foremost by his negative attitude to the philosophy of history, and his neglect of the essence and mechanism of historical progress.3 As an avowed empiricist, he regarded philosophical study of history as "metaphysics". Not surprisingly, he was something of an eclectic as a methodologist; the same is true of him as a "philosopher of culture". In spite of his logical severity and adherence to formal logic, his theoretical socio-historical thinking was riddled with contradictions. In his attempt to surmount the "one-sidedness" of materialism and idealism, he ended up by creating a subjective idealist sociology and a corresponding methodology of history, although he did write in concluding The Protestant Ethic that it was not his intention to replace a one-sided materialistic causal interpretation of culture and history by an equally one-sided spiritualistic causal interpretation.4

This is the source, in our view, of the ambiguities and contradictions that abound in his works on sociology and methodology of science in which he describes the goals and methods of socio-historical cognition. That is why later interpreters of his theory of historical cognition had much leeway in placing logical accents as they saw fit in order to recreate his "system" of methodology. As a result, Weber's theoretical-methodological views, amazingly open to the most contradictory interpretations, proved to be exceedingly enduring. As their influence on non-Marxist historical thought today is universally recognised, it is necessary to identify the elements in these views that hold the greatest appeal to scholars.

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It is common knowledge that Weber's conscious aim in his methodology of history was to combine the main tenet of his teacher,

Rickert, with borrowed elements from the works of Dilthey and the positivists (notably, through Emile Durkheim). The result was a complex hybrid, consisting of elements of Dilthey's psychological approach, historical agnosticism, neo-Kantianism, and the inductive logic of positivism. It is from Dilthey that Weber borrowed the definition of the cognitive boundaries of history as the science of the spirit. Dilthey's goal of creating such a science clearly led to the unification of its object by shifting historical cognition from the world of objective facts and their generalisation into the world of intuition that allegedly made it possible to detect (or rather to divine) the inner motives of social systems. While rejecting the ability of the sciences of the spirit to explain the world of history, Dilthey did recognise that they were capable of direct intuitive insight into human culture in all its variety, i.e., in the uniqueness of its forms. And yet it is known that if the subject of history is reduced to the unique and "individual", history ceases to be a science and becomes either "understanding psychology" or aesthetics, which considers the individual to be the subject of art. In effect, Dilthey's "science of the spirit" was an art calling for particular talent in the scholar.⁵ Although Weber professed to renounce Dilthey's methods of "understanding psychology", describing the individual "from within" and requiring "empathy", and claimed that the same cognitive challenges could be met by logic he was in fact strongly influenced by Dilthey's interpretation of socio-historical cognition. One proof of this is that the category "to know" (wissen) gives way in his works to that "to understand" (verstehen).

On the other hand, Weber borrowed from Rickert's dogmata the attitude towards reality as irrational infinity, the cognition of which opens to the scholar merely something isolated and organised by the brain, i.e., an ideal construction. As regards the world of history ("culture"), Rickert saw it as a multitude of coexisting and incommensurate "life forms", each of which could be pinpointed in its uniqueness only through direct insight.6 Weber also agreed with Rickert that the interpretation of the process of socio-historical cognition was a process of referring historical phenomena and events to cultural values, which invests historical facts with significance and makes them meaningful. In other words, he interpreted the category of "cultural value" as a transcendental category of an a priori nature with regard to the reality studied. Weber considered "cultural values" to be devoid of any rational foundations. He derived the irrationality of value ideas from faith. The following can serve as an illustration. As an empiricist Weber saw certain "regularities" in the history of society, i.e., recurrence of certain classes of phenomena (religious-ethical teachings, concepts and structures of power, forms of economic activity, etc.). But as a Kantian, he refused to admit that they were capable of expressing an objective regularity of the historical process. As the motives of people in different epochs and

different social strata, etc., depended, as he believed, on what each of these individuals had "selected" from social practice to make into a "value", one can speak not of objective determination of their social behaviour but only of individual motives of the participants in the historical process.

This does not mean by far that Weber's methodology is a mere compilation of theses and principles drawn from disparate sources. Max Weber created an original concept of the methodology of the "sciences of culture", which was linked with his attitude to the philosophy of historical materialism of Marx and Engels. His originality, and a clue to the persistent influence of his ideas on non-Marxist historical thought and historiography of our day lies precisely in the fact that he managed to assimilate and adapt some ideas of the Marxist methodology of history,8 which was unacceptable to him on ideological grounds, while remaining a faithful Kantian. It is worth repeating that all his writings were marked by opposition to Marx, a desire to offer a "positive critique" of the Marxist method, borrowing Marx's formulation of the problems but offering his own alternative, subjective idealist solution. The famous Protestant Ethic is a vivid example in point. The very fact that, in spite of his undoubted brilliance, Weber proved unable to propose an alternative to Marx's method, apart from presenting a logical procedure of the formation of so-called "ideal-types", is proof of the fruitfulness of Marx's method and its ability to reflect socio-historical cognition.

According to Weber, a specific society is historically realised as a "type of culture", as a distinct and unique type of being marked not only by a mode of life but by a mode of thought; not only by institutions, but by values and ethical norms. Weber constantly stressed that simple reproduction of daily facts, i.e., material being, does not yield insight into society as a type of culture. To achieve that one must have intuitive insight into its "potential consciousness", i.e., into the world of social notions, values, etc., into man's view of the world. It is only in this way, according to Weber, that society can be perceived as a historical whole, in which there is not a trace of regularity or cause-and-effect relations and the "spirit" of individuality and accident holds sway. In other words, if the aim of cognition is to reveal the individual and the unique, the description of the traits of such a cognitive process naturally replaces the analysis of the cognised object itself. Not surprisingly, individualised historiography tends to extrapolate the present into the past and into the future. 10 A complete lack of a historical perspective was reflected, among other things, in Weber's interpretation of capitalism which allegedly has no genesis, passes through no stages in its development and is a civilisation from which there is no "reasonable way out".

So history cannot be understood as an objective historical reality by rational means. It has no recurring forms of social phenomena to justify the use of the inductive method that assumes identical effects from identical causes. The reasons for historical events are to be found not behind them but, so to speak, "ahead of them", since people who make history always pursue certain goals and motivate their deeds. 11 And Weber ignores the following important question: if at a certain historical period in the history of society there is widespread coincidence of the motives behind individuals' actions. how does one account for such a phenomenon? And furthermore, if it is mere coincidence, why is it that the results of actions motivated in this way do not match expectations and are not infrequently opposite to them? In keeping with the dialectical method, Engels spoke of the intersecting of individual wills. In a letter to Joseph Bloch (September 21-22, 1890) he wrote: "History is made in such a way that the final result always arises from conflicts between many individual wills Thus there are innumerable intersecting forces ... which give rise to one resultant—the historical event." 12 By contrast, Weber asserted that the only area of history open to knowledge is the world of phenomena explained through the medium of conceptual forms and values of a given culture. That is, his methodology of socio-historical cognition hinged on the determination of human behaviour by "ultimate" goals and aspirations of men. Let us dwell on this matter in more detail.

To be sure, the world of history always reveals so-called "transformed forms" (Marx). People are all too often captives of misconceptions and sometimes have no idea of the essence of the social relations they are involved in. "It never has been the case ... that the members of society conceive the sum-total of the social relations in which they live ..., on the contrary, the mass of people adapt themselves to these relations unconsciously." 13 Max Weber was without doubt well aware of this. However, believing that social forms ultimately arise from ideas, he made the latter the starting point of consciousness (within the framework of a "culture type"). Any culture, he wrote, is a "limited segment of the infinite world process... which human beings invest with meaning and significance". 14 His answer to the question about the source of these ultimate "meanings" and "significances" that determine valueoriented motivations of men within the framework of a given culture was as follows: only ideas can provide their source, i.e., ideas are engendered by ideas. For example, "the capitalist spirit" derives from the Protestant ethic, and the roots of the latter should be sought in the realm of ideas, i.e., in the history of Christianity.¹⁵ Incidentally, Engels noted long before Weber that ideas were necessary for the production of ideas: "As a definite sphere in the division of labour, the philosophy of every epoch presupposes definite thought material handed down to it by its predecessors, from which it takes its start.... Here economy creates nothing anew, but it determines the way in which the thought material found in existence is altered and further developed." ¹⁶ The point I want to make is that it is because the representatives of subjective sociology lack (or rather reject the possibility of) an objective criterion to distinguish the basic and the derivative that they identify ideology and economics.

Let us recapitulate Weber's line of reasoning. Since the motivation of human behaviour is different in every "culture type", thus ruling out a single formal system of their interpretation, it is up to intuition to understand each culture and to determine the type of action in the culture that is explained by the ultimate motives and aspirations of people revealing their meaning. Once this motivation has been determined—by the scholar's subjective insight—the idea found is subjected to consistent logical elaboration to create a kind of heuristic model. Weber calls it the "ideal-type".

The "ideal-type" is an abstraction, a mental image, a logical construct the scholar creates by choosing the main value idea of the epoch, which explains the motivation of particular (individual) behaviour in this epoch. Guided by this idea and proceeding from historical data, the historian recreates the model of that segment of reality which is a kind of derivative of that idea. Naturally, no single real historical phenomenon can fully correspond to the mental idea of it because in the process of the creation of the "ideal-type" it is carried to its logical conclusion and is crystallised. The "ideal-type" has the meaning of a purely ideal ultimate notion, to which reality is compared to reveal its concrete substance. It is "as infrequent in reality as physical reactions, calculated on the assumption of absolute vacuum". In other words, the "ideal-type" created in this way acquires the function of a scale to "measure" real historical phenomena. In the scale of the concrete in the concrete in

Following Weber's methodology of history, one is bound to conclude that, on the one hand, the object of history is completely subjective because it is formed by the scholar, who studies the value ideas dominant in a certain culture. Not only do they invest all the contemporary events with meaning and significance, but they draw a circle in the "chaos of infinity" and it is this circle that is the object of historical study. On the other hand, subsequent study of historical material, according to Weber, must be objective, i.e., based on the establishment of cause-and-effect relations between individual facts.

It is this point, i.e., the interpretation of the nature of causal relations in history and the approach to their study, that highlights the curious combination in Weber's methodology of the views of an empirical positivist and neo-Kantian considering that he borrowed the principle of objective analysis of cultural facts from positivism. In

Weber's opinion, "facts of culture" are unique; every "fact" is preceded by an "individual cause". The totality of these causes is boundless. However, the historian is only interested in those causes that relate the facts (and here he follows Rickert) to "universal cultural values". Consequently, what repeats in history is related not to a specific cause (which interests the positivist) but to the transcendental sphere of values that is the preoccupation of the neo-Kantian. Hence the true essence of "recurrence" in history consists in the "recurrence" of causal relations between an extemporal "value idea" and a given type of the "social practice", from which it is derived and through which it manifests its nature. For example, Weber does not relate the "capitalist spirit" (and the corresponding social ethical behaviour) to any historical epoch. "Capitalism", he wrote "has existed, in one form or another, in all the periods of human history." 19 But if so, if recurrent social practices are but an emanation of an extemporal value idea, then any historical generalisation is merely a procedure of formally including individual phenomena in a cause-and-effect chain that is traced back to that idea. In other words, causality in this case is not an internal (objective) interconnection of phenomena, but something external to them.

While noting that Weber's methodology includes generalisation, which was resolutely rejected by Rickert, it must be stressed that by causality he meant the historian's use of his own constructed model of reality as a means of rationalising what would have been irrational outside this model. By introducing the generalisation element in historical study, Weber did not overcome Rickert's individualising methodology but merely sought to give it a semblance of rationality, since Weber, too, spoke of generalisation in terms of individual historical phenomena. In effect, Weber derived the "causal laws" speculatively because he based them on motivations whose study must precede the "discovery" of such "laws". Herein lies the characteristic feature of his historical method, focussed as it is on the cognition of the individual. Referring the individual to possible "values" is the only way to make it objective knowledge.²⁰

If there is any point on which Weber departed from Rickert, it was on the status of "values" in history which he tended to interpret as an expression of the main interest of a historical epoch. In other words, Weber borrowed from the neo-Kantians their principle of referring to "values" as a means of arriving at universally relevant judgements. Every epoch has its own absolutes but, being historical, they are relative, he wrote. That was the idea that brought him closer to Dilthey. According to Weber: "The objective significance of any empirical knowledge stems from the fact that the given reality is arranged in accordance with categories which are in a certain sense subjective, i.e., create prerequisites for our knowledge.... Those for whom that truth has no value stand nothing to gain from the

methods of our science." ²¹ Consequently, with Weber, "will" remains the ultimate ontological reality, creating forms of everything that exists. It is not surprising, therefore, that the "ideal-type" notions became his cognitive instrument for overcoming the contradiction between the particular and the general in his methodology.

The "ideal-type" is as much a suprahistorical as a historical abstraction. It is historical because it is aimed at the cognition of historically definite "cultural values" (what neo-Kantians call historical reality); it is suprahistorical because it neither, reflects nor theoretically generalises the objective reality of a certain epoch. In other words, we have an extemporal abstraction (and is not localised in space either 22) and is created with the aim of overcoming the diversity of the historical world by speculative means. Furthermore, this abstraction is as much "objective" as subjective. It is objective because it includes a "value idea" that bears no relation to concrete reality; and it is subjective because the scholar is guided only by his personal preferences in the choice of such an idea. Finally, the "ideal-type" as a generalising notion is essentially outside historical knowledge, although, as has already been pointed out, it does serve as a means of putting in order and "piecing together" cause-andeffect relationship in history. It is a means but not an end. In other words, historical science cannot produce its own generalising notions by borrowing generalising "ideal-type" notions from sociology, even at a lower level of abstraction.²³

Thus, while remaining loyal to the individualising method of Rickert, Weber, influenced by positivism, assumes the possibility and importance of using generalising notions in historical studies. But as generalisation is essentially something external and subjective, "superimposed" on reality, which is being cognised, it is devoid of scholarly significance as a criterion of universality. As a result, one and the same problem can produce as many "generalisations" as there are subjective points of view in the choice of a "value idea" in the reality to be "put in order".

If one tries to sum up the descriptions of "ideal-type" notions scattered throughout Weber's writings, the contradictory nature of that mental formation will readily be seen. On the one hand, the "ideal-type" is an emanation of fantasy, although it is created as a concept through rigorous abstraction from empirical reality. The "ideal-type" cannot be found in reality nor does it claim to reflect it. Yet at the same time it is a means of "understanding" reality. The "ideal-type" has nothing in common with scientific hypothesis because it cannot be authenticated experimentally and at the same time, no matter how far reality may be removed, it cannot refute or deprive it of its cognitive significance. The "ideal-type" does not explain anything in history because it is not a theory of the historical process and yet, to Weber, its heuristic function in socio-historical cognition is indubitable. Perhaps, the most marked contradiction is

Weber's admission that this category is definitely subjective in character and, on the other hand, that it is an instrument of "objective" cognition in the sciences of culture. We are referring to Weber's thesis that, depending on the starting premises of the scholar, various "ideal-types" can be applied to the same historical reality that may be equally justifiable.24 There may be no contradiction there in terms of Kantianism, because no logical construct in historical cognition can claim to express the objective essence of the phenomena studied. It is precisely because none of the Kantian frames for the description of the historical material claims to lead to universally relevant final conclusions that the nature of the starting category that organises empirical material does not make much difference. In other words, objectivity is irrelevant for the description of the "ideal-type" because, as we have pointed out, the scholar organises factual material in accordance with his own logic, i.e., on a formal, subjective basis.

Therefore, we arrive at the conclusion that the Kantian in Weber's methodology invariably gains the upper hand over the positivist on key issues. That is why the stand of an ideologist advocating the preservation of capitalism took precedence over that of the historian in Weber.²⁵

The above-mentioned can be illustrated by Weber's main work devoted to the genesis of capitalism, The Protestant Ethic. He knew full well that Marx had offered a brilliant solution to that problem at the historical sociological level in Chapter XXIV of the first volume of Capital. In fact, Weber's "counterstructure" was prompted by the ever mounting influence of Marx on sociological and historical thought; otherwise, one can hardly explain the passion in his work. Marx was not only a materialist who pointed to the derivative character of the Reformation's ethical doctrines compared to the real historical process of the genesis of the capitalist mode of production; he was also a dialectician who stressed the reverse influence of the doctrines on that process. However, neither the first nor the second was to Weber's liking, so he turned to the concept of the "ideal-type" in order to balance the alleged "one-sidedness" of the dialecticalmaterialist treatment of the problem by what turned out to be a truly one-sided idealistic treatment. As a result, he attributes the genesis of the capitalist system solely to the "Protestant spirit" engendered not by the course of events but by the course of ideas, primarily the Calvinist ethics. True, his passing mention of the "economic sources" of capitalism might bear evidence that Weber was inclined to acknowledge the "equal importance" of economic and ideological factors in the genesis of capitalism. Yet, since he did not study the economic prerequisites of capitalism, his work in practice focussed on value ideas allegedly creating reality, on the "ideal" aspirations of men to profits, accumulation of wealth, etc. In other words. Weber not only claimed that the sphere of ideas was independent of

economic processes; he found the very idea of their interaction totally unacceptable (take his terminology: when speaking of the interaction of various sides of social life, he uses Wahlverwandschaft-"adequacy", "affinity" instead of the expected Wechselwirkung).26 In The Protestant Ethic he wrote: "Wherever the capitalist spirit appears, it creates monetary wealth as a means and instruments of its activity, and not vice versa." 27 It thus becomes clear why Weber thought of The Protestant Ethic as an example of "surmounting" the materialist view of history. What are the results of his study of capitalism with the help of the "ideal-type" concept of the "capitalist spirit"? In brief, the answer is that it is a totally unhistorical portrayal of the history of capitalism because it lacks even a hint of development; his whole attention is focussed on the self-same unchangeable structure within history. It would be unfair to claim that Weber saw none of the contradictions of the capitalist system. He saw them and wrote about them but he made no attempt to find a way out because, undoubtedly, he expressed the interests of the ruling class. To propose a historical method by identifying with an "ideal-type" the sum-total of the actions and urges of people expressing the "value idea of the epoch" meant not only to forfeit the criterion of objectivity but—irrespective of subjective convictions—to turn historical study into an apology for the existing order. That is what happened to Weber the historian. Marx wrote in his time: "The class which has the means of material production at its disposal, has control at the same time over the means of mental production.... The ruling ideas are nothing more than the ideal expression of the dominant material relationships.... The individuals composing the ruling class ... determine the extent and compass of an epoch, ... thus their ideas are the ruling ideas of the epoch."28 This is equally applicable to Weber as one of the proponents of the "governing ideas" of the capitalist epoch.

There is perhaps no need to dwell at length on the fundamental difference between the categories of "socio-economic formation" and of the "ideal-type". It is not only that this category conceptualises the process of evolutionary movement of history and its revolutionary transformation while "ideal-types", although varying in scope, reflect only individual features of social reality ("charisma", "bureaucracy", "rationalisation", etc.). The main thing is that the category of "social formation" embodies a critical-scientific theory of the historical process vindicated by the entire social practice of humanity, while the "ideal-type" concepts bear not a hint of a process theory. They are incapable of explaining it, if only because they posit its irrational and chaotic character. The materialist view of history, by revealing the objective criterion for discriminating between the important and the

unimportant, the primary and the secondary in the complex network of social phenomena, i.e., by pointing to the production relations as the structure of society, discovered the true object of historical science which is the laws of the unfolding and succession—in time and space—of social formations, and thus equipped historical science with a scientific method of cognition. One must emphasise that in terms of that method the interaction between the basis and the superstructure is not as simple as subjectivists usually portray it. The acknowledgement that the basis is primary and the superstructure secondary merely draws the historians' attention to the core of the problem of their interaction but it does not claim to solve it. It is enough to read Marx's The Class Struggles in France and The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte to become aware of the profound dialectics of this interaction and the need to take into account the complex chain of mediations between the basis and the superstructure. And since Weber traced in his concrete historical studies precisely these mediation mechanisms in the interaction between the social basis and the superstructure, and sometimes did it with consummate skill, his studies merit to be attentively read today regardless of his subjective goals.

NOTES

- ¹ K. Löwith's essay ("Max Weber und Karl Marx", Seminar: Religion und Gesellschaftliche Entwicklung. Studien zur Protestantismus-Kapitalismus. These Max Webers, Frankfort on the Main, 1973) does not adequately fill that gap.
- ² T. Parsons, The Structure of Social Action, New York, 1949; R. E. Rogers, Max Weber's Ideal-Type, New York, 1964.
- ³ John Lewis, Max Weber and Value-Free Sociology. A Marxist Critique, London, 1975, Chapter 5.
- ⁴ M. Weber, "Die protestantische Ethik und der Geist des Kapitalismus", Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Religionssoziologie, Vol. 1, Tübingen, 1920, p. 205,
- ⁵ P. P. Gaidenko, Sociological Aspects of the Analysis of Science: Scientists about Science and Its Development, Moscow, 1971, pp. 240 ff. (in Russian).
- ⁶ H. Rickert, Die Grenzen der naturwissenschaftlichen Begriffsbildung, Tübingen, 1921, pp. 24-25; idem, Die Probleme der Geschichtsphilosophie, Heidelberg, 1924, pp. 17-25.
- ⁷ Fr. Pankin, Max Weber, Chichester, 1982.
- ⁸ A. I. Neusykhin, "The Empirical Sociology of Max Weber and the Logic of Historical Science", Pod znamenem marxizma, Nos. 9 and 12, 1927.
- ⁹ M. Weber, Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Wissenschaftslehre, Tübingen, 1922, p. 180.
- 10 D. Heinrich, Die Einheit der Wissenschaftslehre Max Webers, Tübingen, 1952, p. 26.
- 11 M. Weber, Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Wissenschaftslehre, pp. 204-205.
- ¹² K. Marx and F. Engels, Selected Works in three volumes, Vol. 3, Moscow, 1970, p. 488.
- 13 V. I. Lenin, Collected Works, Moscow, Vol. 1, p. 139.
- ¹⁴ M. Weber, Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Wissenschaftslehre, p. 180.
- 15 M. Weber, Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Religionssoziologie, Vol. I, p. 163.
- 16 K. Marx and F. Engels, Selected Works in three volumes, Vol. 3, p. 494.

- 17 M. Weber, Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft, Cologne, 1964, Vol. 1, p. 10.
- 18 M. Weber, Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Wissenschaftslehre, pp. 190-191.
- 19 M. Weber, Wirtschaftsgeschichte, Munich and Leipzig, 1924, p. 239.
- ²⁰ M. Weber, Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Wissenschaftslehre, pp. 123 a.o.
- ²¹ Ibid., pp. 212-213.
- ²² Ibid., p. 209.
- ²⁸ Ibid., p. 194.
- ²⁴ Ibid., p. 213.
- 25 E. Troeltsch, Der Historismus und seine Probleme, Berlin, 1922, p. 350.
- 26 M. Weber, Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Religionssoziologie, Vol. 1, p. 45.
- ²⁷ Ibid., p. 53.
- ²⁸ K. Marx and F. Engels, The German Ideology, Moscow, 1968, p. 61.

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ROUND-TABLE

State and Law in the Ancient Orient

From the Editors: Vladimir Yakobson of Leningrad, a specialist in ancient law, published an article on state and law in the ancient Orient in the Narody Azii i Afriki journal. Its publication was followed by a debate in which the journal suggested the following questions for discussion:

(1) How does law arise?(2) What were the relations between religion, ethics, and law in antiquity and the Middle Ages?

(3) What are the links between various types of law and culture?

(4) Does the nature of imperial power in the ancient Orient warrant the appellation of "Oriental despotism"?

(5) Is there a difference between the concepts of property in antiquity and in the Middle Ages?

(6) Can the study of the history of the state and law help to define the boundaries between antiquity and the Middle Ages?

The following is an abridged version of the debate prepared by a staff editor Yuri Senokosov.

Vladimir Yakobson (D. Sc., Hist.). The history of law and the state is probably the least popular of historical disciplines, both in terms of the broad public's interest in it and in terms of the relatively modest place it occupies among the other historical sciences. This is especially true of the history of the state and law in the ancient and mediaeval Orient.

Law may be said to be a self-portrait of society, but it is the kind of self-portrait where the subject depicts himself the way he is and also the way he would like to be. Let me emphasise that both of these aspects are important for the historian of law, especially with reference to ancient society. The classical proposition of Marx and Engels, "your jurisprudence is but the will of your class made into a law for all",1 is in my view a very precise description of law as a social institution. However, the historian's task is to understand the factors determining the content of that will, particularly in ancient society, where the dominant class is the whole of the civic population. The

way society would like to be is sometimes defined by historians as social demagogy without any real significance whatever. In actual fact, it is a society's most significant objective characteristic, a specific expression of the most important aspects of its ideology and social psychology.

Legal monuments can be divided into three categories: (1) documents of material law, i.e., laws, decrees, and other prescriptions of the supreme authority recorded in written form; (2) documents of legal doctrine, i.e., theoretical treatises, special codifications, textbooks, etc.; (3) documents of the practice of law, i.e., written records of deeds and other legal acts, court rulings, and opinions of authoritative jurists on concrete cases. It should be stated clearly that this is only a tentative division. In some legal systems the texts that originated as theoretical treatises, court rulings or jurists' opinions later become law in force. Legal norms incorporated in the texts pertaining to religious doctrine, and the legal exegesis of such doctrines, should be considered separately. Finally, some information about law can be extracted from texts that have no direct bearing on law at all—literary monuments, works on philosophy and history, private and official correspondence, etc.; these, however, have to be studied from an appropriate angle.

Let me dwell briefly on some general problems of legal study. The first and foremost of these is the problem of the origin of law. At a definite stage in its development, society realises the need for recording its norms in writing so as to rule out all kinds of misinterpretation, the need for formulating a sort of constitution, usually rather brief.2 Through this act, society achieves objective self-determination as a collective of citizens, finally accomplishing the transition from the primitive-communal system to a class one. The importance of law in the eyes of society itself is clearly seen from the fact that, in all ancient societies without exception, the first legislators were legendary or semi-legendary figures, "culture heroes" or even gods. It is important to emphasise, however, that, far from considering this act as an innovation, society saw it as putting right the injusticies that had arisen, that is to say, as reverting to the former order of things, though in a renewed form. That was the case, at any rate, in ancient Mesopotamia. The social psychology of early class society was entirely oriented towards the past, towards the times of primitive equality. Society found it hard to accept such phenomena as inequality with regard to property, with its consequences, when a few increasingly grow rich, while many lose their property and even freedom. Practically the whole of society is subject to this pressure of social psychology. For example, the king in ancient Mesopotamia was of course the wealthiest of men, and he intended to keep and increase his wealth. Yet at the same time he also felt himself, to a considerable extent, a leader obliged to take care of the whole people. The fact that Mesopotamian kings declare in their laws. and inscriptions that they took care that the strong might not oppress the weak, and that the orphan and the widow should see justice done to them, must not in my view be regarded as social demagoguery. Mesopotamian kings did indeed try to oppose the natural course of the economic processes, in particular the loss of land by members of the communities, promulgating towards that end the so-called "decrees of justice". Those decrees were, to some extent or other, implemented. Of course, the economic laws asserted themselves despite all obstacles (royal decrees being violated or circumvented through various legal tricks), while the spate of "corrections" recorded, in the final account, the new state of things. Objectively, law thus played a dual role: it not only consolidated the changes but also served as a drag on them, and the resultant force was determined by the specific historical circumstances.

The second problem is that of the method of description and presentation of ancient legal systems. The point is that such a description follows the modern theory of law and the system of rubrication accepted at present. There are serious dangers inherent in this approach. It is easy to fall into unconsciously modernising the description, ascribing to the lawyers of antiquity what was far from their minds. That is mostly the procedure when ancient legal systems are stretched on the frame of Roman law with its fine definitions and a carefully worked-out system. This results in an elegant description, which, however, has little in common with reality. It must be remembered that the terms of ancient law may have no precise analogues in modern terminology and, what is even more important, may be much less rigorous. The desire for maximum precision may render the translation of the text of precepts entirely incomprehensible: in trying to convey the style of such a text, scholars sometimes merely follow precisely the syntax and the word order of the alien tongue. It is, of course, impossible to offer recommendations that would fit all cases, but, for practical purposes, a comprehensible rendering is, in my view, better than an incomprehensible exact translation, since the ideal is unattainable anyway. The problem of terminology is extremely serious. Suffice it to remember the long controversy on whether the concept of "free (person)" existed in the ancient Orient. It would appear that a word with this precise meaning did not exist: at any rate, it is not to be found in the cuneiform texts. Can the conclusion be drawn, however, that the concept itself was non-existent? It was simply an element in the broader semantics of other words ("man", "noble", "twice born", "ours—not ours", etc.). The same is true of "property" (a word with this meaning does not exist in many ancient languages). Descriptions in terms of the existing rubrication may be convenient for both the scholar and the reader, but they may obscure the specificity of the inner system of presentation characteristic of ancient jurists, or else create an impression of lack of any system whatever. That was

precisely the situation that obtained until recently in the case of the Hammurabi code, which appeared to be a random agglomeration of heterogeneous prescriptions of various sorts, and with considerable gaps, at that. It has now become clear that these laws follow a rigorous system, however strange it might appear to ourselves, and are uncommonly comprehensive. The same can be said about the widely current view of ancient law as casuistic law. Indeed, ancient jurists often consider separately cases that we would not hesitate to lump under a single heading. What we regard as excessive fragmentation of ancient legislation is not in most cases to be explained by inadequate generalisation but by the fact that, in accordance with the moral norms and customs of his times, the ancient jurist saw here independent "legal units". For instance, in terms of modern law, assaulting a person is a criminal offence irrespective of the status of the parties involved. It is irrelevant from the legal standpoint whether father struck son or son struck father, or whether they were any relation at all. For the ancient jurists, however, a beating administered to a son by his father was in general outside the realm of law, while a son striking his father was a monstrous crime punishable accordingly. That is the simplest case, of course, but underlying each of these cases were ancient jurists' reasons that are sometimes far from obvious to us, and the researcher's task is to identify these reasons.

Another very important problem is the correlation of morality and law and the closely related question of the significance of legal norms incorporated in religious texts. This problem is so vast and complex that it cannot be dealt with here in detail. I shall only point out that, in my view, law emerges and develops from the outset as an independent branch of knowledge, largely independent not only from religion but also from ethics. Legislators are guided in the first place by considerations of expedience and logic, although their ideas of the expedient and logical are in their turn affected by ethics, religion, and, as we have already noted, by social psychology. While retaining their relative independence, ethics and law nevertheless come into constant contact and even conflict (suffice it to recall here the controversy between Confucianists and legalists in China). Towards the end of early antiquity, in connection with the general trend towards sacralisation of ideology, legal norms are included in religious texts, but the incorporation is fragmentary and without system, for the interest of the compilers of these texts in law is merely secondary. In my opinion, that is precisely what explains the character of the legal norms included in the Pentateuch. (True, the situation is complicated by the fact that the Bible in general contains no mention of any legislative activities of the kings, although it is difficult to believe that such activities did not in fact take place.) By the same reasoning, it appears quite plausible to me that the Arthashastra is older than those Dharmashastras, which are usually regarded as its predecessors—a view put forward by the Soviet researchers A. Vigasin and A. Samozvantsev.

Problems involved in the study of the state in the ancient Orient are no less important and difficult. By way of an example, I would like to discuss the nature of imperial power or, to be more precise, the way people in antiquity themselves understood it. The definition of such power current in modern literature is embodied in the term "Oriental despotism", which is taken to mean absolute autocracy of a hereditary sovereign. In reality, the situation was much more complex. In the first place, this power was in antiquity believed to have an existence independent of the concrete carrier. In Mesopotamia, for instance, the Sumeric term namlugal or its Akkadian equivalent sharrutu (which we are obliged to translate imprecisely as "imperial power", "imperial dignity") denoted a certain specific substance descended from heaven in the beginning of time and later shifted, at gods' will, from one city to another and from one person to another. A similar phenomenon may be observed in other countries as well: hwarena in Persia, the mandate of Heaven in China, "imperial dharma" in India. Possession of imperial dignity was linked with fulfilment of certain rigorous conditions of ritual, ceremonial and practical nature; failure to fulfil them entailed its loss. The Babylonian political treatise, known as The Ruler's Mirror, details these practical requirements, imposing stringent limitations on the king's power. Besides, the King of Babylon had to go through a most unpleasant ceremony during an important religious rite on the eve of the New Year, to resume his investiture. He had to go down on his knees before the supreme god and swear that he had not sinned or violated the liberties of Babylon and other holy cities. The High Priest then slapped his face and pulled his ears, and the actions were far from merely symbolic (it was believed to be a good omen when tears came to the King's eyes). Only after this ceremony did he receive anew his insignia of power, which had been taken away from him before he entered "the holy of holies". Chinese sources contain numerous references to the Emperor being deprived of the "mandate of Heaven" for improper conduct.

The inheriting of power is also rather complex. Thus in Mesopotamia imperial power, despite the generally accepted view, was not hereditary in theory. The king was the "chosen one of the great gods", who marked him already in the mother's womb or singled him out later. Although in practice imperial power became hereditary at a very early stage, the question of which of the king's sons was to be the heir was solved by resorting to a certain procedure (most likely by consulting an oracle). Ashurbanipal, who was the younger of the King's two sons, reports, for instance, that in appointing him heir to the throne, his father had honoured the weighty words of the gods. In principle, however, any individual favoured by the gods could become a king, even a foreigner (as

Cyrus the Great, for instance). That seems to be the reason why there were no usurpers in Mesopotamia. Hereditary power unrestricted by anything, even theoretically, seems to have emerged only in the late Roman empire, along with the corresponding terms, such as "porphyrogenitus" and "autocrat".

The question of the deification of the king is interesting and complicated. It still remains unclear why in Mesopotamia, as distinct from Egypt, this phenomenon existed for only a relatively short time and did not take root.

Let us finally consider in brief the problems of courts and law enforcement in the ancient Orient. We would like to recall in this connection a fact, of which ethnographers are well aware but which historians often neglect: courts are older than law and the state. Throughout antiquity, courts retained their archaic features. In the first place, the exercise of justice remains the prerogative of the community, which the latter jealously guards whenever possible. It was precisely for this reason that in Mesopotamia, where the community, and especially the city community, played a most important role until the end of antiquity, the King was not the supreme judge. In Mesopotamia, members of the community were tried by the community's judges or the people's assembly directly, while the King's men were tried by imperial judges or simply the officials, whose subordinates these men were. When the parties to a suit belonged to different estates, mixed courts were set up, although the order of their establishment and functioning remains unclear. The trial was under all conditions competitive and oral. That means that it started on the initiative of one or both sides and each of the sides was obliged to prove its own assertions. There was no record of the evidence given by the parties and witnesses; only sworn evidence was recorded. Court rulings were usually announced orally, too, except for some special cases. That explains the apparently strange fact that among the hundreds of thousands of cuneiform documents there are probably less than a thousand pertaining to trials. In the few cases where such documents do exist, they were always necessitated by certain special circumstances, reflected in the document itself. A very interesting feature of administering justice is its purely mundane character. Although the court often sat in a temple, divine trial (by oath or ordeal) was only resorted to when mundane means of establishing the truth were not available. In Egypt, the court might appeal to an oracle, but, however surprising that may seem, the oracle's reply was by no means binding on the court. In Mesopotamia, as apparently in all ancient societies, torture was not applied to free citizens. These are the main traits of the competitive process. Where trial was investigative or inquisitorial, proceedings were instituted (after a complaint or a court ruling) and conducted by a judge, who was a government official, in written form, and the accused were tortured; this procedure was characteristic of the Middle Ages. The transition from competitive to investigative proceedings may in a manner of speaking indicate the transition to the Middle Ages. I realise just how bold such a statement is, particularly in view of the fact that the investigative procedure was used in India and China long before the Christian era. That is the last problem to which I would like to draw the attention of specialists. The answer to this question very probably lies in the fact that in the Orient, the Middle Ages came much earlier than in Europe, for the East was for a long time generally ahead of Europe in socio-economic development. This view has already been expressed, and the history of law may, I believe, provide important arguments in its favour.

DISCUSSION

Igor Dyakonov (D. Sc., Hist.; Leningrad). Law in the strict sense of the term, being the will of a ruling class made into a law, can only emerge in a sufficiently consolidated class society. This definition, however, undoubtedly covers recorded law—recorded either in documents, statutes, binding precedents, etc., or in orally transmitted formulas and aphorisms. As for unrecorded law, even primitive society has customs of juridical nature, for the existence of any social collective is impossible without certain obligatory rules regulating social life. Australians living in a Mesolithic or early Neolithic society knew that abduction of a woman from an alien clan must be punished by the killing of one or two members of the abductors' clan, while in a later pre-state society (e.g., among ancient Icelanders) there were norms of fines, precisely stipulated by custom, for the murder of persons occupying certain social positions in the clan, for cattle stealing, etc.

With regard to law, just as with regard to all institutions of the earliest stages of class society in general, it is very difficult to draw a line between periods characterised by juridical customs or customary law and those in which law becomes the will of the ruling class sanctioned by the state. It is precisely the sanctioning of custom, regulating social relations, by the state as an organ of the ruling class that may be regarded as the beginning of law as an independent institution. It should be borne in mind, however, that a number of legal relations were for a long time regulated by custom without interference by the state (e.g., ordinary larceny or the murder of a citizen uncomplicated by circumstances of import to the state).

The norms of conduct of the social man in primitive society and early antiquity are largely determined by ritual and mythological factors. But mythological thinking is not identical with religious thinking. The former is characteristic of society which, incapable as yet of using abstract generalisations, uses in their place generalisations through tropes (metonymies, metaphors, etc.), always emotion-

ally saturated. Ethics as a special branch of human thinking only takes shape in late antiquity and, despite philosophers' efforts, exists for the broad people's masses only as religious ethics, in other words, as a code of conduct norms conditioned by religious dogmata. But dogmatic religions, based as a rule on written canons, only emerge in late antiquity and become widespread, with official sanction, mostly in the Middle Ages. Characteristic of the Middle Ages therefore (and partly of late antiquity as well) is the correlation between law and religious morality, as well as systems in which the religious dogma is regarded as a source of positive law (Sassanian, Talmudic, and Islamic law). True, this goal is achieved through complicated exegetic manipulations, interpretations by analogy, etc. In practice, however, morality as a reflection of the socio-psychological attitudes existing in society nonetheless differs sharply from law as the recorded will of the ruling class. Laws must be enforced so that the structure of organised coercion, without which class society cannot exist, might not disintegrate. Morality may permit itself the freedom of either going beyond the boundaries of law or, on the contrary, stopping short of them, as it deals with the behaviour of individuals unregulated by law. It should also be noted that the rigid system of Roman law, although it goes back to juridical activity in antiquity, was formulated only in the early Middle Ages. During the Middle Ages, too, Europe distinguished rigorously enough between civil and criminal non-clerical law from canonical law, which regulated not only the organisational matters of the Church but also civil registry acts. Europe's canonical law, like the systems of law regarding religious dogma as the source of law in general, undoubtedly encroached on the domain of morality (church confessions, etc.). But on the whole ethics and law are different things, although interacting ones. A law contradicting the moral norm accepted in society does not have much chance of holding its ground for a long time; law in force is continually corrected in accordance with the existing morality. At the same time, what is firmly established by law is assumed to be, and mostly is, in accordance with prevailing morality.

Besides, of enormous significance are also traditions which became established for some specific reasons in the past. Thus there are enormous discrepancies between Continental law, going back to Roman law, and Anglo-American law based on precedent. Generally speaking, the external forms of law established for the protection of completely analogous class interests may differ greatly, and vice versa.

I do not believe the division of historical institutions into Oriental and Occidental to be either justified or useful. Besides, the states of antiquity and the Middle Ages were superstructures over different systems of production relations. It is undesirable to use identical terms here, if only for this reason. Finally, the question does not offer a definition of "Oriental despotism". A state in which the

sovereign is subject to no other legal authority is monarchic; a despotic state seems to be that in which the ruler can ignore the laws existing in the state, where personal arbitrary will of an individual or group of individuals heading the dominant class, rather than the will of this class, takes the strength of law. From this standpoint, most ancient Oriental states cannot be said to have been despotic, but they may be said to have possessed despotic tendencies. But why "Oriental despotism"? Wherein does it differ, say, from the Roman dominatus?

It is often believed that a sure sign of so-called Oriental despotism was the state's (and the sovereign's) total ownership of the country's land. There were no such states in antiquity (with the possible exception of Egypt).

I do not presume to express judgement on the concepts of ownership in the Middle Ages. In antiquity, no distinction was made between ownership and possession: both categories were lumped under the notion of dominion.

Leonid Alayev (D. Sc., Hist.; Moscow). The question of the specificity of law as subject-matter for study is urgent and topical. One must not assume, however, that law combines economics and ideology. Law is a distorting mirror, and the study of its distorting effect yields very valuable knowledge of society. It would be wrong to say that ancient law has not been studied so far: the Hammurabi code and the Sassanian code of laws were sources for historians specialising in any field, while the ancient history of India is almost entirely reconstructed from interpretations of juridical treatises, in the absence of documentary materials of other types. But inadequate legal knowledge of some of the researchers leads to confusion of legal norms and real facts. Data obtained from legal sources are mostly used in an unsystematic fashion, on a selective basis, depending on the researcher's subjective opinion.

Yakobson correctly raises the problem of the inapplicability of the terms and rubrication of the modern law theory to the law of the Oriental societies of the past. This idea should be expressed in even more precise terms. The basic question here is the difference in the right of ownership in the formation of society in the West and in the East. In the West, all property relations tended to be expressed in terms of the law of ownership; owning property meant profiting by it. In the East, law was much further removed from the real property relations. Speaking concretely, the land "proprietor" (a malik, dehkan, or zamindar) was obliged to yield a considerable and sometimes the greater portion of his income to the state, which was not regarded as the owner of the land. Hence the continual debate among Orientalists whether the state was the owner of the land. The debate is meaningless, since the concept "being the owner of the land" differs in the West and in the East.

In principle, legal and court systems, just as the types of state, had to be different in societies of the first and the second class formations, in antiquity and in the Middle Ages. Otherwise the division into formations will cease to be meaningful, or the proposition that basis and superstructure must correspond, will prove incorrect. The search in this direction should thus be encouraged. I also support Yakobson's refusal to be bound in this search by the "accepted" boundary between antiquity and the Middle Ages—the middle of the first millennium of the Christian era.

An Indologist will find it difficult to accept the thesis of the independence and primacy of law vis-à-vis religion and morality, since in India, this kind of independent law never emerged.

The desire of some researchers to refute the idea of "Oriental despotism" as a form of state in the ancient and mediaeval Orient stems from extra-scientific considerations. The term has gained currency in science as a designation for a form of state that differs from those we know in European history. Neither Barbarian kingdoms, nor limited monarchies, nor absolute monarchies are suitable as models for the state in Oriental countries. If there is a need for a different term or terms to denote a state or different kinds of state in the Orient, such a term or terms must be proposed; a mere assertion that "this is not despotism" will not do, in my view. The more so that even such an assertion demands that the essence, rather than the secondary aspects of the proposition must be refuted. Yakobson objects to the concept of "Oriental despotism" which implies a hereditary sovereign's autocracy without any restrictions whatever. First of all, the term "hereditary" is irrelevant here. On the contrary, the absence of a clear-cut right of inheritance and constant struggle for the throne are one of the important characteristics of Oriental states, and one of the reasons why 18th-century European thinkers ascribed "universal lack of rights" and "universal slavery" to the Orient. The idea that the despot's authority was "without any restrictions whatever" is just as easy to refute. In reality, each despot's power was restricted by his satraps, court cliques, customs and rituals. The gist of the problem is in the correlation of state and law: here I again go back to the difference in the role of law in the life of Eastern and Western societies. In the West, law regulated both the relations between private persons and their relations with the state. (I do not, of course, insist that sovereigns in Europe acted in strict compliance with law.) In the Orient, law protects the property owner when his rights are threatened by another private individual, and completely effaces itself when the state (as represented by an official, of course) appears on the scene.

I should make the reservation that in some cases the Oriental sovereign does take into account the interests of private persons. We are not, however, discussing such concrete instances, but law. Did the

law codes of Asian countries incorporate the provisions for private persons to institute legal proceedings against a state official? I mean, could he bring an action, and not just file a complaint? I believe that if it is proved that law in the East could take the side of a private person against the state, the term "despotism" is unsuitable.

Evgeni Kychanov (D. Sc., Hist.; Leningrad). In my view, the roots of law lie in the age-old tradition of restricting the biological instincts and socially dangerous actions of members of primitive societies. The sacralisation of the chief's power, the gradual elaboration of ethic norms, the emergence of a system of taboos and of sanctions for violating these norms based on custom and the chief's power—these are some of the sources of law. Since the time a biological entity became a social one, man has been obliged to regulate the life of society. It appears that each of the ancient societies had its own. specific regular tendencies, along with the general ones. Thus, in China, beginning with the earliest antiquity, there existed, on the one hand, the concept of punishment as a punitive military expedition to defend the community, and on the other, the tradition of disgraceful punishments for the members of the community itself, as semilegendary sources indicate. But law as such only emerged when the state, appearing as a result of class stratification of society and expressing the will of the ruling class, declared laws obligatory for all and made punishment for violating them a law. Yakobson rightly insists that this proposition must not be interpreted simplistically: the will of the dominant class partially took into account the interests of other classes and social groups of society. The sacralisation of the power of the chiefs of the agricultural communities in China (who were rulers and priests simultaneously), on whom the role of mediators in relations with the supreme deity, Heaven, and the pacification function devolved, resulted in their descendants, the Chinese Wangs and Huangdi Emperors, becoming the only sources of law, the only legislators and supreme judges. It is also true that courts are older than material, written law: originally, not only the chiefs but also all people, the people's assembly, were the judges. Societies, in particular ancient Chinese society, worked out a system of ethical norms determining the relation of the community members to the chief and later to the Wang, and a system of ethical norms regulating the life of the family, an important cell of the agricultural community. Not only ancient Chinese law, which regrettably is only scantily represented, but also the law of mediaeval China, well known at present, took shape under the direct impact of these ethical norms, the Li. Confucianism, with its motto of "Learning from the ancients", compiled collections of ethical norms, some of which belonged to class society, while others undoubtedly went back to hoary antiquity. These collections—Yi li, Li ji, Zhou li—became the sources of law, and some of their canons (such as the grounds for divorcing a husband or a wife, and others) were included in the codes of laws. Of the ethical norms of ancient China, the Li is the source of the tendency towards reducing all social relations to those between family members and to the head of the family, and of the subjects to their prince. For instance, mediaeval Chinese law regards Buddhist and Taoist communities as similar to the family. Punishment "for that which is not to be done", a legal norm that became part of the law code, also stems from the Li. In antiquity, China went through hundreds of years of debate on what is a better means of government—the ethical norm Li or punishment Sin. The controversy ended in a compromise: where admonition is not enough, punishment should be resorted to. It is thus impossible to understand old Chinese law without taking into account the traditional Chinese ideology and the whole of old Chinese culture.

Yakobson correctly holds that one must not ascribe to ancient jurists something they were not aware of as one describes antique law in terms of the modern theory of law. It is also correct that understanding the law on ownership is one of the knottiest points in this respect. The concept of ownership developed from antiquity towards the Middle Ages. For example, Chinese law, having probably begun with a ban on land sales, gradually worked out a detailed system of registering officially the right of land ownership and the rules regulating the sale and purchase of land.

By way of reply to the other questions posed by the editors of the journal, I would like to point out the following. The history of state and law (of law more than of state) can hardly help to determine the boundary between antiquity and the Middle Ages; that is to say, it is doubtful that law can provide convincing criteria for that, the more so that science has not yet worked out a reliable set of distinctive features for drawing a line between antiquity and the Middle Ages, in particular for the Orient. Let me note in passing that I am one of those who hold the view that antiquity in China stretched up to the Sung dynasty, i.e., up to the 11th-12th century A. D.

In the case of ancient and mediaeval China, the Emperor and the state may be equated, with some reservations, perhaps. China developed a strong state authority, whose body and heart was the Emperor, while the governing officials were his hands and feet. In ancient China, everything was under state control: in the Middle Ages, there were cities with a million inhabitants and not a vestige of urban self-government. Crafts and commerce flourished in China, yet the state stunted the growth of corporations and guilds. State control prevented the leading religions, Taoism and Buddhism, from developing into church organisations that would constitute an independent power in society. But I would not apply the term "Oriental despotism" either to ancient China (which was, apart from everything else, politically disunited for centuries) or to mediaeval. First, this term has no clear-cut scientific content. Second, the power

of the Emperor (as well as of the state), theoretically unrestricted by anyone or anything, was neither despotic nor the power of autocratic tyranny. All estates of society, from slaves to the nucleus of the dominant class, the bureaucratic public servants, had their rights, and these rights were guaranteed and protected by law.

Leonid Lelekov (Cand. Sc., Hist.; Moscow). The problems outlined in Yakobson's article are indubitably topical and insufficiently studied. However, some of the author's propositions, explicitly formulated or implied, are far from self-evident. One of these is the proposition that law arose out of the needs of expediency and logic alone, regardless of any connections with morality and religion. This appears to savour of a certain modernising of the concepts, of our modern habit of singling out the primary forms of ideology from the overall ensemble of the cultural-psychological continuum epiphenomena of the latter. The impression is formed as if consciousness, with its logical abilities, had taken shape as a whole long before the initial legal needs, that is to say, for a certain time it had made do without them. Furthermore, the subject of law in antique societies is said to be a collective of citizens, although it was obviously not so already in Hittite and ancient Babylonian law, while in the Biblical and Zoroastrian traditions the subject of law was firmly placed in the religious sphere. At all stages open to observation, in particular in ancient Iranian history, law and order were invariably presented by culture bearers as an integral part of religion and not as a human institution, and that was the ground for its obligatory nature. If we are to believe Herodotus (III.31), priests were the guardians and interpreters of law under Cambyses and also under Astyages. Administration of justice was also their prerogative. These statements of Herodotus are echoed in the Book of Esther (I.13), while in the Gathas by Zoroaster the concept of religious law, data (Yasna 33.1a, 46.15, 49.7, 51.14 and 19), exhausts the content of the entire juridical and legal sphere, assuming additional meanings ("statute", "rule", "transcendental norm"), depending on context. From all these sources, it is difficult in the case of Iran to identify, even formally, the collective of citizens with the subject of functionally indivisible law. This does not, of course, rule out a pell-mell coexistence of survivals of common law with the codified systems of Babylonian or Egyptian statutes, but the ultimate ideological sanction was the "king's law" identified with religious law. The model of social order traditional for the ancient Oriental civilisations, with a city community as its basis, does not quite fit ancient Iran, despite the author's tendency partially to extend it at least to the epoch of Indo-Iranian unity—the same tendency that was evinced by B. Brenties on the basis of purely culturological studies.4

Some Greek thinkers held views of the sources and nature of law and order that were relatively close to the Iranian ones. Thus Zeno of Citium asserted, seemingly developing the doctrine of Heraclitus (fr. 114), that Universal Law (nomos), or Correct Understanding (orthos logos) fills all that is, and is thereby identical to Zeus (fr. 162). Somewhat earlier this principle, highly characteristic of the Indo-European ideological schemata, with its idea of the world-forming identity of physical, social and moral law, was called *Themis* in the Greek archaic period and was distinctly noticeable not only in the rituals but also in the purely legal procedures.

For these and, of course, many other reasons the problem of the historical origin of law must not, it would appear, be withdrawn from the cultural context to the extent Vladimir Yakobson proposes to do. He himself noted the negligible significance attached to the concepts "free" and "freedom" in the ideologies of the classical ancient Orient represented (and that is highly important) by a considerable corpus of sources. In an obvious contrast, the scanty resources of Indo-European linguistic reconstruction provide clear evidence of wide currency of the same concepts, which were, apart from everything else, formed from several roots, long before the disintegration of the Indo-European community. The degree of explicit expression of such key notions as "freedom", "right", "law", etc., must have a definite bearing on the typology of culture as a whole, on the most typical configurations of social thinking. One would hardly expect to find a rigid direct correlation between the types of law and those of cultures, which are singled out, besides, by ourselves on the basis of modern criteria, which were never recognised by the carriers of the cultures themselves as organically their own. But it would be quite wrong, too, to negate any kind of interconnection here. In any case, the conception of the juridical-legal foundations of social life in ancient Iran was distinctly different from Sumeric-Semitic prototypes. which did indeed follow from the age-long social experiences of the city communities of Asia Minor.

It is much easier to concur with Yakobson in his evaluation of the problems of the so-called Oriental despotism. Even the Achaemenidae, the kings of the first world power, autocratic tyrants and heralds of absolute sovereignty, did not seem absolute autocrats to many observers from other cultures. Xenophon ascribed to Cyrus the view that the sovereign's sacred duty was to be the first among all others to obey the law (Cyropedia 1.3.18), while the Old Testament authors expressed the same idea through the stereotype statement of the stability of the Median-Persian laws (the Book of Esther, 1.19 and others). Although we observe here the idealisation of the Iranian world by the old inhabitants of the Eastern Mediterranean which we cannot as yet explain, it could not be entirely unfounded.

As for the different concepts of ownership, they have not yet been so fully identified for us to speak of them with absolute certainty. It would appear that in widely spaced epochs periodic incursions of nomads infused the areas of ancient settled agricultural civilisations with the practice of collective tribal ownership of power, property, land, etc. One of the possible aspects of the watershed between antiquity and the Middle Ages might be the character and detailed elaboration of commercial law. Within M. Moss's theory, another identification feature of antiquity and of the pre-state stage is the survivals of the gift-exchanging economy as thoroughly attested, e.g., by the Rigveda. They are as suitable as criteria for delimiting the stages of antiquity and the Middle Ages as the accompanying elements of common law.

Andrei Samozvantsev (Cand. Sc., Hist.; Moscow). Being an Indologist, I cannot make judgements about the way in which law emerged in historico-cultural regions other than India. As for India of the beginning of the first millennium B.C., that is, the time when civilisation emerged, law seems to have taken shape there in two ways. On the one hand, there was the practice, dating back to primitive society, of dealing with cases within the community or, on a broader scale, in rural localities. On the other hand, there was the activity of the royal administration, mostly in the city centres, which led to recording the practice of state life as a whole and the appearance of the first archives. As for law functioning and courts during antiquity outside the scheme we find in, say, the Arthashastra, they can only be discussed as a conjecture. It seems that the lower the level of the law court, the more the administration of justice was dominated by common law.

I am inclined to agree that law took shape as an autonomous branch of knowledge independent of religion and morality. In India, law developed in the non-Dharmic texts of the Arthashastra tradition, expounding the "theory" of state and law (these terms are merely tentative). Although they were not religious texts, they were influenced, of course, both by religion and moral rules. Later, the legal materials of these texts were borrowed by Smriti Dharmic literature, i.e., by ritual literature, which is explained by the process of ritual interpretation of the activity of the king in that literature.

In very general terms, the emergence of well-developed urban culture, characteristic in particular of Mesopotamia, is extremely important for the shaping of law. The more law becomes part of urban culture and urban life in general, falling in the process under state control, the more it acquires the quality of a "system" of law, being established in the form of codes and statutes. Contrariwise, the less the state (the city) interferes in the life of the villages, the greater the sway of tradition in the latter.

Without doubt, Indian materials do not warrant the idea of "Oriental despotism". It would also appear that in ancient Egypt the King was not a despot either, his activity being restricted, on the one

hand, by the practice of state administration, and on the other, by the aristocracy (above all, by the priesthood).

The texts of the *Dharmashastras*, even the later one (6th and 7th centuries A.D.), reflect the ancient Indian tradition, and most commentaries on them are also traditional. It is therefore difficult to discover the "movement" of the concept of ownership, even if it is there: it seems to have undergone no significant changes since it took shape in the first millennium B.C., at least in pre-Moslem India.

The study of the history of state and law can be of help in defining the boundaries between antiquity and the Middle Ages, but only if corresponding criteria are worked out and the problem itself is investigated to any considerable extent. The type of trial (investigative, competitive, etc.) can hardly provide a reliable criterion. The study of socio-economic processes may, in my view, yield better evidence for this purpose.

Vyacheslav Ivanov (D.Sc., Philol.; Moscow). Vladimir Yakobson's article poses a number of significant issues facing the student of early law. By way of developing and, to some extent, complementing the ideas of that article, I shall consider some aspects which especially require the participation of specialists in the contiguous areas—language, mythology, ritual, and magic.

The works of Olga Freidenberg and Louis Gernet based on ancient Greek materials clearly formulated the idea of "pre-law" earlier ritual and legal (from our standpoint) sets of precepts, which for a long time existed in oral tradition and became part of the later legal texts in modified form. (Let me recall that in India such texts were for a long time oral, and written record is not therefore an obligatory feature of an ancient legal text). The reconstruction of survivals from the period before writing carried out within each set of legal precepts on the basis of typological criteria is also confirmed by the historical comparison of different juridical traditions going back towards a single source. Thus a great deal has recently been done with regard to the Common Indo-European legal formulas such as the change of a murderer of a human being into a wolf, symbolised by a formula of the type "became a wolf" in ancient Hittite laws, in the ancient Icelandic oath, in the ancient Greek text of Plato's Republic and some others reflecting the original Common Indo-European text literally or with synonymic substitutions for separate words. It has also proved possible to reconstruct certain fragments of Common Indo-European pre-legal dialogues between the defendant and the plaintiff (the latter might be a deity), which included the verb es-"to be" and its participle, which therefore acquired the specific (pre-) legal meaning (Lat. sons-"guilty", for which a precise equivalent was found in the Hittite prayers of King Mursilis II during the plague). Apart from the two participants, the legal duel also included a third person, which explains the ancient designations for the court of arbitration and for the mythological deity acting as the arbitrator from the Indo-European numeral "three", and for the witness as "the fourth" (in the Anatolian languages).⁵ In the Indo-European traditions, god, the arbitrator, often gave the answer through an ordeal by water described in the ancient Hittite and other early Indo-European pre-legal texts, where the Water deity is mentioned in this connection (Old Ind. ar—; Hitt. hap—"the Stream as a deity"), denoted by a substantive of the ancient animate class. The function of the word in the text corresponded to its grammatical features, too. It is thus necessary for the student of law to take into account the findings of linguistic analysis proper.

Etymological study of legal terms may help to verify the hypotheses about the late development of a certain category that are sometimes put forward rashly, on the basis of a priori assumptions. Thus etymological study, just as analysis of ancient texts involving Anatolian and Common Indo-European materials, refute the thesis, flippantly repeated in a number of recent articles, concerning the absence of a special term meaning "free" in antiquity. This meaning (including freedom from taxes and other obligations) is present both in the Hitt. arawa-s (beginning with the earliest legal texts) and in the cognate Lycian words (including the one recorded in a trilingual gloss, where the translation is beyond question). It therefore goes back, if only for that reason, to Common Hittite-Luwian. Besides, the existence of a precise parallel in Lithuanian arwa-s-"free" (and of the Slavic terms for equality, cf. Russ. rovnya) compels us to trace back exactly this meaning of the given word to the Common Indo-European language. In the same way, to solve the controversial problem of the antiquity of some ownership relations, it is important to take into account the etymology of the Iranian expression for the concept of "to owe", given in the remarkable etymological dictionary appended to the translation, with commentaries of The Sassanian Law Code by A. Perikhanyan.⁶

A most important feature of the pre-legal and early-legal texts is that they make wide use of the symbols of ancient rituals and mythological systems, whose interpretation requires typological comparison with other texts of the same or cognate tradition. Thus, without comparative study of the scales symbol as the sign of justice and the deity's being right in different ancient traditions, it will be impossible to understand Article 169 of the Hittite Code of Laws, which reads: "If someone buys a field and (then) violates the border, he must take ritual bread, break it before Sun God and say: 'You have placed my scales on Earth'." In Article 163 of the same Code, the interpretation of the expression "someone's cattle became the property of the deity" may require typological comparison with

Georgian ritual texts speaking about "the bull belonging (dedicated) to God".

Comparative-historical and typological studies, just as the data of newly discovered ancient texts, compel caution in dealing with the problem of the king's legal status in various ancient Oriental societies. In some cases the king obviously retained his principal ritual function of a sacred person. The latter was unquestionably primordial and is confirmed both by typological studies, which have proved the secondary and later character of all the king's other functions involved in power and government, and by etymological investigations.⁸

It should be emphasised that numerous difficulties arise from the use of signs, often translated into modern languages as "king", in the earliest writing traditions of the ancient Orient. The hypothesis concerning the functional and local difference between the Sumeric terms en and lugal, formulated already in the 1910s in V. Shileiko's remarkable studies and confirmed by the later Assyriological inquiry, accords with the data of the recently discovered cuneiform archive at Ebla dating from the third millennium B.C.. There, the first term refers to the ruling king of Ebla itself (which is analogous to the Uruk usage), whereas the second term denotes the highest officials in Ebla and "kings" (including mythological ones) of other areas. But at the end of the third millennium B.C. the usage of the term changes. In that later period the idea of king (lugal) as the chosen favourite of the deity becomes more pronounced.

It is undoubtedly wrong to refer to such societies as the old Hittite one as "Oriental despotism"—societies where the assembly of warriors (panku-š) and a council (tuliya, a word equivalent to the Akkadian *puhrum*, with reference to the council of gods, too) restricted the power of the king and could in certain cases put him on trial. At the beginning of the new Hittite period, the council of "important officials" (Akkad. kabtutum, literally "heavy"), first referred to in the Farewell Address or Political Will of Hattusilis I, is still mentioned in King Suppilulimas's chronicle compiled by his son, Mursilis II. It would therefore be premature to draw the conclusion that these institutions quickly disappeared (while the king became an absolute monarch). The connection between the character of sacredness of royal power and the type of pantheon, which is more apparent under monotheism or monophysitism assumed to have existed in Egypt, must be established more clearly in other cases. The Mesopotamian (Akkadian and Hurrian) concept of the council of gods, which also affected the Hittites, is particularly interesting in this

A comparative study of the carnival rituals of replacing the king, widespread in Eurasia, shows that the idea of the king's second birth stands out quite clearly there. In the Hittite ritual, the king says to

the prisoner of war made slave who stands in for him: "See! I have been born... anew." A similar interpretation should also be given (in accordance with the text of the Shatapatha Brahmana and its interpretation by A. M. Hocart) to the ancient Indian coronation ceremonies, where the shirt figures as the symbol of the king's "womb of power"; the throne can also serve as such a symbol. The ritual role of the throne, clearly manifested in the ancient Orient and in Africa, is of special interest as distinct evidence of deification of the ritual function played by the king rather than of the king himself. The king may be killed or replaced, but the sacral function he performs is embodied not only in him but also in other symbols. In the Hattian and Hittite traditions, the administration of justice in the trial of particularly grave crimes was attributed to the royal gates, not the king.

The court procedure, its organisation and corresponding terminology, just as the other pre-legal and early legal institutions, reflected certain earlier ritual concepts held almost universally. We shall cite just one of the numerous possible illustrations. In the ancient Egyptian descriptions of the trial beyond the grave, the deity judging the guilty sends them "to the left", i.e., to the east—h'(w). Similar symbolism of the left as evil is found in the ancient Orient in the Hittite court minutes, and in mediaeval Africa, in the ancient Nubian legal word usage.

Finally, there are well-known echoes of the same symbolism in the Christian notions that show similarity, on the one hand, to the dualist Qumran ideas, and on the other, to early Greek ones: judging from the inscriptions on Greek gold plates in graves, the souls of the dead had to avoid taking the left turn at the crossroads in order not to fall into the "sad circle of suffering".

In conclusion, let us recall again the ideas of Louis Gernet and Jean Pierre Vernant, anticipated by Olga Freidenberg. These scholars believed that the study of pre-theatre becoming theatre has natural links with the study of pre-law becoming early law. According to Freidenberg, "ancient trials run parallel to the theatre and the popular contests". 10 There is no coincidence about the form of the circle in early theatre and early court, the use of similar spatial opposites (such as left vs. right), the incorporation of grotesque trials in the ritual drama, like Greek buffoon shows or the Hittite dialogue between monsters and the Temple of the God of Thunderstorm, which orders them to fetch the Snake to the palace to be tried by a legal court. The ancient concrete spatial oppositions, represented in practically all traditions, were gradually replaced by ethical ones: in Sophocles's opposition of Oedipus vs. Laius, we no longer perceive Laius as "left", although at some time in the past his name, cognate with the Russian word levyi ("left"), indicated him to be the carrier of a bad omen; in the Greek ritual theatre, the left or western passage always symbolised the country of death or an alien land. Later, as ethical principles were shifted into the foreground, a displacement of these ancient correlations became possible, as in Athens in the 5th century B.C. and in ancient China of the Chou period. Law (just as the theatre) grows out of pre-law and ritual, but as ethics becomes established (in Europe, that occurred in the polis of antiquity long before the Middle Ages), mythological pre-legal oppositions are replaced by legal ethical ones. Law becomes separated from other sign systems, becoming a specific system with its own rules different from the ritual and mythological ones and rather similar to other systems of regulation and management.

Leonid Vasilyev (D.Sc., Hist.; Moscow). In my view it is important, above all, to formulate the problem correctly. First, we must not speak about the ancient Orient but about the Orient as such, and this the author of the article under discussion feels himself, as is clear from his frequent references to examples and analogies from the Oriental practices of the Middle Ages. Moreover, the boundary between antiquity and the Middle Ages, which Yakobson tries to postulate with some reservations, is in general non-existent. It can certainly be drawn in the Middle East, where history is clearly divided into pre-Islamic and Islamic, but nothing of the sort is possible either in India or in China. In the Middle East, too, that would be no boundary between different formations. In short, one should speak of the specificity of law (of state and law) in the traditional Orient as opposed to the West.

Second, it should be clearly realised that the traditional Orient has been structurally different from the West since antiquity. Although the early Middle Ages in Europe are typologically similar to the Eastern traditional structures, they were just a short period in the history of Europe. In this connection, there seems to be no foundation for Yakobson's casual remark about the East being ahead of Europe in socio-economic development during a long period: beginning with the Solon epoch, it was certainly the other way round. However, it is important not to go to the other extreme here, for the structure of the Orient is not so much backward or retarded as fundamentally different.

Third, it is precisely because of the structural specificity of Oriental societies that law is here firmly integrated in the socio-political system, can hardly be singled out from it and, with all its direct dependence on religion and morality, is ultimately conditioned by the socio-political and socio-economic factors rather than religion, morality, or, say, social psychology. For example, the king takes care of the well-being of the people and firmly restricts the private sector because that is necessary for the normal functioning of the social structure and not because of psychological discomfort. It was the

rigid system of socio-political institutions rather than psychology and law that opposed the development of the private sector. Here lies the explanation for the indubitable fact that in the traditional Orient (with the possible, and very rare, exceptions like Phoenicia, however great their significance might be for the social mutation that resulted in the emergence of antique society) the private sector never became a structure-forming one.

Given all this, what was law in the Orient? As distinct from Europe, we have no civil or property law here, or almost none. That is not to say that there were no legal cases of that description. They did exist, and they were even included in great numbers in the codes of law beginning with the laws of Hammurabi. But we are speaking of law in the strict sense, i.e., of a system of definite civil freedoms and guarantees. In this sense, Yakobson's use of the concepts like "citizens" and "the civic population" with reference to the East appears to me unacceptable. There were no citizens in the traditional East—there were only subjects.

Evgeni Rashkovsky (Cand. Sc., Hist.; Moscow). As a student of the modern Orient's cultural-sociological problems with a special interest in the culture-creating aspects of state and legal relations, I would like to point out, first of all, the importance and fruitfulness of the formulation of the problem in the article under discussion. It will be difficult, in my view, to understand the specificity of the present-day Afro-Asian societies unless we take into account the fact that these so-called young societies have in actual fact an age-long past, and their "young age" is due to their relatively recent introduction to certain European forms of socio-economic, technological, institutional, and spiritual self-organisation. How did these forms function? How effective were they in the Oriental contexts? What may be the results of their introduction in certain countries or regions of the East? It is impossible to solve any of these questions without taking into account the deep cultural-historical substratum of Eastern societies.

In this connection, we are bound to touch on a problem of theoretical Oriental studies which, since the times of Herder and Marx, has relentlessly vexed the scholars. We mean here the problem of the community and the so-called Oriental despotism. It would be more precise to define the latter as traditional sacred authority. As we know, this problem was most persistently and incisively debated by those Orientalists who adhered to the theory of the so-called "Asiatic mode of production". That trend gave an appreciable heuristic impetus to the development of Oriental studies. The only trouble is, in my view, that they gave too rigid and static an interpretation of these correlative categories, in the spirit of methodological reductionism characteristic of the beginning of the 20th century, i.e., in the

spirit of the desire to reduce the entire wealth of cultural-historical reality to a narrow range of inductively substantiated universals.

I believe that the mutually connected universals of "community" and "traditional sacred authority" should be interpreted in the light of a kind of dialectics of continuity and, at the same time, variability in the multidimensional and mobile context of history.

That is primarily true of the communal form of social organisation and social psychology. That form is, as it were, a most important archetype of the state and legal history of Oriental societies. It pervades the development process of their economy, their institutions and spiritual life and itself changes under different conditions, largely determining the varied yet somehow unified stratum of mankind's cultural-historical experience that is generally referred to by the conventional shorthand term "the Orient". A certain fundamental orientation at inalienable connections between the liturgy, ethics and juridical-legal sets of precepts is one of the characteristic results of the impact of this communal archetype on the dynamics of the history of Oriental civilisations. As it travels through historical time, the communal form of men's socio-cultural selforganisation may, as historical experience shows, ultimately lose touch with its agrarian and archaic roots (a fact that was rather neglected by the adherents of the "Asiatic mode of production"). But the basic orientation of the archetype remains in force: the individual transfers the beginnings of his potential spiritual and legal sovereignty to his sacralised group (and consequently to its leaders). The inalienable human need for personal safety and solidarity with one's race realises itself precisely through such a transference act. It took the innovative ideas of "the Kingdom within" and the separation of that which is God's from that which is Caesar's, for the history of relations between individual and community to assume a new quality.

Yakobson is quite right in opposing the widespread rigid identification of traditional sacred authority with omnipotent and excessive despotism. Traditional sacred authority may be described as a personified sign expression of the communal archetype referred to above. We can only speak unconditionally of "Oriental despotism" where the king's functions as a High Priest have at their disposal the entire arsenal of the sophisticated techniques of management including, in particular, the ability to manipulate the antagonisms within society for the purpose of strengthening the king's prerogatives. Under the conditions of traditional sacred authority (even in its extreme versions), imperial power does not necessarily formally assume the entire range of theocratic functions, although the objective social context and the legal nature of well-developed traditional sacred authority might easily be conducive to the usurpation, voluntary or involuntary, of these functions.

"Oriental despotism" is in this sense not only the product of the communal archetype but also, in part, its negation, and thus a source of social destabilisation and internal self-exhaustion of the civilisation, ethnocultural, and dynastic cycles of history. That is precisely the phenomenon that is described in Toynbeean categories as the "breakdown" of the given cultural-historical community. The pressure of the entire system of the social and power relations on the individual (both in the lower and the upper classes) becomes unbearable and is perceived as a violation of the sacral world order, as a deviation from the Dharma or Tao.

Social consciousness is compelled to face this challenge, seeking for the developing, voluntarily or involuntarily, the forms of human self-cognition and self-organisation that would correspond to its basic concepts of the justice of the communal archetype.

Abram Pershits (D.Sc., Hist.; Moscow). It is a well-known fact that in these times of growing differentiation of sciences many adequate solutions are found along the juncture or on the "bridges" between the disciplines. Therefore Yakobson's appeal for cooperation of effort or extending the specialisation of Orientalist historians and jurists should be regarded as timely, to say the least. However, even this kind of cooperation will hardly help to solve the problems raised during the debate unless we bring in the science of mankind's early history, the history of primitive society.

Indeed, how can one make judgements concerning the emergence of law in the ancient Orient, if both the historian and the jurist deal only with written records of already existing law? Such judgements will obviously be only tentative. I believe that it is this error into which Yakobson falls as he fails to mention the most ancient and important source of early law—common law—and stresses the activity of law-givers, the compilation of a kind of "constitution".

Wherever the historians of primitive society, relying on ethnographic data, were able to study more or less independent genesis of law, three basic sources of law were recorded: the norms of the epoch of class formation sanctioned by the state (in other words, common law), legal practice (in other words, law of precedent, or case law), and legislation proper (in other words, statute law). They are not easy to distinguish even in life, for, let us say, precedent law might in some cases be based on tradition and in others be a legal innovation. It is still more difficult, of course, to distinguish between them in the monuments of ancient Oriental law. Moreover, for obvious psychological reasons these monuments may mostly reflect the legislative initiative of the rulers, distorting our notions of the entire ensemble and historical succession of the sources of law. Finally, it should also be taken into account that common and

precedent law might exist for a long time without records, like the adats of the mountain peoples of the Caucasus, or, more recently, the common law of many early class societies of Tropical Africa.

In primitive society, the norms of conduct remained as a rule syncretic, the most important of them functioning simultaneously as religious, moral, and even, in terms of the rigorous sanctions accompanying them, legal norms of a certain kind. Taking into account this important feature, I suggested some time ago the term "mononorms" for them. 11 Only in pre-class society, in the process of general differentiation of human activity, did the forms of social regulation begin (and I stress the word "begin") to be split into forms properly religious, ethical and legal, and that process continued during several historical epochs, being completed by the beginning of capitalism. In the view of such a major historian of comparative law as Réné David, in Islamic, Hindu and Confucian law, this process has not yet been accomplished even now. David, in his book Les grands systèmes de droit contemporains, even lumps together all the legal Oriental systems in one and the same group of traditional and religious systems, for in most of them, as he writes, the accent is on the obligations imposed on the righteous man, while the concept of subjective law is absent. It is a different matter that this process, like all others in history, was not straightforward, and with the emergence of holy scriptures the norms of conduct that had gradually become desacralised might again come under rigid sacralisation.

Yakobson is right to emphasise the inadmissibility of the gap between the historical sciences and such juridical discipline as the history of the state and law. Quite recently, however, the signs have appeared of jurists' close attention to archaeology and ethnography as the principal disciplines studying the sources of primitive history. No less important is the concern with these disciplines of specialists in those areas of Oriental studies where the objects of investigation include the early forms of social stratification, statehood, normative regulation and other social institutions.

NOTES

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³ M. A. Dandamayev, V. G. Lukonin, *The Culture and Economy of Ancient Iran*, Moscow, 1980, pp. 127-140 (in Russian).

⁴ B. Brentjes, Die Stadt des Yima, Leipzig, 1981.

⁵ V. V. Ivanov, V. N. Toporov, "Ancient Slavic Law", The Formation of Old Slavic Peoples, Moscow, 1981 (in Russian).

- ⁶ A. G. Perikhanyan, The Sassanian Law Code (The Book of a Thousand Court Decisions), Erevan, 1973, pp. 469-474 (in Russian).
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- ⁸ A. L. Sihler, "The Etymology of PIE *Reĝ-King", Journal of Indo-European Studies, 1977, Vol. 5, Nos. 2-3, pp. 221-246.
- ⁹ V. V. Ivanov, "On One Type of Archaic Signs of Art and Pictography", Early Forms of Art, Moscow, 1972, p. 115 (in Russian).
- ¹⁰ O. M. Freidenberg, The Myth and the Literature of Antiquity, Moscow, 1978, p. 162 (in Russian).
- ¹¹ A. I. Pershits, "The Problems of Normative Ethnography", Studies in General Ethnography, Moscow, 1979 (in Russian).

Soviet Women in the Anti-War Movement

VALENTINA TERESHKOVA

From the Editors: We have asked Valentina Tereshkova, Chairman of the Soviet Women's Committee, the world's first space-woman, to tell our readers about the Soviet women's struggle for peace, since the programme of the International Congress of the Historical Sciences includes a Round-Table on the subject "Women in the Anti-War Movement". Below we publish her contribution.

Will mankind cross the threshold of the third millennium with anxiety for the future of civilisation or with confidence that its prospects for development are boundless, that life on our planet is securely protected? Today this question is uppermost in the minds of the public in various countries. This question has a special meaning for women. In the year 2000 the present rising generation will be in the prime of life. Women's age-long striving to bring up their children and preserve peace on Earth is all the greater today, when the confrontation between the forces of war and peace has reached such a dangerous pitch. From time immemorial, artists have depicted woman with an olive branch of peace in her hand. In our time she carries in her hands not only the branch of peace, but also the banner of struggle for it. Women in all continents are taking an active part in the present-day anti-war movement: the mass movement of protest against those who want to plunge the peoples of the world into the abyss of world nuclear war.

The major part played by women in mass movements is an age-old tradition. Suffice it to recall Marx's words that "great social upheavals are inconceivable without a female ferment".

The dialectics of woman's participation in social development is such that, being an unfailing participant in mass movements, she gains increasingly broader rights, and this, in turn, raises her social and political activity.

As we know, our time is characterised by women's broad participation in the economic, social and cultural life of society, by

their enhanced role in deciding major international problems, and primarily in preserving and strengthening peace.

As far back as 1915, Lenin stressed that "if a woman worker wants to shorten the time of suffering inherent in the epoch of imperialist wars, her striving for peace has to turn into wrath and struggle...".2

Nowadays, women have become a formidable force in the struggle for peace. It is precisely their greater role in the economic, social and political life of society that at the same time made them realise more deeply their responsibility not only for the fate of their own peoples, but for the peoples of the whole world.

This is strikingly exemplified by the activity of the Women's International Democratic Federation—one of the most representative public organisations of our time. Its founding in 1945, immediately after the Second World War, was an expression of the will of the majority of women in many countries of the world to unite in the name of the struggle against war, oppression, poverty, for freedom, justice and peace.

Leafing through the WIDF foundation documents, one cannot but feel women's craving for friendship, cooperation and solidarity, 'how forceful and irresistible was their will for peace, how insistently they warned (and in August of the same year Hiroshima perished) against the terrible catastrophe that could engulf our planet.

"There are many organisations concerned with peace... but we are concerned as women, with women's arguments," noted Eugénie Cotton, the first President of the WIDF, a well-known physicist and a prominent French public figure. "It is for these reasons which are peculiar to us, that we understand better, we who have been for so long humiliated in our dignity as human beings, the humiliation of colonial peoples submitted to imperialism." ⁵

The Federation unites women irrespective of their race, nationality, religious or political convictions. The WIDF's active position on the issues of peace and war, its unfailing solidarity with the peoples fighting for freedom and independence, coupled with its concrete actions in defence of women's and children's rights, make for the growth of its prestige and enrollment in its ranks of fresh contingents of progressive women. Today the WIDF unites 135 women's organisations from 117 countries.

The efforts to cooperate and take joint actions with other international organisations having different social memberships and range of aims are distinctive feature of the Federation's activity. These include the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, the International Federation of Women in Legal Careers, the Pan African Women's Organisation, the International Council of Women, the International Planned Parenthood Federation, the International Cooperative Alliance, the World Young Women's Christian Association, the Christian Peace Conference, the World

Council of Churches, the International Union for Children Welfare, and the International Federation of University Women. The WIDF maintains broad contacts also with the various women's communities not affiliated with any women's associations.

In recent years this cooperation has been especially fruitful in holding major international women's public forums on the mutually acceptable programmes of common demands, in the first place the demand for peace: the World Congress for International Women's Year (Berlin, 1975), the World Conference "For a Peaceful and Secure Future for All Children" (Moscow, 1979), the World Congress of Women "Equality, National Independence, Peace" (Prague, 1981). Participating in the Prague Congress, for one, were over one thousand representatives of the various women's organisations from 132 countries and 96 international organisations.

The process of reaching unanimity of views on the problems discussed gains momentum from forum to forum, helping to promote the unity of all the peaceloving forces and to foil the imperialists' military designs, and that despite the fact that each successive forum gathers a greater number of participants with different social and political affinities. Incidentally, the participants in the World Congress of Women in Prague put this on record in the unanimously adopted appeal: "Whether our children inhabit a peaceful world or all life on our planet is exterminated by nuclear war depends on us, women. Let us raise our voices! Let us act together. United, we can save our people and the whole of humanity!"

It should be said that the voice of the women's democratic public reaches ever greater numbers of women.

Millions of women readily responded to the appeal of the WIDF Bureau (1982) to conduct a World Campaign "Women for Disarmament, for Peace". Twice the Federation sent its representatives to attend the special sessions of the UN General Assembly on disarmament (1978 and 1982), thus voicing from this lofty rostrum the firm will of the women of our planet for peace, their resolve to fight for disarmament and consolidate international detente.

The anti-war actions sponsored by the WIDF in connection with the Women's Day of Action for Peace and Disarmament (October 25) have become truly massive. The same may be said of actions held on the occasion of March 8—International Women's Day, which has been marked for a number of years now as a day of actions against the danger of nuclear war.

The women participating in the anti-war movement demand not only the removal of the nuclear threat. They protest against the colossal squandering of funds, material resources, and intellectual powers in the preparations for war. This squandering hits hardest the millions of people in many countries, who suffer from unemployment, inflation, hunger, disease, and illiteracy. Women are

also greatly concerned over the fact that the continued arms race robs both the present and future generations. For the future generations will have to pay a high price for today's arms race, which prevents the solution of the power, raw-material, food, ecological and other global problems.

That is why in the present conditions the struggle for peace increasingly combines with actions in defence of the social, economic, and political rights of the women, who have realised that the militarist preparations sharply aggravate discrimination against them and worsen the position of the family.

As we know, the growth of military spending means cutbacks on the allocations for social needs, with every million detracted from social funds bringing about thousands of new unemployed. The drive for a tougher economy launched by the bourgeois governments in the field of education, public health, welfare services, and culture affects adversely not only everyday family life, but also the industries where women's labour is predominant. The unemployment level among women is today much higher than among men. Thus, in the FRG women account for 30 per cent of the entire employed population, while among the unemployed—for 50 per cent. In Western Europe as a whole figures are 40 per cent and 60 per cent, respectively. It is very hard in this case to establish the actual level of unemployment, since statistics does not take into account the married women, who do not register with the labour exchange, for they are not, as a rule, eligible for unemployment benefit. Protracted unemployment, and this more often than not is the lot of women. implies not only financial straits, but also grave psychological problems, health disorders, and loss of skill.

Under these circumstances, the sorry plight and dependence of many women (especially mothers) grows, educational grants, stipends and pensions are cut, both the public health and the pre-school systems are curtailed, which, in turn, deprives many mothers of the possibility to work.

To the women in the developing countries military spending means the unrealised programmes to improve the living conditions of women and children. Imperialism's growing aggressive ambitions compel the developing countries to allocate annually 100,000 million dollars for military purposes, which considerably exceeds the sums earmarked for education and is three times as much as what they spend on the public health services. And that at a time when half the children in developing countries die of malnutrition, when 90 per cent of the new-born (dying before they reach one year of age) could be saved, given timely vaccination and the essential medical aid.

The position of women and children is especially intolerable in countries with racist or dictatorial regimes, in the conditions of armed aggression and occupation. Thousands of women and children perish in bombings, become widows or orphans, languish

behind prison bars, are brutally tortured. The shameful system of apartheid, the inhuman conditions of existence of those who are compelled to live in the refugee camps, humiliate women's dignity, dooming them to suffering and oppression.

Women in all continents realise today more than ever before the need for vigorous actions against the war danger, the arms race and international tensions. Public opinion polls and sociological studies show the profound changes taking place in the minds of women belonging to different social groups.

Overcoming the fear and uncertainty, the pessimism spread by the mass media, the women take concrete actions, inspiring hope in others and the readiness to act. The fear of nuclear war, far from paralysing their will, has impelled many women, who had never before stopped to think in terms of "big politics", to join the anti-war movement.

It would be wrong, however, to attribute the present scale of the women's anti-war movement solely to the fact that its participants are aware of the terrible consequences of a nuclear cataclysm. The growing realisation of women's responsibility for mankind's social progress, undoubtedly plays a major part here.

A feature of the contemporary women's anti-war movement is the participation in it of women of the most diverse political convictions and religious beliefs representing the most diverse social groups. More often than not their associations differ from each other both as regards the demands they put forward and their methods of work. It is indicative, however, that even those organisations, which traditionally used to fight only for women's rights, today consider that "peace is the business of women as well".

In the European Northern countries and in the FRG, in Greece and Great Britain, in the USA and Japan, in Australia and Italy, in Canada and Switzerland recent years have seen the emergence of women's organisations and movements whose names eloquently bespeak their raison d'être: "Women for Peace", "Mothers for Peace", "Women for Survival", "Peace Links—Women Against Nuclear War", "Women for Disarmament, for Peace", etc.

In many cases, women initiated such mass anti-war actions as the international peace marches, or such forms of the anti-missile protest as the picketting of the US military bases and setting up the peace camps. The women's unprecedented siege of the US Greenham Common missile base in Britain in the face of the provocations, police clubs and imprisonment, is a striking example of the women's staunchness and resolve.

Another important thing is that the women's anti-war actions have become a permanent factor of international life. The deployment of new US missiles in a number of European countries has not halted the women's anti-war movement, thus frustrating the hopes of the militarist circles. Its participants have not retreated; their struggle has

entered a new phase, for the danger inherent in nuclear weapons and the deployment of fresh US missiles is becoming an increasingly real threat to their lives. Today, the anti-war fighters in the West not only denounce the siting of the Pentagon's weapons in foreign lands. Their action programmes grow broader, including ever new demands ranging from the creation of nuclear-free zones in Europe to the reversal by the US of its entire political and military strategy as based on force.

Women's organisations in Asia, Africa and Latin America play a major role in the struggle for peace and against the threat of nuclear war. Women, who because of age-long traditions and colonial practices were barred from public activities, are today fighting actively against the arms race and the build-up of international tensions.

Women in the socialist countries make a worthy contribution to the worldwide movement for peace. The Soviet women are active participants of the anti-war struggle.

The hearts of Soviet women just as the hearts of all Soviet people, are open to the anxieties and aspirations of mankind. People in our country know only too well what war means. Twenty million human lives were given in the struggle for freedom and independence and against German fascism and Japanese militarism. Only on Soviet territory the Hitlerites destroyed, plundered, burnt and razed to the ground 1,710 towns, 70,000 rural centres and villages. And this is far from being the full price of the Victory, whose 40th anniversary was marked this spring. There is not a single family in our country which was bypassed by the severe trials of the war. To the lot of our mothers and older sisters fell the ordeals at the front and the war-time hardships in the rear. Having mastered many military professions (pilots, signallers, sappers, etc.), they defended in combat units the right of their people to freedom, the right of all the peoples of the world to live in conditions of peace. In the rear they took care of their children, of the home, selflessly worked in the factories and on the farms. Everywhere they worked courageously for victory, forming the frontranks of the fighters for peace.

In the early months of the Great Patriotic War the Soviet Women's Anti-Fascist Committee was set up, later re-named the Soviet Women's Committee. Already in those hard times, the Soviet women began to tackle the task of uniting and strengthening the forces fighting against fascism and militarism. To rouse the women in the countries enslaved by Hitler fascism to joint actions, to establish contacts with the women's organisations of the allied nations, and unite in the struggle against the common foe—such were the aims the Soviet women set themselves at their first all-Union anti-fascist meeting held on September 7, 1941. It issued an appeal to the women of the world, which read in part: "Dear sisters! Our freedom, the destiny of our beloved children, brothers, bridegrooms.

and husbands depend on ourselves! Now is not the time for tears! Only a stubborn and desperate war against nazism to complete victory over the Hitlerites can save our peoples and our families from slavery and disgrace!" Soviet women backed up this appeal by their feats of mass heroism on the battle and home fronts.

The response to the appeal found expression in thousands of letters from women in Great Britain, the USA, India and many other countries. Thus the first contacts of the Soviet Women's Committee took shape. Today the Committee maintains friendly ties with women's organisations in over 120 countries of the world. We have always considered the struggle for the preservation and strengthening of peace our paramount task.

This is evidenced by the hundreds of thousands of letters sent to the Soviet Women's Committee and to the editors of women's magazines. Here is one of them. Maria Fomenko from the Ukraine writes: "All my life made for me taking part in the peace movement. A happy childhood on a collective farm, then the war, occupation, the death of those near and dear to me, the sorrows and the privations of fellow-villagers—all left a deep scar in my heart. In my mind's eye I still see broad-shouldered lads leaving for the front. Instead of growing grain and building houses, they went away never to come back to their native village. That's what happened with my two brothers, my father also did not return from the war. The fight for peace is therefore not a temporary need for me, just as it is not for millions of Soviet women, for all our people. It is the purpose of all our life. We are waging that fight by the dictates of our hearts and minds." And this is what 250 perished soldiers' widows, mothers and sisters from the Cheremnoye township in the Altai Territory wrote in a letter sent to us:

"Neither years nor decades will mitigate the ache of loss in our hearts. We shall always remember! And this sacred memory of ours has become our weapon in the most just struggle—the struggle for peace and the happiness of all peoples!" To quote another letter sent us by the women collective farmers from the village of Ust-Urgal, the Khabarovsk Territory: "You won't find the name of our village on the map, but we also bore the brunt of the hard postwar life. We saw the radical changes wrought in the Khabarovsk Territory, the giant strides our country made, and we do not want that all that has been built with such effort be hurled into the abyss of a new war."

"We do our bit for the cause of peace," write the members of the Youth Club of International Friendship at the Zhitomir Palace of Young Pioneers. "We have arranged an exhibition of paintings under the motto 'Children Want Peace', and have sent one hundred parcels with toys and children's clothing to the children of peoples waging a national liberation struggle."

Ekaterina Lebedeva from Ryazan collected 1,037 signatures under the appeal to remove the threat of nuclear war. In her letter to the Soviet Women's Committee she writes: "I'm eighty-one. I have lived a long and hard life. The war with its ravages, hunger and cold is known to me. Forty years have passed since the great Victory. We've restored everything. Our state spares no effort to ensure the Soviet people a happy and peaceful life. With my modest contribution I want to support the Party's and the Government's unremitting drive for peace. During the month of the vigorous actions against the threat of a nuclear war (this May) I went to the homes in my Zheleznodorozhny neighbourhood and collected the signatures of the Ryazan townsfolk protesting against the deployment of US nuclear missiles in Western Europe. Enclosed you'll find my letter and the lists of signatures. Let women in other countries learn about it."

Over two thousand mothers in the Maritime Territory affixed their signatures to the letter they addressed to mothers in the United States. It says, in particular: "Do you really believe in the alleged Soviet threat? We do not have to threaten anybody, our country abounds in peaceful work for us and our children. With all our hearts we support the foreign policy of the Party and the Government, safeguarding our peaceful labour and preserving the peace for all nations. We support it not only in words, but also in deeds. Our contribution to the defence of peace is our everyday purposeful labour in the name of strengthening our Motherland and the security of all peoples of our planet. American mothers! Can it be that we shall permit turning our babies into ashes. We are powerful enough to defend the peace!"

These letters demonstrate eloquently why Soviet women participate so actively in the movement against the threat of nuclear war, why there is no need "to steer such a movement from above".

The Soviet man lives in a state, which Lenin, its founder, characterised as follows: "An end to wars, peace among the nations, the cessation of pillaging and violence—such are our ideals." In the USSR Constitution, adopted as a result of a nation-wide discussion, it is recorded, that "it is the internationalist duty of citizens of the USSR to promote friendship and cooperation with peoples of other lands and help maintain and strengthen world peace". On the proposal of the Soviet public, a law was passed many decades ago prohibiting the propaganda of war. These facts reflect the unanimity of the Party and the people, of the citizen and the Government, on the issues of peace and war in the Soviet Union.

The Soviet women's letters give an explicit answer to the question which one sometimes hears in the West: why do not the Soviet women demand of their Government unilateral disarmament? We cannot permit that our country find itself disarmed vis-à-vis those who give vent to their hatred of the socialist system in preparations for war, in "crusades" and provocative ventures, who seek to stifle the national liberation movement of the peoples. We must not allow a situation to arise where we find ourselves disarmed in the face of

those who want to destroy our ideals proclaimed by the Great October Socialist Revolution. The implementation of those ideals has made woman, once the most oppressed human being, a full-fledged member of our society. The Soviet woman has received much, ever so much as a result of the Great October Revolution, but she on her part has done much to help achieve its goals. She fought for Soviet power during the Civil and the Great Patriotic Wars, blessing her children, husbands and brothers to defend it. That explains why the Soviet women approve of the counter defensive steps taken by the Soviet Union and the other Warsaw Treaty countries after the US medium-range nuclear missiles were deployed in Western Europe.

There is a great variety of forms in which Soviet women participate in the peace movement, such as personal contributions to the Peace Fund set up on the initiative of many mass organisations, the Soviet Women's Committee included. Over half the contributors to the Soviet Peace Fund are women. "Peace labour shifts" are another widespread form of the anti-war movement. Their participants give the money they earn during the shifts to the Peace Fund. The "peace labour shifts" are held by the entire female personnel of industrial enterprises, collective and state farms. As an example I could mention the women workers of the Sverdlovsk "Uralmash" Production Amalgamation and the Moscow Electric Bulb Factory, women collective-farmers of the Moscow Region and Uzbekistan, women workers of a textile mill in Orekhovo-Zuyevo and of the Saratov works producing receiving amplifier tubes, and many, many others.

Also "remembrance days" are held in our country. Thus, during such days the women of Volgograd, Leningrad and other cities organise get-togethers of women war veterans and young people, at which the former tell boys and girls about the heroic deeds of Soviet people in the Great Patriotic War performed in the name of peace on Earth.

Soviet women consider a major area of the work for peace the education of the rising generation in the spirit of peace and friendship among the peoples, giving them an understanding of the social nature of war, of the realistic ways of securing peace, the possibilities of, and the need for peaceful coexistence, of mutually advantageous cooperation among states with different social systems. On what ideological, moral and psychological values the child's mentality is shaped, whether it is brought up in the spirit of friendship or hatred, disdain or respect for other peoples depend in great measure the future political and moral convictions of the adult who is called upon to decide the destiny of peace on the threshold of the third millennium.

On the initiative of the Soviet public supported by our government, a "peace lesson" is conducted in all the country's schools on September 1 each year. Children begin their new academic year

learning what the word "peace" means to all the people of the world. This is also a great contribution made by the Soviet women, who account for 70 per cent of all the teachers in the country.

Many Soviet magazines devote much space to the participation of women in the anti-war movement. Twenty social, political and literary magazines for women are published in the Soviet Union, their monthly circulation running into 34 million copies. These include magazines printed in the Soviet republics in the languages of their population, the central magazines published in Russian in Moscow—Rabotnitsa (The Woman Worker)—15 million copies, Krestyanka (The Woman Farmer)—over 10 million copies. Sovetskaya zhenshchina (Soviet Woman) magazine, published by the Soviet Women's Committee in 14 foreign languages, devotes half of its materials to the part played by Soviet women in the struggle for peace, the anti-war actions of women abroad, the struggle for national independence, democracy, and freedom. Many articles and feature stories highlight the heroic struggle of the Soviet Army and the Soviet people against Hitler nazism and Japanese militarism. Far from glorifying war they are a tribute to the patriotic feat of Soviet people, and seek to lay bare the causes of the origin of the Second World War and to prevent another world war.

It is only natural that in addition to the forms of anti-war efforts traditional for our public, the Soviet women make use of forms analogous to the mass actions abroad. Thus, the women's councils in the various towns and regions sponsor mass anti-war rallies and marches. The year 1984 alone saw many thousand-strong women's anti-war demonstrations in Grodno, Brest, Murmansk, Tallinn, and Minsk. In Minsk, the capital of the Byelorussian Republic, the participants in a hundred-thousand-strong meeting adopted a message to the UN Secretary-General, urging that everything possible be done to stop the nuclear frenzy.

Resounding at all Soviet women's meetings are words of solidarity with the women's anti-war organisations abroad, with the women and peoples waging a national liberation struggle.

We do not believe that differences in the forms, methods and slogans of the anti-war activities of women in various countries can call in question the unity of their actions.

Soviet women regard the struggle of women in other countries for peace, national independence and social progress with deep understanding, respect and sympathy. The plenary meetings of the Soviet Women's Committee regularly review the issues of solidarity of our country's women with the representatives of the anti-war movements in all continents. For one, the 1984 session of the Committee was devoted to the contribution made by Soviet women to the women's international anti-war movement. Its participants adopted a message to the women of the world "We Must Prevent a

Nuclear War", which calls for joint actions to preserve peace and life on our planet.

To promote unity and solidarity of women in various countries, the Committee sends its representatives to the international and regional forums in defence of peace, expresses readiness to take up the initiatives of its opposite numbers abroad who pursue similar goals. Thus, in recent years Soviet women participated in the World Assembly in Prague "For Peace and Life, Against Nuclear War", in the peace marches of women in the Scandinavian, Balkan and Danube countries, in the International Conference in Genéva "The World Campaign: Women and Disarmament", in the regional seminar in Hanoi "Peace, Development and Happiness of Women and Children in South-East Asia", in the international meeting in Warsaw "Three Generations of Women Against Fascism and War", in the "Week of Actions for Peace" of European women held in the GDR, in the women's camp of peace in Sweden, in the international anti-war seminar of women of Northern Europe, the USA and the USSR held in Leningrad, etc.

The expansion of cooperation and the strengthening of solidarity with women's organisations in other countries calls for understanding each other better, and this means knowing each other well. In our view, a big obstacle here is that unbiased information about the struggle of Soviet women, of Soviet people for peace seldom finds its way to the pages of the "big press", the TV programmes and radio broadcasts in the capitalist countries, while the true meaning of Soviet peace proposals is often distorted or is altogether hushed up.

As we know, the Soviet Union has put forward a clear-cut and consistent programme of steps in the field of freezing the nuclear weapons. It comprises a whole set of effective and mutually complementary moves.

Of course, the Soviet Union does not see the freezing of nuclear weapons as an end in itself: it is only the first step on the way to reducing and finally eliminating them altogether.

Expressing the Soviet people's will, the Soviet Government also takes into account the peaceful proposals of various forces in all continents, including a number of non-governmental international organisations, the Palme Commission, and the Group of Six. It advances numerous peace proposals and does everything in its power to prevent any form of nuclear war.

We believe that in averting war special significance is attached to the policies of countries possessing nuclear weapons. The USSR has proposed that the relations between them should be built in line with definite international rules, according to which all nuclear powers should consider the prevention of nuclear war as the main aim of their foreign policy, should denounce war propaganda in any form and would pledge not to be the first to use nuclear weapons. As we know, the Soviet Union has already undertaken this commitment. Adherence to these rules also implies non-use of nuclear weapons against the countries, which do not have such weapons on their territories, non-proliferation of nuclear weapons in any form, non-transfer of the arms race to new spheres, outer space included.

The Soviet Government's proposal to the US Administration to start negotiations on the prevention of the militarisation of outer space has evoked a wide positive response in the world. And this is understandable. Mankind has amassed an enormous potential that allows it to start a large-scale peaceful exploration of outer space in the interests of civilisation. But simultaneously a terrible danger could arise threatening very life on Earth if the breakthrough into outer space is not governed by the aim common to all states and nations—peaceful cooperation.

Our country undertakes concrete measures using all international forums to achieve positive accords. As General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee M. Gorbachev emphasised: "We will firmly follow the Leninist course of peace and peaceful coexistence. The Soviet Union will always respond to goodwill with goodwill, to trust with trust. But everyone should know that we shall never relinquish the interests of our Motherland and those of our allies."

Today much is said by the participants in the anti-war movement about the importance of a dialogue on the limitation and reduction of nuclear weapons. I would like to stress that there is no need to persuade the Soviet people, the Soviet Union that such a dialogue would be useful. Our policy favours a dialogue. And we do not consider normal a situation when no talks are under way on the limitation and reduction of armaments, especially the most dangerous of them—the nuclear weapons. What is needed here, however, are not arguments in favour of talks, but practical deeds evincing the readiness to negotiate in earnest on the curtailment, not the deployment of nuclear missiles. We believe that the hurdles in the way of the negotiations should be removed precisely by those who had erected them and made the talks impossible.

In the conditions of the sharply aggravated international situation and the rising tide of anti-Soviet hysteria, deeper understanding between the public in various countries acquires particular importance. This purpose is served by the bilateral women's meetings sponsored by the Soviet Women's Committee, which are held as frank and friendly dialogues on the urgent issues of the anti-war movement. Recently such fruitful dialogues have taken place with women from the USA, the North European countries, Japan, the FRG, Great Britain, and other countries. The participants' attention focussed on such problems, as the women's organisations' contribution to the fight for disarmament, the establishment of a climate of trust and understanding among peoples, the upbringing of the younger generation in the spirit of peace. Also in the focus of attention is realisation of the aims of the UN Decade for Women—

equality, development, peace—covering the period from 1976 to 1985.

The motto of the Decade is most closely connected with the acute problems facing mankind in the last quarter of the 20th century. Equal rights for women largely depend on the extent to which they take part in the development of their countries, and the latter, in turn, is possible only in the conditions of universal peace, when the threat of nuclear war looming over our planet has been removed.

It is only natural, therefore, that the UN Decade for Women has seen the invigoration of the struggle by the broad strata of women for disarmament and peace.

The preparation and adoption by the 34th Session of the UN General Assembly (1979) of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women, was a major milestone in the first half of the Decade for Women. For the first time in the history of international law, a document was adopted having juridical force and aimed at the elimination of all forms of discrimination against women.

Another major document designed to ensure the right of women to live in peace and other basic rights is the Declaration on the Participation of Women in Promoting International Peace and Cooperation, approved by the 37th Session of the UN General Assembly (1982). The Declaration stresses that the creation of conditions providing for a stable peace, lessening of international tensions, disarmament and international security depends on the equal participation of men and women in the struggle to achieve these goals. Endorsement of the Declaration by the UN General Assembly is, undoubtedly, a political success of the women's struggle, a success for all democratic and peace forces.

The 3rd World Conference on the UN Decade for Women will be held in Nairobi in 1985. It will discuss and appraise the progress made, analyse the obstacles in the way to implementing the Decade's aims on the national, regional and international scale, and work out the strategy for future activity.

The World Plan of Action, adopted at the First World Conference on the UN Decade for Women (Mexico, 1975); the Programme of Action adopted by the 2nd UN Conference (Copenhagen, 1980) and the documents of the 3rd Conference will contribute, we hope, to the broadening of the already wide range of cooperation of the various forces of the contemporary international women's movement in behalf of preserving and strengthening peace and removing the war danger.

Women in different countries have different anxieties and concerns. With some, grappling with inflation and unemployment has become concern number one. With others, it is the upholding of national independence, the doing away with racial discrimination. In many countries women fight against the rising infant mortality,

epidemics, illiteracy. But we all have one common and urgent concern uniting us, and that is the concern for life without wars, for a stable and just peace on Earth. And it is highly significant that in the face of the danger of nuclear catastrophe and despite the great variety of social and political views and religious beliefs among the participants of the women's anti-war movement, be they Communists or Social Democrats, Catholics or Moslems, representatives of the pacifist and feminist organisations, they all find ever new possibilities to build up their unity and solidarity.

In this is largely the source of the optimism and the strength of the women's anti-war movement.

NOTES

- ¹ K. Marx, F. Engels, Werke, Vol. 32, Berlin, 1973, pp. 582-583.
- ² V. I. Lenin, Complete Works, Moscow, Vol. 26, pp. 207-208 (in Russian).
- ³ Women of the Whole World, Berlin, No. 1, 1965, p. 20.
- ⁴ The Proceedings of the World Congress of Women "Equality, National Independence, Peace", Prague, 1981, p. 133.
- ⁵ To the Women of the Whole World, Moscow, 1941, p. 5 (in Russian).
- ⁶ V. I. Lenin, Collected Works, Moscow, Vol. 21, p. 293.
- ⁷ Pravda, March 12, 1985.

To Save for Posterity

ZIYA NURIYEV

Environmental protection and the rational utilisation of natural resources represent a problem of exceedingly great topical relevance to mankind.

In the USSR nature protection has always been regarded as a problem of great social importance. Environmental protection and the rational utilisation and reproduction of natural resources form part of Soviet state plans. Relevant evidence is furnished, for instance, by laws on the utilisation and protection of land, mineral resources and waters and by decisions to intensify nature protection and improve the utilisation of natural resources.

The protection and rational and thrifty utilisation of lands are naturally among the many nature protection schemes of primary importance. Public ownership of land and planned economic management in our country form a reliable basis for this.

Thus, as a result of the regular growth of capital investments in land reclamation and use of fertilisers during the first three years of the present five-year plan period (1981-1985) alone the USSR's sown area increased by 377,000 hectares to reach 228 million hectares in 1983. The irrigated area grew by 1,659,000 hectares, the drained area by 1,214,000 hectares. All this, naturally, acquires particular importance especially when we bear in mind that the most part of the Soviet sown areas lies in unfavourable climatic zones exposed to droughts.

The limitation of the allotment of territory for construction schemes has also saved a great amount of valuable land. Whereas in the Tenth Five-Year Plan period (1976-1980) the collective and state farms and other state agricultural enterprises had an annual average of up to 50,000 hectares exempted from their use, in the 11th Five-Year Plan period the figure decreased to 35,000.

During the last few years the soil-protection area has been steadily increasing in the USSR. Thus, the territory under non-inversing soil cultivation grew from 40 million hectares in 1980 to 49 million hectares in 1983. In 1983 alone investments in erosion control, water development, anti-mudflow, anti-landslide and other schemes ran into 140 million rubles and 49,000 hectares of field-protecting forest strips were planted. By now, they occupy 2.5 million hectares, their beneficial impact extending to over 40 million hectares of agricultural lands in the USSR. Greater attention is now given to land recultivation (more than 390,000 hectares have been recultivated in the present five-year plan period).

The decision "Concerning the Long-Term Land Reclamation Programme", adopted by the Plenary Meeting of the CC CPSU held in October 1984, says that as a result of a large-scale land improvement policy, the USSR exerts "enormous efforts directed at renewing agricultural lands. Big hydrotechnological structures have been created to improve land and irrigation and drainage systems made operational before are being technically updated. Since the May 1966 Plenary Meeting of the CC CPSU the reclaimed area has increased from 17 to 33 million hectares. Among these are 19 million hectares of irrigated and 14 million hectares of drained land, which now yield one-third of the crop output". Addressing the Plenary Meeting, Konstantin Chernenko said that in implementing the amelioration programme, man in various ways has to invade nature. Therefore this should be done "very gently, in such a way as not only to avoid doing harm to land in changing it, but to improve and to ennoble it and to multiply the potential of nature. We all are duty bound to live not only by the present, but also by the future, and to refrain from making hasty, ill-considered decisions. Here it is pertinent to recall a statement of Marx saying that a land user, like a good father of a family, should leave it improved to the generations to come".

An effectively functioning reserve system is one of the prerequisites for the success of relevant schemes. In the USSR reserve organisation has a planned basis. At present our country has 143 state reserves, which occupy a total surface area of 13.7 million hectares. Largely due to reserves, the populations of sable, beaver, saiga and other valuable animals have been restored to commercial level and aurochs, Asiatic wild ass, Russian desman and tiger have been saved from extinction in the USSR.

These successes in reserve development find natural international recognition and biosphere reserves play an important role in the implementation of the UNESCO Programme "Man and the Bios-

phere". As is known, the First International Biosphere Reserve Congress was held in 1983 in the USSR.

With a view to the further development of a scientific reserve system Soviet experts now develop cohesive criteria of reserve organisation, determine functions of specially protected territories, perfect the relevant legislation and state control over its observation.

Another urgent task is to save, reproduce, and ensure the rational utilisation of forests and their animal world. The USSR leads the world for reforestation volume. In the present five-year plan period in forests of state importance these schemes will be operated on an area of 10.7 million hectares, including the planting and sowing of forest on the area of 4.9 million hectares (in the first three years the reforestation area occupied 6.4 million hectares, among them the three million hectares occupied by planting and sowing). At the same time, it should be noted that, according to the data of forest registration, by January 1, 1983 out of the 938 million hectares of the land good for forest growing 127 million remained treeless. Therefore additional measures directed at improving the quality and raising the efficiency of reforestation schemes are being developed and implemented. Control over the observation of the process of forest culture growing is to be intensified, cultural operations are to be provided with high quality sowing material, the requirements to regrowth preservation made on logging enterprises are to be stiffened.

An important place in the nature utilisation system is also assigned to the preservation of unique natural complexes, in particular, to the Lake Baikal basin. Of special importance here are forests. Therefore industrial fellings have been reduced and a considerably stiffer forest utilisation regime has been introduced in the lake's water protection zone. Measures are taken to ensure rational water utilisation, to clean waste waters disposed into the lake and prevent air pollution.

Efforts are being exerted to protect particularly valuable cedar forests, which occupy an area of 41 million hectares. By now 17 per cent of them have been set aside as nut grove cultivation zones in which industrial logging is banned. Schemes to restore, cultivate and tend cedar forests are being widened.

In implementation of the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress and of resolutions of the CC CPSU and the Soviet Government an integral programme of measures to prevent the pollution of seas, rivers, lakes and other water bodies and to ensure thrifty water expenditure is being carried out in the USSR. In the first three years of the current five-year plan period urban centres and industrial and agricultural enterprises have made operational cleaning structures with a total capacity of a daily 17.1 million cubic metres of effluent. The amount of polluted sewage disposed into water bodies has been reduced by an annual 2.9 cubic kilometres. Disposal of uncleaned

effluent into water bodies has been ended in the Astrakhan, Vitebsk, Kiev, Cherkassy, Osh and some other regions.

The USSR ministries and departments make planned, systematic efforts to save water resources. Compared to 1980, the volumes of recycled and re-used water have increased by 36 cubic kilometres. At present 69 per cent of the industrial requirements are being ensured by recycling water supply systems. This makes it possible to renounce the intake of over 220 cubic kilometres of water per annum from natural water sources. This exceeds more than four times, for instance, the average annual runoff of the Dnieper. A number of big enterprises of various ministries have practically completely been transferred to recirculated (discharge-free) water supply.

Considerable resources are being channelled to the protection and reproduction of fish resources in the country's inland water bodies. Every year more than a one thousand million small fry of valuable fish varieties, including over 100 million of the sturgeon family, are released into rivers and lakes. Eighteen fish-breeding projects have been placed in service for the last three years.

Finally, some comment on yet another basic direction of environmental protection—the reduction of atmospheric discharge of noxious substances. Certain successes have been achieved here as well. For example, in 1983 alone, despite the considerable increase in industrial output, the total amount of harmful substances discharged into the atmosphere by stationary pollution sources diminished by nine million tonnes compared to 1975. In the same period the catching and decontamination of noxious substances increased from 65 to 75 per cent. Further development was exhibited by research, design and development connected with the cleaning of industrial discharge. There has been a widening of the range of equipment for gas cleaning and a rise in its technical level and efficiency. The manufacture of new electrical, bag and fibrous filters has been started. In other words, the resources of gas cleaning and dust trapping equipment have considerably increased in the USSR.

At the same time, the problem of air pollution by the exhaust gases of motor transport engines is not yet solved completely.

The ways of reducing such exhausts are known. The most important ones are the introduction of new types of motor fuel with a less toxic composition of waste gases, the adjustment of internal combustion engines to indices set by the USSR standards to their toxicity and smoking and the increase of responsibility of the motor pool personnel and motor car owners for their technical state.

In the USSR functions a system of environmental protection bodies. The general monitoring of the state and the level of pollution of the atmosphere, of the surface and sea waters as well as control of soil pollution are carried out by a ramified inspection and observation network of the USSR State Committee on Hydrometeorology and Control of Natural Environment. Furthermore, the USSR has gas cleaning, water and fish protection inspectorates, bodies of state inspection of the utilisation and protection of minerals and underground waters, a state inspectorate for the utilisation and protection of lands, a state forest protection service, state reserves, a hunting inspectorate, a sanitation and epidemiological service.

Efforts are under way to organise an integral environmental protection system. Soviet environmentalists proceed from the assumption that, in addition to having good laws on environmental protection, we should above all inculcate a proper attitude to it.

Forecasting the state of the environment in the context of intensive economic activity is an important fundamental problem. Meanwhile, its scientific basis, in the author's opinion, is not sufficiently developed, so far. Some difficulties in the practical solution of ecological problems are explained by the retardation not only of applied, but also of relevant theoretical research. In particular, proper study should be made of questions regarding prevention of negative ecological consequences caused by certain engineering and managerial decisions. What is yet to be developed in this respect is an overall ecological state policy and an effective means to do away with the so-called "departmental" approach. Optimum recommendations pertaining to the effective utilisation of investments and other resources directed to nature protection have not been evolved, so far.

Technical progress and the intensification of anthropogenic impact on nature require more knowledge about the earth's nature, customary to man and therefore seemingly much better known than the atomic nucleus and the Universe, about the forms and levels of its organisation, about the structural mechanisms of its self-regulation. Soviet environmentalists strive to carry out large-scale national economic projects (hydroengineering schemes, use of chemicals in agriculture, etc.) directed at obtaining large-scale technical and economic effect more judiciously, on the latest scientific basis.

In the USSR responsibility for the organisation of all local nature protection schemes rests with the Soviets of People's Deputies. All over the country, ranging from a township and district Soviet of People's Deputies to the USSR Supreme Soviet, function permanent deputative groups in charge of environmental protection and the rational utilisation of natural resources. On their principled and businesslike approach largely depends, above all, the ensuring and observance of the nature protection legislation by industrial and agricultural enterprises.

Local Soviets enjoy the ready assistance and support of the public. All Union republics have nature protection societies. For instance, the All-Russia Nature Protection Society alone has over 34 million members divided into more than 221,000 primary units; 83,000 industrial, agricultural and other enterprises, institutions and organisations are collective members of the Society. In the author's opinion, it is an effective form of direct drawing of the population to the mass implementation of nature protection schemes and control over the observation of existing legislation. Scientists who work in a wide variety of fields take part in the development of socialist concept of the protection, rational utilisation and reproduction of the environment.

As is known, human activity increasingly influences the biogeophysical situation on our planet. The relations between man, society and nature have already entered a stage when vitally important conditions of existence of the present and future generations are being affected.

But, however complex the ecological situation appears to be, mankind has the power not only to avert the threat of universal ecological crisis, but also to make an essential improvement in the planet's biosphere. This necessitates, above all, the strengthening of international security based on the principles of peaceful coexistence, the limitation and ending of the arms race.

This is the exact aim of Soviet external and internal policy. Its realism addressed to human sanity, finds increasingly great support among the nations of the world. On the initiative of the USSR, the 31st Session of the UN General Assembly approved the Convention on the Prohibition of Military or Any Other Hostile Use of Environmental Modification Techniques, and the 35th Session approved a resolution on the historic responsibility of states for the preservation of Earth's nature for the present and future generations. The USSR took an active part in the development of the Charter of Nature adopted by the UN General Assembly in 1982, which makes the preservation of our planet and its wealth a responsibility of all states. By relevant practical actions vital to mankind the Land of Soviets demonstrates loyalty to its commitments.

THE USSR STATE PRIZE WINNERS FOR 1984

The Central Committee of the CPSU and the USSR Council of Ministers have decreed to award State Prizes for 1984 to the following social scientists:

- 1. V. Sedov, D.Sc.(Hist.), Sector Head at the Institute of Archaeology, USSR Academy of Sciences, for a monograph Eastern Slavs in the 6th-8th Centuries, published in 1982.
- 2. A. Gromyko, D.Sc. (Econ.), for a monograph Foreign Expansion of Capital: History and Our Epoch, published in 1982.
- 3. I. Karpets, D.Sc.(Law), Director of the All-Union Institute for the

Study of the Causes and Crime Prevention Measures; V. Kudryavtsev, Corresponding Member, USSR Academy of Sciences, Director of the Institute of the State and Law, USSR Academy of Sciences; A. Yakovlev, D.Sc.(Law), Sector Head of this institute; N. Kuznetsov, D.Sc.(Law), Professor of Moscow State University; A. Sakharov, D.Sc.(Law), Professor of Moscow Higher School of the Militia—for a series of works Elaboration of Theoretical Foundations of Soviet Criminology, published between 1961 and 1982.

SOVIET HISTORIANS' WORK BETWEEN TWO HISTORICAL SCIENCES CONGRESSES

During the five years that have passed since the last, 15th International Congress of Historical Sciences, Soviet historical science has continued to develop at a rapid pace. Notable successes have achieved in every field of Soviet historical science: archaeology, the history of the Soviet Union (from ancient times to our day), world history, Oriental studies, military history, Slavonic and Balkan studies and ethnography. More thorough and wide-range research into various problems has been conducted, interdisciplinary approach strengthened, and work on such fundamental books as World History, History of the Second World War, Historical Encyclopaedia, History of the USSR has been completed.

The study of archaeological sites has been considerably intensified. The overall number of archaeological expeditions doing field work across the USSR annually has now reached 700 and their achievements are summed up in a multi-volume edition Archaeology of the USSR.

Investigations into the history of the USSR, dealing both with the past and with the era of socialist transformation, have, as before, a wide scope. Since 1980, the historiography of the Great October Socialist Revolution, national-state construction in the USSR and Soviet foreign policy has been greatly enriched. Soviet scholars concentrate on development problems of a new historical community—the Soviet people.

Much effort was devoted to the study of feudalism in Old Rus, the initial stage of Russian statehood, agrarian history, industry, trade and culture in feudal Rus. Studies have been undertaken of various struggles against feudalism by the peasantry, hired workers and the Cossacks.

In the field of history of foreign countries Soviet historians are studying the development patterns of the world socialist system using numerous examples of Central and South-East European countries. They studied the formation and development of various socio-economic structures in Eastern countries.

In recent years a distinguishing feature of the development of Soviet Oriental studies has been the expansion of the geographical framework of investigations, and research into and comparison of the history of countries in various regions.

A notable event in the field of world history apart from the completion of World History, has been the beginning of work on a fundamental History of Europe, which will require serious efforts on the part of historians, as well as art scholars, philologists, philosophers and economists.

Soviet experts on military history have completed work on a multi-volume History of the Second World War, as well as a number of other publications disclosing the essence and specific features of the last war at its different stages. Military history cannot be considered without taking due account of its undeniable

link with politics, ideology and economics.

Ethnographic science in the Soviet Union developed, primarily, in its theoretical aspect, by the profound study of its most important object—ethnos, which, itself, is regarded as a dynamic and complex system.

During the period after the 15th International Congress of Historical Sciences Soviet historians' international contacts have considerably expanded. One of the areas which has come within the sphere of international activity, has been broadening of cooperation, on international works as UNESCO projects such as "History of the Cultures of Central Asia", "History of Scientific and Cultural Development of Humanity" and the "Slavonic Project".

The international ties of Soviet historians have been quite varied, Cooperation has been greatest and most versatile with historians in Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic, Hungary, Poland, Rumania and Yugoslavia. They included bilateral colloquiums arranged by the National Committee of Historians of the Soviet Union, which were held, alternately, in the USSR, and in another of the above named countries.

When meeting colleagues from socialist countries, Soviet historians discussed both theoretical and concrete questions concerning the history of the USSR and other states from ancient times to the present day. Quite frequently, the materials of the sessions of bilateral commissions are published in the form of joint collections. Historical institutes have also devoted much effort to joint bilateral and multilateral works, and articles in historical journals have been published.

One of the tasks facing the National Committee of Historians of the Soviet Union was to continue to develop cooperation with historians in West European countries, the United States, Japan, and India. These contacts were significantly broadened in the period after 1980. For instance, there have been three colloquiums of Soviet and American historians, including one on using quantitative methods in historical science, two with historians from Japan and Finland. For the first time two colloquiums with Spanish historians and a colloquium with historians from Portugal have been arrangedthe first time scholars from these countries have met. Regular colloquiums with historians of France, Sweden and Italy have been held.

Colloquiums of Soviet historical scholars with their Western counterparts are conducted in a constructive spirit despite heated discussions on a number of problems. They conform to the general character of agreements on cultural cooperation. Soviet scholar's would like such meetings to contribute to the development of understanding between countries with different social systems, and strengthen universal peace and security, quite apart from their scientific significance and their opportunity for exchange of information on the trends and levels of investigation in some fields of historical science.

Soviet historians have actively participated in various international forums organised by commissions and associations within and outside the framework of the International Committee of Historical Sciences.

The most important of these international meetings have been the 16th International Congress of Byzantine Studies, the 8th International Economic History Congress, the 9th International Congress of Slavists, the 5th Congress of the International Association of South-East European Studies, sessions and seminars of the International Centre

of Information on the Sources on Balkan History (CIBAL).

Several international conferences have been held in the Soviet Union: a meeting of the International Commission for the History of Towns, a Bureau Meeting of the International Commission for the History of the Second World War, International Conference "Workers of Culture in the Struggle Against Fascism" within the framework of the International Association of South-East European Studies, an international conference "Ideas of Peace and Problems of Security in Europe: History and Present".

The International Commission on the History of the October Revolution has held the inaugural session of its Bureau in Leningrad. A number of international meetings have taken place. The National Committee of Historians of the Soviet Union played host to scholars from France, the Federal Republic of Germany, Portugal, Switzerland, Spain, Britain and other countries.

During these visits questions of cooperation between Soviet historians and their counterparts in other countries were discussed within the framework of bilateral contacts and international organisations.

Soviet historians are as actively prepared for participating in the 16th International Congress of Historical Sciences as scholars from other countries. Resumés were compiled and papers written and discussed. Soviet scholars wanted the Congress to become a forum dominated by the ideas of cooperation between scholars of all countries and their cohesion in the struggle for peace, against the threat of nuclear war.

The international activity of Soviet historians was discussed at plenary meetings of the National Committee of Historians of the Soviet *Union.

V. Shilov

SOVIET-INDIAN COOPERATION IN THE SOCIAL SCIENCES

The peoples of India and the Soviet Union are bound by the close links of friendship and cooperation. This cooperation is founded on a Treaty on Peace, Friendship and Cooperation signed in August 1971 and which includes the most diverse spheres of the political, economic and public life of the two countries. India and the USSR have common positions on the most crucial problems of present-day international relations. Their mutually advantageous trade and economic, and scientific and technical cooperation is developing, and contacts are expanding in various spheres of science and culture.

In 1974, in accordance with Para 6 of the Programme of Cultural Cooperation Between India and the USSR for 1974-1975, it was decided to set up an Indo-Soviet Joint Commission for Cooperation in Social Sciences, with a view to familiarising the Indian and Soviet public with the latest studies in the fields of archaeology, history, geography, economics, philosophy, law, sociology, literary studies and linguistics, political studies and modern international relations.

The programme of activity, envisaged by the Commission, included the exchange of information on scientific research, as well as exchanges of books, periodicals and other publications, visits by scholars of the two countries, organisation of symposiums and seminars on problems of mutual interest.

The Commission includes prominent social scientists of both countries. At present the Commission's Co-Chairman on the Soviet side is Academician E. Primakov, Director of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the USSR Academy of Sciences, and on the Indian side—

G. Parthasarathi, Chairman of the Indian Council for Social Science Research and Chairman of the Policy Planning Committee, in the Ministry of External Affairs.

The Commission had its first plenary session in May 1975 in Moscow. Subsequent sessions are held alternately in Delhi and Moscow; they sum up the results of its activity in the preceding period and draw up plans for the future. The efficiency of this cooperation may be seen by, amongst other things, the fact that more than 30 scientific conferences and symposiums were held both in the USSR and India between 1975 and 1984, with the participation of noted social science scholars from both countries. In the past four years alone Soviet scholars took part in bilateral and international seminars, symposiums and conferences devoted to studies in the field of Sanskritology, Hindi, Urdu and Tamil, works on the cultures of the Bronze and Iron Ages in the territories of India and the USSR and the problems of the interaction of literature and society. Soviet scholars attended the following symposiums: "Socio-Economic Determinants of Agricultural Productivity", "Nature of the State and Its Structure in Developing Societies" and "Problems of Migration in the Process of Urbanisation". Guests from the USSR attended celebrations on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the Link and Patriot publications, a jubilee of the Indian Statistical Institute, an all-India seminar "Marxist Studies of India", the first conference of the Asian forum of parliamentarians on the problems related to population and development held in Delhi, as well as many other functions organised by Soviet and Indian scientific centres.

In December 1981, the first Soviet-Indian meeting on the problems of international relations took place in Delhi, during which outstanding scholars and public figures of the two countries discussed a wide range of problems connected with the present international developments, bilateral relations and the further expansion and strengthening of contacts between social scientists of the two countries, in order to search for and find solutions to complex international problems facing mankind. The discussion begun in Delhi, was continued in June 1984, in Moscow, at the second Soviet-Indian meeting on problems of international relations. Among the problems discussed were various aspects of global and regional international relations, the curbing of the arms race and the world economic situation. As noted by G. Parthasarathi, the traditional meetings of Soviet and Indian scientists not only make it possible to exchange views on the development of the international situation, but also contribute to the deepening of mutual understanding and strengthening friendship between the peoples of both countries.

In June 1984, the fifth plenary session of the Commission was held in Moscow. It summarised the results of the development of Soviet-Indian cooperation since December 1981, and made plans for holding joint measures in 1985-1986. Prospects were discussed for joint scientific investigations and the publication of yearbooks "Indian Studies in Social Sciences" (in Russian) and "Soviet Studies in Social Sciences" (in English), as well as exchanges of scientists and books. Organisational questions were also discussed. It was decided to hold the next plenary session of the Commission in India in 1986 and a meeting of the CoChairmen and Deputy Chairmen of the Commission in the USSR or in India in 1985.

It was suggested to hold seminars and symposiums in 1985-1986 on the problems of the rational utilisation, the protection and the development of hydro-resources; economic planning; changes in the structure of rural society in India and the USSR in the 19th-early 20th centuries; studies of the forms of the social protest of the urban and rural lower sections of the population and the role of popular uprisings in the national and revolutionary movements. In 1986 Delhi is to be the venue of a third Soviet-Indian meeting on international relations.

The range of subjects for seminars to be held in 1987-1989 has been drawn up; they will include various aspects of the economy and social structure of rural society; ecology; study of political structures of developing societies; socio-cultural processes, as well as problems of religious fundamentalism.

It is planned to hold joint research in the field of comparative archaeology, ethnolinguistics and anthropology, geography and ecology, the drawing up of methods and the methodology of collecting and processing initial agroeconomic information, the publication of Indian manuscripts, that are kept in Soviet science centres, and also the study and publication of classical texts.

In accordance with the programme of the Commission's activity, an exchange of scientific literature and periodicals is conducted between the scientific centres in India and the USSR. At present, the Institute of Scientific Information on Social Sciences of the USSR Academy of Sciences has regular exchanges of books, periodicals and microfilms with 79 institutes and other organisations in India. Especially fruitful

exchanges are carried on with the Jawaharlal Nehru University (Delhi), the Central Institute of English and Foreign Languages (Hyderabad), the Lok Sabha Parliamentary Library, the Indian Statistical Institute and the National Library (Calcutta) and universitiés in Puna and Bombay. Although the library of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the USSR Academy of Sciences is a branch of the Institute of Scientific Information on Social Sciences of the USSR Academy of Sciences, it also carries on independent exchanges of scientific literature with 14 research institutions and libraries in India. Broad ties have been established with the Centre of Documentation on Social Sciences (Delhi), the National Library (Calcutta), Jawaharlal Nehru University, the Gokhale Institute of Economics and Politics (Puna), the University of Madras and the Benares Hindu University.

During the recent years associates of the Institute of Oriental Studies, the Institute of US and Canadian Studies, the Institute of the World Economy and International Relations and the Institute of the Far East of the USSR Academy of Sciences have been to India on scientific missions lasting from one to three months.

On agreement with the Soviet Copyright Agency (VAAP) the Institute of Oriental Studies has signed contracts with a number of large Indian publishing houses and is translating works by Soviet authors into English, which are to be published in India.

During the recent years works by G. Bongard-Levin and E. Grantovsky-"From Scythia to India" (Arnold Heinemann Publishers) and O. Malyarov—"The Role of the State in the Socio-Economic Structure of India" (Vikas Publishers) have been published. Indian periodicals and collections of articles include individual articles by Soviet scholars on the history, economy, political situation, literatures and languages of India, and international problems, including those by E. Primakov, E. Chelyshev, G. Kotovsky, E. Koma-R. Rybakov Litman. and A. Granovsky.

At present Arnold Heinemann Publishers is preparing two volumes of "The Economy of India", a monograph "Soviet Scholars About India" (on the basis of yearbooks "India 1980" and "India 1981-1982") and a monograph by G. Bongard-Levin, "Ancient India: History and Culture" for publication.

Soviet-Indian cooperation in the field of social sciences is developing and broadening, both quantitatively and qualitatively, including an ever more significant range of problems that interest scholars and the public of the two countries, and promoting profound understanding between the peoples of India and the Soviet Union in the name of peace and progress.

T. Shaumyan,
Learned Secretary,
Indo-Soviet Joint Commission
for Cooperation in Social Sciences

Congresses · Conferences · Symposiums

GEOGRAPHICAL CONGRESS IN ALPINE COUNTRIES

After an interval of 20 years, when international geographical congresses were held in India (1968), Canada (1972), the USSR (1976) and Japan (1980), the 1984 Congress has, as it were, "returned" to Western Europe and vividly reflected modern trends of political organisation and scientific geographical thought in the region. The congress was prepared by the International Organising Committee, which brought together national committees of geographers from Austria, the Federal Republic of Germany, France, Italy, Switzerland, that is, countries adjoining the Alps in the centre of Europe. Five sponsoring countries jointly prepared a fundamental work on the Alps for the Congress. Problems concerning economic development population of mountainous countries, in connection with the specific features of their natural environment, were discussed at a general symposium of the 25th International Geographical Congress.

From August 20 to 26, 1984, 38 symposiums of the commissions of the International Geographical Union were held, including 20 in France, 6 in Switzerland, 4 in the FRG, 4 in Italy, and 2 in Austria. From August 27 to 31, the main sessions of the congress and the 16th

General Assembly of the International Geographical Union, as well as an International Geographical Exhibition were held at the Cité internationale universitaire, de Paris.

More than 2,000 geographers from almost 80 countries took part in these sessions, including from Bulgaria, China, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, the GDR, Hungary, Poland, Yugoslavia and the USSR. Geographers from the Socialist Republic of Vietnam participated in the congress for the first time. The Soviet delegation was headed by Academician I. Gerasimov, Director of the Institute of Geography of USSR Academy of Sciences. It participated actively in the commissions' symposiums and in the main sessions in Paris. Soviet scientists submitted about 30 papers. The achievements of Soviet geography were also described in the book Soviet Geography. Collection of Scientific Papers for the 25th International Geographical Congress (Leningrad, Nauka Publishers, 1984, 344 pp.) and in the materials of the Soviet exposition at the International Geographical Exhibition, where about 400 books, more than 20 maps and 10 atlases published in the USSR in the 1980-1984 period were displayed.

A comparison of the scientific programme of the Paris Congress with preceding congresses is rather difficult because the French organisers rejected the traditional structure of scientific panels, which correspond to the main branches of geography and concentrated the attention of the participants around 30 subjects that reflected, in a rather fragmentary way, the modern range of geographical research in the world. For instance, historical geography was concentrated on the theme called "The Evolution of Settlement and Land Use in Countries of European Expansion Since the Great Discoveries". The subject chosen by the organisers was one which was far from interesting or topical, despite the fact they could have chosen from a multitude of subjects at the junction of geography and history. Instead of summing up the results of the entire range of geographical research during the preceding four years, the sessions in Paris turned, on the whole, into a series of thematic symposiums, just like those of the International Geographical Union's commissions.

An analysis of the two-volume edition containing more than 780 resumes of the papers for the Paris Congress by researchers from 58 countries revealed the following correlation of the main groups of papers. Problems relating to economic and social geography were discussed by more than two-fifths of all papers. Problems relating to the environment took second place (29 per cent of all papers); this include the topical subjects of erosion processes and climatic changes. Eighteen per cent of all papers (relatively more than at previous congresses) were devoted to the methodology and methods of geographical investigations, and also to geographical education. About one-eighth of all papers dealt with natural resources.

Following in the footsteps of the 23rd Moscow Congress, the 25th Congress in Paris did much for the integration of numerous branches of geography around major problems, important on a practical level. Amongst some of these problems are: changes in and protection of the regional disproporenvironment, tions of economic and social development, and the comprehensive development of mountain regions. The French organisers of the congress proposed the discussion of the "organisation of space"—within the realm of formal "space studies"and one may argue as to the justification of such a move. In our view another concept is more currentterritorial organisation of the national economy and society. However, it is important to emphasise, in both instances, that in geographical research there exists a constructive orientation to a more in-depth study of the scientific foundations of territorial planning and management. This approach includes the comprehensive solution of economic, social ecological tasks. and Academician I. Gerasimov and Professor S. Lavrov spoke about the tendencies towards integration in Soviet geography.

The congress also reflected the greater use made by geographers of new opportunities, that have come to the fore due to the scientific and technological revolution. tunities such as the collection and processing of geographical information with the help of space and aerial photography, computers and automated cartography. These opportunities are being used ever more widely in developing countries to compile general geographical and thematic maps while they suffer the double disadvantages of an acute shortage of specialists and inadequately investigated territory. It should be noted that space photos are used not only to study natural resources, but also to do research in the sphere of the social sciences—archaeology, to follow the rapid changes in the structure of urban territories, and the intensity of traffic on various roads at different times of day.

Characteristic of the Paris Congress was the emphasis on the dynamics of geographical phenomena. The subject of changes taking place in rural areas in developing countries was covered by the following papers: the transition to a settled way of life of the Mbororo tribe in Western Cameroon; the transformation of traditional agriculture and rural communities in Central Tunisia under the impact of the spreading market economy; the dynamics of the correlation of food and export crops in the southwest of Ivory Coast. The papers delivered by representatives of developing countries described the state of crisis in the environment existing in many tropical regions due to the malpractices of foreign monopolies and hence the growing misery of the population. A new approach—"development without destruction"—which integrates the results of social and natural sciences, is becoming widespread in both scientific research and government policy as a result of the influence of the ecological crisis in the developing countries.

For the first time urbanisation in developing countries has become one of the main subjects of a geographical congress. Some 50 papers, citing materials obtained on different continents and covering different aspects, dealt with acute problems arising in connection with the acceleration of the growth of cities, especially large cities, and a certain stagnation, or even decline, of industry and a

worsening of the environment.

Papers dealing with capitalist countries examined the evolution of rural areas, cities and population settlement systems under the scientific and technological revolution and structural shifts in the economy. A most popular subject was "The Role of Administrators, Politicians and Managers in the Organisation of Space". Papers were presented, which dealt with the results of district planning and the experience of regional planning.

Soviet geographers at the congress revealed from Marxist positions the essence of various world processes (V. Annenkov's paper on the typology of capitalist expansion), they also spoke about the achievements of Soviet geographical science (B. Andrianov and A. Doskach's paper on the cultural differentiation of peoples and their interaction with the environment) and about present-day aspects of Soviet life (Yu. Vedenin, V. Savelyeva and V. Shalnev's paper about the development of mountaineering in the USSR). Polish geographers presented several dozen papers mainly on problems of economic and social geography, as well as on environmental problems. Academician J. Kostrowicki (Poland) demonstrated a new map of the types of European agriculture to the congress. Geographers A. Zimm and J. Brauniger from the German Democratic Republic spoke about the dynamism of Berlin's industry and its influence on the territorial structure of the Berlin area. The Cuban geographer Gladston Oliva Gutierrez submitted a draft of a new National Atlas of Cuba being prepared in collaboration with geographers from other socialist countries.

At the General Assembly of the International Geographical Union, the following important resolution was adopted on the initiative of the socialist countries: "The International Geographical Union, believing in the value of international collaboration among geographers of all countries in the true spirit of the universality of science and convinced of the significance of geographical research and education for the promotion of peaceful development and human welfare, draws the attention of all geographers to the urgent need to apply their studies to the benefit of

mankind as a whole, strengthening peace between peoples and working towards a future."

The General Assembly of the IGU elected its new Executive Committee and P. Scott (Australia) as its President. It was decided to hold a regional conference of the IGU in 1986 in Spain and the 26th International Geographical Congress in 1988 in Australia.

V. Annenkov

INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF PSYCHOLOGY

The regular 23rd International Congress of Psychology was held in Acapulco (Mexico) in September 1984. About 3,000 scholars from 60 countries took part. The Soviet delegation of 18 was headed by the Director of the Institute of Psychology, USSR Academy of Sciences, Corresponding Member of the USSR AS B. Lomov.

The congress' work took place within the framework of 77 symposiums and 108 panels. In addition, 26 working seminars were organised on specific problems and seven discussions. Every day special meetings were held on particular subjects of interest embracing various fields of theoretical investigations and practical elaborations in psychology. The most important achievements in psychological science and its relevant problems were analysed in 17 "honorary lectures" read by the world's leading specialists in psychology. The Soviet delegation submitted to the congress special publications in four languages, reflecting the major successes of Soviet psychological science.

Soviet scholars took an active part in the implementation of the congress' scientific programme. B. Lomov read an "honorary lecture"—"The Problem of Image in Psychology", which evoked great interest among the participants. He was the head of the symposium "Processes of Anticipation" at which A. Belyaeva (USSR) delivered a paper. The attention of the congress' participants was also drawn by the symposium "Emotion", which was organised by P. Simonov, a member of the Soviet delegation. Simonov delivered the main paper "The Need-Informational Theory of Emotions" and read a communication on "Problems of the Objective and the Subjective from the Positions of Dialectical Materialism".

Seven special sittings were devoted to questions of comparative psychology, as well as nine meetings of the recently formed International Sociefor Comparative Psychology, timed for the congress. A large number of papers at these meetings dealt with the so-called cognitive approach to investigating complex forms of animal behaviour. The symposiums devoted the neurophysiological and biochemical mechanisms of teaching and memory were at a high psychological and theoretical level. The congress participants displayed a good deal of interest in the papers and communications read by Soviet scholars, including the paper delivered by V. Shadrikov on methodological problems in the psychology of development.

Works on medical psychology submitted to the congress were distinguished by extensive use of registration of the electrical activity of the human brain in the investigation of various forms of psychopathology. It should be noted that few papers were read on the psychoanalytical trend and much less interest was shown in the use of the methods of biological feedback. A distinguishing feature of the transition to medicopsychological problems at the congress was their organic relationship to questions of cognitive and social T. Timofeyeva, development. member of the Soviet delegation, delivered a paper on questions of medical psychology.

A number of participants speaking on problems of social psychology voiced the demand that ecological psychology be established as a separate field. It was maintained that the significance of ecological problems in the life of humanity led to an experimental verification of the interaction between ecology psychology which, in turn, is directly linked to the solution to society's economic and social problems. The Soviet scholar T. Niyt was the sponsor and reader of the symposium "International Environment— Behaviour Research".

Investigations in social psychology also dealt with such questions as group behaviour; intergroup relations; individual characteristics and projection of professional activity; labour organisation; computerisation and its impact on organisational structure, etc. The Soviet scholar A. Bodalev presented a paper on man's perception of man; E. Romanova, another Soviet scho-

lar, read a paper on the psychological problems of modern production management.

The present state of psychological science and its prospects for development were an object of comprehensive discussion at the congress. Most psychologists expressed the view that psychology would develop as an interdisciplinary and socially significant science. Its main objects of research should be cognitive psychology, psychology of information processes, physiological, biological and genetic psychology. In addition, it was emphasised that psychology was on the threshold of the development of new principal theories and new forms of integration with other sciences. The Soviet scholar Yu. Zabrodin devoted his paper to problems of macro- and microtheory in modern psychology.

A majority of the congress participants expressed the view that there were practically no development prospects for such classical theories as behaviourism, psychoanalysis and so-called humanistic psychology.

The symposium "Scientists of the World in the Struggle for Peace" worked every day. Members of the Soviet delegation took an active part in its proceedings. E. Shorokhova, Deputy Director of the Institute of Psychology of the USSR Academy of Sciences, read a the contribution of paper on psychological science to the struggle for peace. At the initiative of Soviet psychologists, as well as progressiveminded scientists from other countries, a decision was adopted by the General Assembly of the International Union of Psychological Science to organise within the framework of the union a committee "Psychologists of the World in the Struggle for Peace". The task of the committee will be to pool and coordinate the peace efforts of scientists in psychology.

In conclusion, mention should be made of the enormous amount of work done by the Mexican Organisational Committee of the 23rd International Congress of Psychology, as well as the care and attention to its participants shown by the Mexican public.

E. Romanova.

Learned Secretary, Society of Psychologists of the USSR

FORMATION OF KNOWLEDGE: PHILOSOPHY—SCIENCE—DIALECTICS

The International Association for the Study of Dialectical Philosophy (Societas Hegeliana) held its congress in Helsinki (Finland) between September 4 and 8, 1984, which was attended by scholars from 26 countries including Bulgaria, the GDR, Hungary, the USSR and Yugoslavia. The subject of the congress was "The Formation of Knowledge. Philosophy—Science—Dialectics".

The problems of the formation and development of knowledge in general and, in particular, scientific cognition are now in the centre of investigations in the field philosophy and the methodology of science in various countries. Marxist philosophers have always emphasised that the problem of the development of knowledge, the transition from the lack of knowledge to knowledge are crucial for the dialecticalmaterialist theory of knowledge.

For a long time Western specialists on the logic and methodology of science denied the importance of these problems for the understanding of the essence of science and preferred to analyse the structural components of knowledge, which they considered in statics, but not in dynamics. The situation has now changed radically, and today no one (or practically no one) denies that the problems of the change and development of knowledge are a key

to the understanding of what really are knowledge, science and their internal mechanisms and possible prospects. This is why materialist dialectics is now entering a period especially rich with opportunities to demonstrate its heuristic force, as the only adequate means for understanding the real motive forces and mechanisms of the progress of knowledge.

Although these problems held a prominent place at the congress, the discussions were confined not only to them, but also included topical subjects, such as aesthetics and the problems of the philosophy of the state and law and social philosophy.

Inasmuch as the Societas Hegeliana was the sponsor of the congress, it is quite natural that questions on the interpretation of Hegel's philosophy and its relation to other philosophical trends, and first and foremost its relation to Marxist philosophy, occupied a prominent place. It should be emphasised, however, that a majority of papers delivered at the congress showed interest in Hegel, which was prompted, not so much narrow historico-philosophical reasons but by the desire to understand properly the questions which are in the focus of scholarly disputes today.

A group of Soviet scholars took an active part in the work of the con-

gress. Their papers and communications evoked lively discussions and comment. Academician T. Oizerman. read a paper at the plenary session—"Hegel Materialist and Philosophy", in which he emphasised that the task of the materialist interpretation of Hegel's philosophy is as topical now as before. V. Lektorsky presided over the proceedings of one of the congress' panels and read a paper "The Theory of Knowledge as the Theory of the Development of Knowledge", in which he showed the relevance of Lenin's programme on development of materialist dialectics on the basis of the understanding of the history of the development of collective and individual knowledge (phylogenesis and ontogenesis of thought). N. Motroshilova presented a paper "Historical Development of Knowledge and Logic of Hegel" in which she revealed the importance of Hegel's legacy for modern studies in the field of the history of science. S. Oduyev presented a paper on the formation of phylosophical knowledge.

Papers presented by Marxist philosophers from other socialist countries evoked interest. For instance, attention was drawn to a paper on philosophical problems of the theory of the history of science, presented at the plenary session by Academician M. Buhr (GDR), Vice President of the Societas Hegeliana. The papers delivered by Hungarian K. G. Havas, scholars A. Gedö, philosophers J. Zelený, J. Netopilik, L. Hrzal and V. Cechák from Czechoslovakia and Bulgarian researcher D. Pavlov were discussed in lively sessions.

The congress was also attended by well-known Marxist philosophers from capitalist countries, who delivered papers at plenary sessions and panel meetings. Amongst them were

R. Steigerwald (FRG) and L. Sève (France). Papers read by Marxist philosophers such as J. Manninen and M.-L. Kakkuri-Knuuttila (Finland), H. J. Sandkühler and M. Otte (FRG), U. J. Jensen (Denmark) and J. Barata-Moura (Portugal), were noted with interest.

Participants in the congress heard the papers read by H. Putnam (USA), the outstanding specialist in the logic and philosophy of mathematics and President of the Societas Hegeliana H. H. Holz (the Netherlands) and V. Verra (Italy), experts in Hegel's philosophy.

A large group of Finnish philosophers was very active at the congress. They were able organisers and hospitable hosts and also authoritative experts speaking at sessions and meetings. Amongst them were such widely known Finnish specialists on questions of the logic and methodology of science as member of the Academy of Finland G. H. von Wright, I. Niiniluoto, R. Tuomela and V. Rantala.

There were two working groups within the framework of the congress: "War and Peace as a Global Problem" and "Study of Philosophy in School and the Teaching of Philosophy". The Soviet philosopher B. Bessonov and other members of the Soviet delegation participated in the former. A statement in defence of peace was adopted by that group.

When evaluating the results of the congress, it should be stressed that it was largely dominated by Marxist thought. The Marxist interpretation of Hegel's philosophy, the problems of scientific knowledge and philosophical problems of social development held the centre of attention in all discussions.

V. Lektorsky

ART AND PHILOSOPHY

In August 1984, the 10th International Congress in Aesthetics took place in Montreal, Canada, with representatives of 40 countries participating. Most of those present, including the speakers, were from Canada and the USA, with fewer delegates than usual from the European countries. The Congress was organised by the Canadian Aesthetics Committee headed by Professor Peter McCormic of Ottawa.

More than 40 sections worked at the Congress, in accordance with the programme. The following sections evoked the greatest interest: the theory of art; modern trends in aesthetics; key moments in the history of aesthetics; knowledge and appreciation of art; art and communication; interaction between art and nature; art and culture; life, art and philosophy; criticism and art; art and values; art and society; the conflicts of modern aesthetics; art philosophy: experimental aesthetics; art and Eros. Apart from the sections, the work of the Congress included a meeting between editors of aesthetic journals.

The programme also envisaged the work of four more sections: the aesthetic society of the USSR; the aesthetic society of the USA; the aesthetic society of Quebec; and the aesthetic society of France.

The work of the section on aesthetics in the USSR was directed by A. Zis and N. Goncharenko, who also read papers on "Art and Philosophy" and "Art and the Philosopher's Personality". Besides, Zis also spoke at length on the principal trends in research conducted in the Soviet Union, and on some of the outstanding works on aesthetics published in recent years.

The theme of the Congress was

"Artworks and the Transformations of Philosophy", but it was interpreted by the participants in the broader sense—art and philosophy. The theme was formulated slightly differently in French: "Works of Art: a Challenge to Philosophy", which puzzled some delegates and compelled others to look for a challenge where there was none. That was perhaps the reason why the wellknown French scholar M. Dufrenne stated at the plenary session that art did not challenge philosophy at all: their link was in the sphere of aesthetics.

The problem "Philosophy and Art" does not seem to be an original one, at first glance. It was studied in detail by philosophers of the past, as is well known. Still, there were objective reasons for making it a topic of discussion at a world forum. The modern world with its sharpened social and ideological conflicts and contradictions, pressing global problems, and the threat of a thermonuclear catastrophe poses the task of philosophical, ethical and artistic interpretation of the destiny of man and his culture, the task of studying the prospects for the world's further development.

The very theme of the Congress indicated that modern art cannot restrict itself to purely aesthetic aspirations, the aspirations of "the craft", and that it also bears a share of responsibility for what happens in the world, and has to help men to understand better the ideological and social quest of the age, to have a better grasp of events.

At the same time Western participants actually avoided discussing that main problem, preferring to treat it on a narrow scholarly plane of the specific differences between philosophy and art, or else reducing it to a search for actual or imaginary analogues between philosophy and art, between scientific and artistic creative work. It was apparently for this reason that the Congress practically neglected such kinds of art as the cinema, letters, and TV. The conclusions were mostly drawn from the fine arts, music and architecture.

Delegates -from the USSR and other socialist countries (A. Stoikov, K. Goranov, I. Passy and others) developed Marxist ideas on the influence of phylosophy on art, on their interaction, and on the effective role of art in the modern world.

Their papers dealt with various aspects of the problem in hand. They pointed out that the diversity, depth and content of the links between philosophy and art could not be reduced to the fact that artists certail used ideas of while philosophers philosophers, turned to art to illustrate their ideas. Both philosophy and art have a common object that has to be comprehended—the objective world. and a common centre of interestsman and his activity. But they reflect that object in different ways and through different, specific means. They're not interchangeable, but complementing each other, deepening our knowledge and conception of the world, its understanding and evaluation.

Philosophy influences, above all, the artist's worldview, facilitating his more profound cognition of the social reality in its integrity, complexity and contradictions, and directs the artist towards comprehending the essence of its laws.

Aesthetics, which Hegel called "the philosophy of art", is the seat of the interconnection and interaction between art and philosophy. Although the subject-matter and the

functions of modern aesthetics have gone beyond the limits of "the philosophy of art", the latter continues to be one of its most important components. It is hard to overestimate the role of philosophy in the study and explanation of the laws of artistic creativity, of the laws of the emergence and development of artistic culture as a whole and its role in the formation of human civilisation. That was, in brief, the range of ideas defended by Marxists at the Congress. The American specialist on aesthetics R. Arnheim also spoke at the plenary session of the significance of philosophy and psychology in revealing the secrets of artistic creativity.

The proposition that art is the key to understanding culture was defended by F. M. Hetzler of the USA. His argument was that art is just as material as it is spiritual, that art itself is a philosophy, comprising intuition, imagination, fantasy and myth, all of which it unites. Art therefore produces knowledge that cannot be obtained in any other way.

The influence of modern art on philosophy was also interpreted as philosophy moving further away from the study of what may be known with definiteness towards the quest for the meaning of that which we already know.

Thus the controversy between Marxist and bourgeois aesthetics did not centre on whether philosophy. influences art and art influences philosophy. There were fundamental differences as to the kind of philosophy, particularly in these times, affecting different kinds of art, and as to the nature of that influence. Most papers by Western scholars dealt with the influence of the latest developments in bourgeois philosophy, of the modern forms of idealism, on the development of

modernism. As a rule, Western specialists on aesthetics and the theory of art used the ontological, epistemological and psychological premises of idealism to draw conclusions, contradicting artistic practice, that realistic forms of art are untenable, that the artist is absolutely free in his creative work and has every right to be guided in it by his subconscious impulses, and that objective laws of artistic creativity should be rejected.

Among papers tracing the connections between the principal direcof modern bourgeois tions philosophy and modernism. L. Krukowski's of the USA should be singled out. The author drew parallels between philosophical concepts of the Vienna circle, the ideas of Russell and Wittgenstein and the art of painting, and also between the theoretical statements of Kandinsky and Mondrian and the artistic practice of the constructivists (Naum Gabo and others) and Bauhaus.

The vagueness and arbitrariness of the interpretation of the links between philosophy and art by some Western scholars are indicated by the choice of philosophers with whom the artistic phenomena of the modern times, mostly of modernist art, are associated. The impression was that each of them chose a philosophical system or an individual philosopher merely on the strength of his own interests or personal preferences. Some believed that the essence of the modernist "revolution" in art could be understood in the light of the philosophical ideas of Schelling, Kant, Fichte, or Hegel, while others invoked the names of Dewey, Bergson, and Russell.

All of this pointed to the absence of a rigorous and unified philosophical-methodological basis in modern bourgeois aesthetics, and also to the vagueness of the aesthetic "discoveries" claimed by modernism.

Just as at any other international congress, issues were discussed other than the principal theme that became the subject-matter of most papers and polemics. In particular, N. Hashimoto, delegated Japan, substantiated her views as to the right of the so-called ecoaesthetics to existence. The gist of her ideas was that man must live in harmony with his environment (primarily, the natural environment), being in direct contact with nature and perceiving it with his senses. The Canadian scholar Robert said that the present epoch moved aesthetics to a foremost position, and that it was complicated by the existence of numerous trends and "isms" in the art which expresses the present epoch. Despite all this, a true work of art stimulates aesthetic activity in these days, too, while aesthetics is a means of imparting an aesthetic stimulus to philosophy.

On the whole, the beneficient role of philosophy was stressed at the Congress, although the delegates, as was noted above, spoke of different philosophies and different types of art from different and at times conflicting ideological positions.

The Congress demonstrated the ideological confrontation between Marxist and bourgeois aesthetics, the close ties between the latter and idealist philosophy and modernist art, as well as the polarity of the scientific and non-scientific approaches to the explanation of the problems of artistic creativity.

N. Goncharenko.

Corresponding Member, Ukrainian Academy of Sciences.

* The 20th General Assembly of the · International Council of Scientific Unions (ICSU) in Ottawa was attended by scientists from 48 countries, including Bulgaria, China, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, the GDR, Hungary, Poland, the USSR and Yugoslavia, as well as representatives of 30 international scientific organisations. Scientific problems of a global character were discussed, then there was an exchange of scientific experience in environmental protection and the use of new energy sources. Members Soviet delegation -Academicians G. Skryabin, N. Emanuel and A. Bayev, Corresponding Members of the USSR Academy of Sciences, V. Belousov, V. Kovda and G. Golitsyn, and also V. Troitskaya, V. Chirkin E. Lebedkina reported on the latest achievements of Soviet science in various fields. The session adopted a resolution calling for the removal of the threat of new war and reaffirming readiness to place the achievements of science at the service of peace.

* Veszprém (Hungary) was the venue of the 5th Joint International Conference on the History Philosophy of Science, which gathered scientists from 20 countries, including Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, the GDR, Hungary, Poland, the USSR and Yugoslavia. The conference was sponsored by the International Union of the History and Philosophy of Science (IUHPS), the Hungarian AS and the Technical University of Budapest. Prof. E. Hiebert (USA), President of the Division of History of Science of the IUHPS, and Academician A. Hajnal (Hungary),

The review covers the events of August-October 1984.

Vice-President of the Division of History of Logic, Methodology and Philosophy of Science, were present. The Soviet delegates addressed the plenary session with the following reports: "Marxism on the Nature of Social Factors in the History of Science" (L. Markova) and "Ground Scientific Rationality" (A. Nikiforov). The main work proceeded in the panels: "History and Methodology Science" of "Logic". Soviet scientists presented the following reports: "Modality de re and the Imaginative Logic of Vasiliev)" (V. Smirnov, head of the delegation); "Informal Soviet Analysis of Modalities S4 and S5" (E. Voishvillo): "Marxism on the Soof Commitment Scientist" (V. Vyunitsky), "On and Grounds of Incommensurability" (V. Porus).

* "The Significance of the Concept of Nature in the Social Sciences and for These Sciences" was the subject of the 6th International Symposium on the general theme "Science and Humanism", held annually, as of 1979, within the framework of "East-West" meetings of philosophers. The symtook place Deutschlandsberg (Austria) and was organised by the Ludwig Boltzmann Institute of Research into Science at Graz University (Austria) and the Institute of the Study of Problems of Society and Science at Erlangen-Nuremberg University (FRG). Philosophers of Austria, Bulgaria, the FRG, the GDR, Hungary, Switzerland, the USSR and West Berlin participated. The subject "Challenge to the Classical Concept of Nature from Positions of the 20th Century" was dealt with in the reports read by J. Götschl (Austria), H. Hörz (the GDR) and P. Janich (the FRG). On the subject "Elaboration of the Concept of Nature by the Social Sciences" papers were presented by H. Poser (West Berlin), R. Lother (the GDR), H. Lübbe (Switzerland), A. Gedö (Hungary), I. Frolov and G. Belkina (the USSR), E. Oeser (Austria), Yu. Sachkov (USSR) and J. Farkas (Hungary).

* The 20th International Conference of Historians of the Labour Movement held in Linz (Austria) brought together scholars from 35 countries. including Bulgaria, China, Czechoslovakia, the GDR, Hungary, Poland, Rumania, the USSR, Vietnam and Yugoslavia. The following subjects were discussed: the colonial question and the working-class movement in 1917-1939; the events in Austria and France in February 1934 and the international working-class ment (the state and problems of research). At the plenary session the paper "The Workers' Movement and the Third World" was read by B. Kreisky, the former Chancellor of Austria. Soviet participants submitted the following reports: "Problems of Interconnection of the Social and National Liberation Factors in the 1920s (certain questions of the Comintern policy)" (I. Lunev); "The Colonial Question and the Working-Class Movement on the Eve of the Second World War. Some Problems" (K. Shirinya); "Problems of the Anti-Colonial Struggle of the Working-Class Movement of the Oppressed Countries (in studies by the Institute of the International Working-Class Movement, USSR AS)" (S. Agayev); "Soviet Historiography on the February 1934 Events in Austria" (O. Velichko); "The Working-Class Movement in Colonial and Dependent Countries of North Africa in (V. Gusarov 1917-1939" I. Smirnov). L. Queen delivered a report devoted to the 50th anniversary of the revolutionary events in Austria. Among the participants a collection was distributed: Austria. The Anti-Fascist Action of Workers in February 1934. A Reference Guide to Materials and Literature Published in the USSR in 1934-1984 (Moscow, 1984, put out in Russian by the Institute of the International Working-Class Movement).

* The 14th Conference of the "Society for the Study of Cultural Links in Central and Eastern Europe. 1750-1850" held in Lüneburg (FRG) was attended by scholars from Austria, the FRG, the GDR, Hungary, Poland, Rumania, the USSR and Yugoslavia. Its subject "Man as a Social Being (part of the broader theme "Man and Society" studied by the Society in 1983-1987) was discussed in several aspects: the ideas of Enlightenment and their transformation in Central and Eastern Europe; the ideas of Enlightenment in the policies of the states in the region; philanthropism: views and practice; the legal status of the individual (criminal law reforms). Soviet participants in the conference presented the following reports: "The Concept Man in Russian Pedagogical of 1760s-1770s Thought in the (I. I. Betskoy's socio-pedagogical views and activity in the light of the philosophy of the history of Enlightenment)" (M. Kuzınin, Institute of the Slavonic and Balkan Studies. USSR AS), and "The Emancipation of Women and the Feminine Issue in Russia in the First Half of the 19th Century" (E. Dudzinskaya, Institute of the History of the USSR, USSR AS).

* The 8th Congress of the International Federation of the Societies of Classical Studies was held in Dublin (Ireland). The plenary sessions heard reports on a wide range of problems in

classical studies. The main work proceeded in colloquiums on manuscript traditions, papyrology, epigraphy, theatre, ancient philosophy and Mycenaean studies. Soviet scholar Yu. Vinogradov (Institute of World History, USSR AS) presented a paper in the epigraphy section—"The Armed Forces of Mithridates the Great in the Northern Black Sea Region".

* An International Congress on "Custom in the Past and Present in the Context of Comparative History" held in Brussels was sponsored by the Jean Bodin Society of Comparative History and the Law Faculty of the Free University of Brussels. Some 120 papers characterised custom as one of the major formal sources of law. V. Buganov (Institute of the History of the USSR, USSR AS) submitted a paper on "Custom and Law in Russia in the 15th-18th Centuries".

* The 5th International Conference on Old Russian History held in Klagen-furt (Austria) gathered scholars from 11 countries, including the GDR, Poland and the USSR. Twenty-one papers were heard and discussed. S. Kashtanov (Institute of the History of the USSR, USSR AS) presented a paper "Legal and Financial Policies of the 'Chosen Council' in the Mid-16th Century".

* The 8th Soviet-Finnish Seminar on Comparative Socio-Economic History held in Turku (Finland) discussed two subjects: "Comparative study of the history of settling Finland, Northern Russia and the Baltic Region from the end of the clan period to the 16th century", and "Economic ties between Russia/USSR and Finland in the general historical context, beginning with the industrial revolution". The Soviet side submitted the

following papers on the first subject: "Tribe Migration in the Eastern Baltic Region in the First Millennium A. D." (R. Denisova); "The Ethnic Process in the Volga-Oka Interfluve in the First Millennium A. D." "The Settling (K. Smirnov): South-Eastern Finland and the North-Western Area Near Lake Ladoga in the Middle Ages. 5th-15th Centuries" (S. Kochkurkina), "The Settling and Economic Development of North-Western Russian Lands. 9th-15th Centuries" (I. Shaskolsky). From the Finnish side the papers were read by E. Hiltunen, "Problems in Research into the History of the Settling of South-Western Finland" and J. Vahtola, Onomastic Method of Studying Early Finnish History". Finnish scholars P. Virrankoski (delegation head), I. Ahvenainen V. Rasila, and K. Hovi joined in the discussion and E. Orrman made a report. On the second subject the Soviet scholars submitted the following reports: "Economic Ties Between Russia and Finland from the Industrial Revoluto the First World War" (K. Shatsillo, head of the Soviet delegation); "Trade and Economic Ties Between the Soviet Union and Finland" (Yu. Piskulov), and "Trade and Customs Relations Between Russia and Finland in the Late 19th-Early 20th Centuries" (T. Kitanina). Finnish scholar P. Schybergson submitted the report "Finnish Industry and the Russian Market in the Autonomy Period. 1809-1914". Reports on the subject were delivered by T. Myllyntaus, V. Rasila, A. Juntunen and R. Kero. P. Virrankoski and T. Paavonen joined in the discussion. A. Komarov participated from the Soviet side. S. Jungar, Chairman of the Finnnish side of the Soviet-Finnish working group on scientific cooperation in the field of history, also took part in the seminar.

* Participants in the 5th Soviet-Swedish Historians' Colloquium held in Sigtuna (Sweden) dealt with three subjects: "The Town and Society in the Early Middle Ages", "Cultural Relations between Russia/USSR and Sweden" and "60th Anniversary of the Establishment of Soviet-Swedish Relations". The Soviet side submitted the following reports: "The October Revolution and Cultural Rebirth of the Peoples" (Academician "Teaching of Culture M. Kim); Problems at Historical Faculties of Soviet Universities" (Yu. Kukushkin. Corresponding Member of the USSR AS); "USSR-Sweden: the First Stage of Scientific and Cultural Relations" (V. Kumanev); "About the History of the Establishment of Soviet-Swedish **Diplomatic** Relations" (V. Shishkin); "The Role of Uppsala University in Russian-Swedish Cultural Relations in the 18th Century" (G. Nekrasov): "The Mediaeval Town-a Centre of Cultural Interaction. Aspects of Approach" (A. Svanidze); "Swedes in Russia Revolution" the October (O. Chernysheva); "Soviet-Swedish Relations After the Second World War: Main Aspects of Development" (Yu. Komarov). From the Swedish side the following papers were read: (A.-S. Gräslund); "The "Birka" Mediaeval Swedish City" (H. Andersson); "The Establishment of Soviet-Swedish Diplomatic Relations" (W. Carlgren); "The Reception of Soviet Russian Literature in Sweden 1920s" (N.-Å. Nilsson); the "Swedish Travellers in Russia in Old Times" (M. von Platen); "The Baltic 1914" Malmö. Exhibition in (U. Abel); and "Aspects of History Teaching in Sweden and the USSR" (K.-G. Karlsson).

* A Soviet-Greek meeting of historians devoted to the 170th anniversary of the formation of the Greek insurgent organ-

isation "Philiki Etaireia" was held in Odessa. It discussed two subjects: "'Philiki Etaireia' and Its Role in the National Liberation Struggle of the Greek People" and "Traditional Historical Ties Between the Peoples of the USSR and Greece". The Soviet side presented the following papers: "'Philiki Etaireia' and Its Role in the Greek People's Struggle for National Independence" (G. Arsh); "Development of Traditional Russo-Greek Relations in the 19th and Early 20th Centuries" (T. Dmitrenko); "Soviet-Greek Relations and Their Role in the Development of International Cooperation in Europe" (B. Marushkin); "Soviet Historiography on the Anti-Fascist Struggle of the Greek People in the Second World War" (I. Slavin); "The Ukraine's Contribution to the Development of Traditional Historical Ties Between the USSR and Greece" (N. Terentyeva), and "The Struggle of the Peoples of the USSR and Greece for Peace and the Strengthening of Security in Europe" (N. Smirnova). The Greek side delivered the following reports: "Nikolaos Skoufas, the Father of the Greek Organisation 'Philiki Etaireia'" (C. Vagias); "Liberation of Greece in the Early 19th Century and European (including Russian) Diplomacy" (S. dopoulos): "Ideological Aspects of the 'Philiki Etaireia' Political Programme" (C. Hadzopoulos); "Significance of the 'Philiki Etaireia' Society in Our Days" (N. Kepesis); "The 'Philiki Etaireia' Theatre in Odessa (the mutual influence of Greek and Russian cultures on the example of this theatre)" (G. Zoidis). Greek Ambassador in the USSR I. Grigoriadis attended the event.

* "Socio-Demographic Aspects of the Development of the Productive Forces in the Countryside" was the subject of the 20th Jubilee session of an All-Union

symposium on the study of agrarian history problems held in Tallinn under the auspices of the Division of History of the USSR AS, the Institute of the History of the USSR, the USSR AS, and the Institute of History of the Estonian AS. The plenary session heard the following reports: "The Results and Tasks of the All-Union Symposium on Agrarian History" (I. Kovalchenko, Corresponding Member of the USSR AS); "Historical Demography: Problems of Research" (Yu. Polyakov, Corresponding Member of the USSR AS, V. Drobizhev and D. Shelestov); and "On the Significance of Social and Demographic Factors in Agrarian Development" (Academician J. Kahk of the Estonian AS). The main work was conducted in panel discussion where about 80 papers and reports were heard on the following subjects: the population and manpower resources of the Soviet village (1917the 1950s); the population and manpower resources of the Soviet village under developed socialism; sociodemographic problems of the agrarian capitalist development of Russia in the late 19th-early 20th centuries; socio-demographic processes in the Russian village during the crisis of the feudal system (first half of the 19th century); the production culture of the peasantry and peasant migration in Russia (18th century); social demography, the family, rural settlements, the commune: structure, labour resources, production opportunities (up to the 17th century inclusive); the state's role in developing the productive forces of feudal society.

* Bulgaria, the GDR and the USSR took part in a seminar organised at a Youth School in Primorsko (Bulgaria) on "Development Trends of the World Economy and the Socialist Community". It was sponsored by the

Institute of International Relations and Socialist Integration under the Presidium of the Bulgarian AS, and the Central Committee of the Dimitrov Communist Youth Union and devoted to the 40th anniversary of the victory of the socialist revolution in Bulgaria and the 35th anniversary of the formation of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA). Soviet researchers representing the Institute of the World **Economy and International Relations** of the USSR AS delivered the fol-"Problems reports: Economic and Political Relations Between Socialist and Developing States in the Struggle for a New International Economic Order" (Ya. Etinger), and "Structural Shifts in the Economies of Industrialised Capitalist Countries and East-West Relations" (V. Presnyakov). Bulgarian scholars were represented, among others, by Academician E. Mateyev and N. Tsarevsky, Director of the Institute of International Relations and Socialist Integration. Their papers dealt with various aspects of economic cooperation among the socialist countries in the context of decisions of the CMEA Summit Conference held in June 1984.

* A Soviet-Polish seminar "Settlement Processes and Ways of Their Improvement" held in Nieborów (near Warsaw) was organised by the Institute of Geography and Territorial Organisation of the Polish AS and the Institute of Geography of the USSR AS. The Polish side presented the following reports: "Results of the Activity of the Commission of National Systems of Settlement of the International Geographical Union (IGU) and the Investigation Programme of the New Commission: 'Dynamics of Urban Systems'" (K. Dzeiwónski, head of the delegation); "Dynamics of Central Places"

(E. Nowosielska); "Analysis of Short-Time Changes in Poland's Regional Differentiation" (T. Czyz); "Spatial Differentiation of the Family Model" (W. Kulikowska): "Socio-Ecological Differentiation of Triple City (Gdansk, Gdynia, Sopot) in 1970 and 1978" (S. Morawska); "Questions of Regional Awareness in Southern Poland" (Z. Rykiel); "Questions of Investigation of Spatial Specificities of Migration Movements Network" (A. Jagielski); "Two Types of Information Data and Their Application in Multiregional Demographic Model" (M. Kupiszewski); "Transport Accessibility of Administrative Centres and Services" (T. Lijewski); "The Suburban Zone as an Object of Geographical Research. Attempt at Synthesis" (S. Liszewski), and "Current Demographic Processes and Their Influence on Changes in the Urban System of Settlement (A. Poland" Gawryszewski, M. Jerczyński). The Soviet side presented the following papers: "Problems of Regulation of Large Cities and Present Urban Agglomerations in the USSR" (G. Lappo, head of the delegation); "Population in the Systems of Settlement: Spatial and Time Approach" (N. Petrov); "The Change in Interconnection of Urban and Rural Settlement in the USSR" (Zh. Zayonchkovskaya), "The Role of Urbanistic Concentration in Regional Settlement Formation in the USSR" (Yu. Pivovarov); "Development of Rural Settlement Network in the USSR" (M. Strongina); and "Impact of the Transport Factor on Formation of Systems of Settlement of Various Hierarchic Types in the USSR" (G. Golts).

* An Indo-Soviet Seminar on "Problems of Migration in the Process of Urbanisation" held in Hyderabad was sponsored by the University Grants Commission of India and the Area Studies Centre of Osmania University. It discussed the following questions: the historical and national perspective on urbanisation, demographic, urban economic space, informal sector and labour market, regional aspects of urbanisation, large cities and micro-level urbanisation. India was represented by the following reports: "Problems of Urbanisation in India Prior to 1947" (A. Habeeb); "Urbanisation and Its Regional Orientation in (S. C. Chakraborty); "Process of Urbanisation and Urban Systems of India" (S. M. Alam, head of the delegation); "Processes and Patterns of Migration—Urban to Urban and Urban to Rural" (M. K. Premi); "Data Base for the Study of Migration and Urbanisation in India-Critical Analysis" (P. Visaria and "Urbanisation D. Kothari): Economics of Urban Agglomeration-Review and Observation on Indian Condition" (D. Mehta); "Urbanisation—Rural-Urban Migration and Growth of Informal Sector" (T. S. Papola); "Urbanisation Tamil Nadu, Karnataka and Andhra-Pradesh—a Comparative Picture 1961-1981" (A. Nagrai); for "Trends and Patterns of Migration in Metropolitan Cities—a Case of Greater Bombay" (P. K. Muttagi); "Morphological Structure of Mining Towns: a Case Study Kothagudem" (A. Mohammed), and "Processes and Patterns of Migration of the Micro-Level" (B. Dasgupta). The Soviet Union was represented by "The Impact of the Economic Basis of the Town on the Comprehensive Development of Territory and Migration of the Population" (L. Nikiforov); "The Processes of Population Migration and the Effectiveness of Usage of Labour Resources" (E. Kapustin, Corresponding Member of the USSR AS.

head of the delegation); "Reclamation of New Territories—Social Progress" (Academician T. Ashimbaev of the Kazakh AS), and "Problems of the Growth of Large Cities and Migration in the USSR" (L. Sigov).

* Moscow's Bolshoi Theatre was the venue of a gala gathering to mark the awarding of the Order of the Red Banner of Labour to the Diplomatic Academy of the USSR Ministry for Foreign Affairs in recognition of its services and to celebrate its 50th anniversary. One half of the Soviet diplomats were graduated from the Academy. Students from the fraternal socialist countries have been trained here since 1957. The Diplomatic Academy is also a research centre engaged in current problems of the country's foreign policy and international relations. The faculty includes some 150 doctors and candidates of sciences. It began publishing the annual Diplomatichesky vestnik (Diplomatic Herald) in 1983.

* "The Danger of Militarist and Revanchist Trends in Western Political Circles" was the subject of a scientific symposium held in Prague, which brought together scholars from Austria, Britain, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, the FRG, France, the GDR, Hungary, Italy, Norway, Poland and the USSR. J. Pudlak, Director of the Institute of International Relations of Czechoslovakia opened the event. Soviet participants submitted the following papers: "The Dangerous Axis of US-West German Militarism" (A. Yakovlev, Driector of the Institute of the World Economy and International Relations, USSR AS); "On Interconnection of Two Types of Revanchism in World Politics" (A. Nikonov); "On Present-Day Military Policies of West European Countries" (D. Proektor); "Inviolability of State Frontiers—a Guarantee of Peace and Security in Europe" (V. Pustogarov); "Illegality of Revanchism" (A. Larin); "FRG's Revanchist Trends and Its Eastern Policy" (A. Kokeyev); "Mounting Revanchist Trends in the FRG and the Anti-War Movement" (L. Istyagin); "Increasing Rearmament in the FRG" (M. Ziborova) and "NATO-Generator of the Arms Race and Militarist Trends in Western Europe" (B. Khalosha). J. Pudlak and I. Guryev, head of the Soviet delegation and Deputy Director of the Institute of the World Economy and International Relations, delivered the summing up.

* "The Nuclear Winter and the New Defence Systems: Problems and Perspectives" was the subject of an international seminar held in Erice (Sicily), devoted to safeguarding peace and averting nuclear war. Scientists from Canada, China, the FRG, Italy, Switzerland, the USA and the USSR arrived for the forum. Soviet participants presented the following papers: "Coevolution: Certain Propositions" (N. Moiseyev, head of the delegation); "Update on the Climatic Impacts of Nuclear Exchange" (V. Alexandrov); "Space-Based Missile Systems: Strategic and Political Implications" (A. Vasilyev) "The Influence of Total War on Mankind" Biosphere and (M. Mokulsky).

* The 13th Congress of the International Association of Penal Law held in Cairo gathered scholars and legal experts from 44 countries, including China, Czechoslovakia, the GDR, Hungary, Poland, Rumania, the USSR and Yugoslavia. Soviet participants submitted the following reports: "Criminal Omission and Causal Relationship" (V. Kudryavtsev, Corresponding Member of the USSR AS, Director of the Institute of State and Law, USSR AS); "Means of Criminal Law Used in the USSR for Protecting Economic Interests" (S. Kelina); "Notion and Principles of Penal Reglamentation of Infractions in Area of Economics and Other Types of Business, Including Protection of Consumers' Interests" (V. Shupilov) and "On Some of the Forms of Public Participation in Crime Combating in the USSR" (A. Mikhailov and V. Savitsky).

* The 1st symposium on politics and ideology and their interaction with law was held in Havana, and scholars and legal experts from Bulgaria, Canada, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, the GDR, Nicaragua, Peru, Poland, the USA, the USSR and Venezuela attended. M. Piskotin, Editor-in-Chief of the journal Sovetskoye gosudarstvo i pravo (The Soviet State and Law), reported on "Law and Legality under Socialism".

* The 22nd regular session of the Institute of International Public Law and International Relations held in Thessaloniki was devoted to "Communi-(including Telecommunications)". Over 30 countries sent representatives, including China, Hungary, Poland, Rumania, the USSR and Yugoslavia. Lectures were read and seminars were held to discuss international legal questions of inforcommunications. and mation A. Dneprovsky, a research associate of the Institute of State and Law, USSR AS, read a paper "Communications: Freedom of the Individual or the Right of the State".

* An International Scientific Conference "Legal Responsibility for Degradation of the Environment" held in Karpacz (Poland) was organised by the Karkonoskie Scientific Society, the Department of Water Economy and Nature Protection in the town of Ielenia Góra and the Institute of the State and Law of the Polish AS. Legal experts from Czechoslovakia, the GDR, Hungary, Poland and the USSR gathered to discuss the following questions: analysis of the state of legal responsibility for degradation of the environment and raising its efficiency within the framework of each socialist country; identifying the basic trends of international cooperation in this sphere. The main reports were delivered by W. Radecki and I. Jerzmanski of Poland, O. Dubovik (the Institute of the State and Law of the USSR AS) read a paper on "Legal Responsibility for Ecological Breaches of Law".

* San Francisco hosted the 18th Annual Conference of the Law of the Sea Institute, University of Hawaii, on "The Developing Order of the Oceans". Sponsored by the Institute and the University of San Francisco it brought together scientists from 17 countries, including the USSR. The conference discussed the development problems of international relations in the context of the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea 1982. V. Pisarev, a research associate at the US and Canadian Studies Institute of the USSR AS, explained the Soviet Union's position the unlawfulness regarding American unilateral actions and separate agreements on using the sea bed in violation of the UN Convention.

* "Change in Language and Literature. Permanence and Change in Literary and Linguistic Function and Form: the Cultural Implications" formed the subject of the 16th International Congress of the International Federation for Modern Languages and Literatures (FILLM) held in Budapest. Scholars from 44 countries, including

Czechoslovakia, the GDR, Hungary, Poland, Rumania, the USSR and Yugoslavia were present for the occasion. J. Szentágothai, President of the Hungarian AS, delivered the opening address. "Our Science in a Changing World" was read by FILLM's President, Academician M. Szabolcsi (Hungary). Soviet scho-Yu.- Vipper, lar Corresponding Member of the USSR AS, reported at one of the plenary sessions on "Correlation of the Permanent and Variable Elements in the Development of Literature in Connection with French Literature of the 16th-18th Centuries". Work proceeded in four sections: "Problems of Theory and Method", "Historical Perspectives", "Current Problems" and "Regional Problems", where roughly 300 papers were heard. There were also section discussions, "The Role of Literary Theory in Comparative Literary Studies" symposium and a colloquium on "Literary Texts in Teaching European Languages".

During the sitting the FILLM Bureau held sessions at which representatives of 21 international scienorganisations belonging to FILLM reported on their activities and discussed organisational matters. V. Grebenyuk (USSR) summed up the results of the 9th International Congress of Slav Scholars held in Kiev in September 1983. S. Aston (Britain) was elected FILLM President for the 1984-1987 term, and Yu. Vipper-one of four Vice-Presidents. It was agreed to hold the next FILLM Congress in Gulf (Ontario, Canada) in 1987.

* "The Proper Name in Language and Society" was the subject of 15th International Congress of Onomastic Sciences held in Leipzig, which attracted scholars from 27 countries, among which were Bulgaria, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, the GDR, Hungary,

Poland, Rumania, the USSR and Yugoslavia. The 26-member Soviet delegation was headed A. Superanskaya, D.Sc.(Philol.) from the Institute of Linguistics, USSR AS. At plenary sessions the following papers were read: "Reconstruction Onomastics" (Th. Andersson, Sweden); "Pragmatism in Appropriation and Use of Names" (F. Debus, FRG); "The Proper Name the Secondary Appellation" as (W. Fleischer, the GDR); ponymic Layers in the Eastern Alps" (M. Hornung, Austria): "Socio-Onomastics" (W. B. H. Nicolaisen, USA); "The Proper Name—in the Language or in the Society?" (A. Superanskaya, USSR), and "General Categories in Onomastics" (R. Śramek, Czechoslovakia). work proceeded in seven subgroups: "The Theory, Methodology and History of Onomastics", "Socio-Linguistic Differentiation of Proper Names", "Proper Names and Linguistic History", "Proper Names in Language Contact", "Onomastics and Historical Science", "Proper Names in Literature", "Onomastics and Cartography (Including Standardisation)". More than 250 papers and communications were heard at sub-group meetings. Soviet participants read 22 papers, among them "Socio-Linguistic Aspect of Functioning of Georgian Personal Names" (Sh. Apridonidze); "Anthroponyms and Ethnonyms of Ancient Turks in Europe" (N. Baskakov); Eastern "On Standardisation of Russian Toponyms Formed by Geographical Appellatives" (G. Bondaruk); "Stratification of Microtoponymics of the Pamiers" (R. Dodykhudoyev); "The Essence and Place of Tradi-Geographical Names" "Grammatical Fea-(G. Donidze); tures of Anthroponymics in the Socio-Linguistic Aspect (from Russian language sources)" (L. Kalakutskaya); "Structure of Meaning of Anthroponym (from Moldavian language sources)" (M. Kosnichanu); "History of Russian Anthroponyms" (A. Miroslavskaya); "Term—Nomen—Onym" (N. Podolskaya); and "The Proper Name as an Object of Historical Lexicography" (G. Smolitskaya).

* The 7th World Congress of Applied Linguistics held in Brussels on "The Contribution of Applied Linguistics to International Understanding" and sponsored by Brussels Vrije University and the International Association Linguistics Applied (AILA) gathered some 1,300 scholars from 80 countries, including Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, the GDR, Hungary, Rumania, the USSR and Yugoslavia. Eight papers were heard at plenary sessions on the key theme. Work proceeded in six panels: "Language Problems in Developing Nations", "Language and Society", "Language and Mind", "Language Teaching and Learning (Foreign Language and Mother Tongue)", "Communication and Interaction" and "Logico-Linguistics". There were also several dozen symposiums of AILA scientific commissions and congress' posiums. Their themes included "Applied Computational Linguistics", "Contrastive Linguistics and "Discourse Analysis", Error Analysis", "Language for Special Purposes", "Language Tests and "Psycholinguistics", Testing", "Rhetoric and Stylistics", "Sociolinguistics", "Terminology", "Translation", "Language and Education in Multilingual Settings". Soviet scholars reported on: "The Solution to the Problem of National Languages in Soviet Society Today" (M. Guboglo); "Culture and Language in Afro-(L. Nikolsky); Countries" Asian "Types of Linguistic Communities" and "Contrastive Linguistics and Translation" (V. Neroznak).

* The 5th International Symposium devoted to theoretical problems of the Asian and African literatures which took place in Varna (Bulgaria) was attended by literary scholars from Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, the GDR, the Korean People's Democratic Republic, Poland and the USSR. Soviet participants in the symposium presented 19 papers, including: "Oriental Literature's Place the World Revolutionary Process" (E. Chelyshev, Corresponding Member of the USSR AS, delegation head); "Interaction of Cultures as a Factor Accelerating Development of Literatures" (V. Naidakov); "The Problem of Oriental Zonal Literary Communities in the Middle Ages" (V. Braginsky); "Interaction of Moslem Traditions and Culture in India in the 20th Century" (N. Prigarina); "Tasks and Problems of Studying Literary Processes in Tropical African Countries in the Context of Ideological Struggle" (I. Nikiforova); "At the Origins of Georgian-Persian Ties" (A. Gvakharia); Literary "Analysis of Chinese Classical Poetry" (L. Eidlin); "Turkish Literature of Social Realism (Problem of Typolof Socialist Literatures)" (S. Uturgauri); "Formation of Artistic System of Nepal's New Poetry" (L. Aganina) and "Man in Chinese Poetry of 'May 4, 1919'" (L. Cherkassky).

* A session on problems of dialectology and linguistic history on the subject "Linguistic Geography at the Present Stage and Problems of Interlevel Interaction in Language History" was organised in Uzhgorod by the Division of Literature and Language of the USSR AS, the Scientific Council of the USSR AS on Dialectology and Language History, the Institute of the Russian Language of the USSR AS and Uzhgorod State University. At the plenary sessions and at the

three panel sessions some 150 papers and communications were heard: "Linguistic Geography at the Present Stage", "Methods of Linguistic Geography in Investigations of Areal Lexicology" and "Problems of Interlevel Interactions in Language History".

* A Soviet-Finnish symposium "Psychological Problems of the Way of Life and Life Course of Personality was organised by the Institute of Psychology of the USSR AS in Moscow, Kiev and Tallinn. The following examined: questions were methodological and theoretical problems of the study of way of life in social psychology; the way of life of large groups; life course of personality; socio-psychological research of the life-path of youth and the vocational orientation of youth. The Soviet side presented 19 papers, including "The Way of Life Research in Soviet Social Psychology" (E. Shorokhova); "Social Well-Being as an Integral Index of Standard and Quality of Life" (I. Levykin); "Interconnection of the Sociological and Socio-Psychological Approaches to the Study of Way of Life" (V. Yadov); "Personality's Life Perspectives" (K. Abulkhanova); "Socio-Psychological Features of Soviet Peasantry's Way of Life" (O. Zotova and V. Novikov).

Finnish psychologists submitted 13 papers, including "A Socioecological Approach to Personality and the Problem of Situation" (M. Takala); "Possibilities of Longitudinal Research in the Framework of Social Psychology" (Y. P. Häyrynen); "On Emotional Schemata of Everyday Life" (A. Escola); "The Living Conditions, Social Activities and Cognitive Functions of Very Old People" (I. Ruoppila); "Development Tasks and Life Strategies" (R. Pehunen).

* A symposium on "Tradition as a Phenomenon of the Cultural Activity of Humanity" was organised by the Slovak AS in Smolenice (near Bratislava). Soviet participants presented the following papers: "Tradition in the Context of Folkloristic Tradition" (K. Chistov, Corresponding Member of the USSR AS); "Correlation of Theory and Innovation and Their Interaction" (S. Arutyunov), and "Continuity of Culture and Problems of Ethnography of Childhood" (I. Kon).

* A jubilee conference "25 Years of the International Commission on the Study of Folk Culture in the Carpathian and Balkan Regions" was held in Lvov. It was organised by the Institute of Ethnography of the USSR AS, the Institute of the Study of the Arts, Folklore and Ethnography of the Ukrainian AS and other scientific institutions. Delegations from Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland. Rumania. the USSR and Yugoslavia took part. The conference heard the following papers: "The 25th Anniversary of the International Commission on the Study of Folk Cultures in the Carpathian and Balkan Regions" (Academician Yu. Bromley, USSR); "Folk Culture in the Carpathians and Balkans in the Context of Investigations Carried Socialist Countries" Out by (V. Froleć, Czechoslovakia); and "Results of Linguistic Investigations in the Carpathian-Balkan Region" (S. Bernstein, USSR). Secretaries of national sections of the Commission also delivered reports. Meetings of groups of authors engaged in writing generalised works on folk architecture, the folklore of the popular-liberation movements of the 15th-19th centuries, musical folklore and outlying grazing were held.

* An international symposium "Japan Today" held in Berlin jointly by

Humboldt University of Berlin and Tokai University (Tokyo) was attended by scholars from Austria, Britain, Czechoslovakia, the FRG, the GDR, Hungary, Italy, Japan, the Netherlands, Poland, Switzerland, the USSR and West Berlin. The symposium proceeded panels: general tendencies in Japanese domestic and foreign affairs since the beginning of the 1980s; the introduction of new information systems and their effects on Japanese economy and society; Japanese as a foreign language—efforts towards more effective methods in teaching Japanese; recent tendencies Japanese literature and their reception in Europe. Soviet students of Japan presented the following papers: "The Role of the Emperor in the Political System of Modern "Study of Japan" (I. Latyshev); Japanese Economy in the USSR" (V. Popov); "The Problem of Derivation in the Japanese Language" (I. Vardul): "The Conception of a Comprehensive Guarantee for the Security of Japan (the aspect of scientific and technical progress)" (A. Kravtsevich); "Main Tendencies in the Scientific and Technical Progress in Japan" (Yu. Denisov); "Structural Policy in Japanese Industry" (I. Lebedeva); "Contract Production in Agricultural and Agro-Industrial Integration in Japan" (S. Markaryan); "Evolution of a Hero-Image in the Postwar Literature of Japan" (N. Chegodar); "Theory and Practice of Automatic Analysis and Synthesis of Hieroglyphs (Kanji)" "'Grassroots' —a (S. Shevenko); New Type of an Antinuclear Movement in Japan" (I. Yakobashvili). K. Sarkisov dwelt on new aspects of Japan's foreign policy in the discussion. All the above-mentioned speakers represented the Institute of Oriental Studies of the USSR AS. A. Markov, a research associate of

the Institute of the Far East of the USSR AS, presented "Important Shifts in Japan's Policy in the Early 1980s and Security in the Pacific Region".

* The 29th Conference of the European Association of Chinese Studies (EACS) was held in Tübingen (the FRG). Sinologists from 15 countries, including Bulgaria, China, Czechoslovakia, the GDR, Hungary, the USSR and Yugoslavia came to take part in it. Soviet scholars presented the following papers: "On the Change of the Morphologic System in the Chinese Language" (V. Solntsev); "Some Characteristics of the Formation Process of the Legal System in the PRC" (L. Gudoshnikov); "Russian Literature in China in the Early 20th Century" (V. Sorokin); and "Direct Foreign Investments in the Economy of the PRC" (S. Manezhev). The EACS General Assembly reelected V. Sorokin as one of its two vicechairmen.

* "Africa in the 1980s: Results and Development Prospects"--was the subject of the 4th All-Union Conference of scholars of Africa held in Moscow by the Scientific Council on African Problems of the USSR AS. It brought together scholars and associates of academic institutes and faculty members of higher educational establishments in the Union historians, republics—sociologists, economists, philologists and ethnographers, as well as foreign guests—representatives of scientific centres in the socialist and a number of African countries. Following the introductory speech made P. Fedoseyev, Academician Vice-President of the USSR An. Gromyko, Corresponding Member of the USSR AS and Director of the Institute of Africa of the USSR AS, who is also the Chairman

of the Scientific Council on African Problems, made a report at a plenary session on "Results and Perspectives of African Studies in the USSR". G. Starushenko reported on how work was progressing on the encyclopaedic reference book Africa. Then the conference proceedings continued in five panels which examined the following problems: the experience of the organisation of national economies and the development strategy of Africa; the struggle for social progress in Africa; problems of socialist orientation; the role and place of Africa in present international relations and the struggle for peace; problems of African cultural development in the 1980s; problems of the modern and contemporary history of African society; problems of the ethnocultural development of African states; literature and socio-political reality of African countries in the 1980s; sociolinguistic and historico-typological investigations of African languages; the present ecological and raw material situation in Africa and its impact on the development of productive forces and other socioeconomic problems of the continent.

* "The GDR—Bulwark of Peace and Socialism in Europe"—was the subject of a conference devoted to the 35th anniversary of the German Democratic Republic held in Moscow. It was sponsored by the Institute of World History of the USSR AS, the Institute of Marxism-Leninism at the CC CPSU and the Academy of Social Sciences at the CC CPSU. The conference was opened by Corresponding Member of the USSR AS Z. Udaltsova, Director of the Institute of World History. The main papers were as follows: "Internationalist Cooperation Between the CPSU and SUPG in the Struggle for Peace" (V. Ezhov, USSR); "Con-

struction of Developed Socialist Society in the GDR. History and Our (R. Badstübner, Epoch" "Progressive Traditions of German History and the Emergence of Socialism on German Soil" (B. Aizin, USSR): "Militant Alliance of the CPSU and SUPG-Motive Force of Fraternal Friendship Between the Peoples of the USSR and the GDR" (N. Ovcharenko, USSR). The following communications were heard: "The Struggle of the GDR for Peace International Solidarity" and (E. Langner, the GDR); "The Struggle of the GDR for Peace in the 1960s" (E. Naumann, the GDR). Soviet scholars spoke on: "Contribuof Bilateral Soviet-German Commission of Historians Strengthening of Friendship Between the Peoples of the USSR and the GDR" (I. Zhigalov); "Working Class—a Leading Force in Construction of Developed Socialist Society in the GDR" (I. Kulinich); "Federation of Free German Trade Unions-an Heir to Progressive Traditions of Free Trade Unions" German (V. Kulbakin); "The GDR in Soviet Historiography" (S. Sukhorukov); "Main Trends in Economic Cooperation Between the USSR and the GDR" (L. Tsedilin); "The Struggle of the GDR Against West German Revanchism" (V. Masich); "Foreign Policy of the GDR as an Expression Proletarian Internationalism" of "Criticism (K. Shepetov); Bourgeois and Social-Reformist Conceptions of the Role of a Marxist-Leninist Party in Socialist Construction in the GDR" (V. Popov), and "Cooperation Between the Leninist Komsomol and the Union of Free German Youth as an Expression of Policy of Socialist Internationalism" (A. Mazilkin).

* A scientific conference was held at the Institute of Africa of the

USSR AS in Moscow devoted to the 10th anniversary of the Ethiopian revolution. The following papers and communications were delivered: "Soviet-Ethiopian Relations at the Present Stage" (An. Gromyko, Corresponding Member, USSR AS, Director of the Institute, Chairman of the Scientific Council); "Problems of Ethiopia's Economic Development" (G. Smirnov); "Ethiopia on a New Road" (E. Sherr); "Historic Significance of the Creation of the Ethiopian Workers' Party" (O. Dolgova); "Foreign Policy Course of Ethiopia" (M. Rait); "Scientific Socialism as a Foundation of the Development of Countries of Socialist Orientation" (N. Kosukhin); "Principle of Goodneighbourliness in Ethiopia's Foreign Policy" (V. Maslennikov), and "Cultural Construction in Ethiopia" (O. Nikolayeva). The conference was addressed by Ethiopian Chargé d'Affaires in the USSR Legesse Gebre Mescel.

* A jubilee meeting of the Scientific Council of the Institute of Scientific

Information on Social Sciences, USSR AS, and the Editorial Board of the "Social Sciences in the USSR" and "Social Sciences Abroad" journals was held in Moscow to mark the 15th anniversary of the Institute. A report on "Results and Development Prospects of the Information System on Social Sciences" was made by V. Vinogradov, Academician, the Institute's Director. Academician A. Rumyantsev and Corresponding Members of the USSR AS An. Gromyko and G. Smirnov, addressed the gathering.

* By the decree of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet Academic cian M. Khrapchenko, Academic Secretary of the Division of Literature and Language of the USSR AS, was awarded the title of Hero of Socialist Labour, the Order of Lenin and the gold medal of Hammer and Sickle for his outstanding contribution to the development of Soviet literature, his public activity and in connection with the 50th anniversary of the Soviet Writers' Union.

- В. А. МЕДВЕДЕВ. Управление социалистическим производством: проблемы теории и практики. М., Политиздат, 1983, 270 с.
- V. A. MEDVEDEV, Management of Socialist Production: Problems of Theory and Practice, Moscow, Politizdat Publishers, 1983, 270 pp.

The monograph under review examines questions of managing socialist production, lying on the borderline of the social sciences. The book begins with the analysis of the correlation of economics, politics and management. Data is cited which characterises the USSR's present high economic potential of the single national-economic complex. This potential is determined by both developed production, skilled personnel and the large number of available resources—raw materials, fuel and energy. The author examines the structural shifts in the national economy and the basic trends of technical progress determined by the latest scientific achievements (electronics, microprocessors, robotics, new materials, etc.). The integration processes going on at present are singled out, i.e., the setting up of associations, territorial-production complexes, interbranch production systems and their interconnection

with the development of production relations. The author investigates problems of economic management in the broad context of the CPSU spheres of policy in the social and ideological economic, progress of society and on the basis of the comprehensive characteristic the USSR's single nationalof economic complex and the adequately developed system of production relations.

It is a well-known fact that the highest aim of economic policy under socialism is the harmonious development of man and the maximum possible satisfaction of his material and cultural requirements. A major role in accelerating Soviet society's advance towards this aim, is the achievement of a higher level of science and technology, as well as making the fullest and best use of labour and material resources.

Success in solving these tasks largely depends on the quality of production management and the operation of the economic mechanism which is regarded by the author as the managing subsystem of the socialist economic system. Medvedev gives a comprehensive definition of that mechanism, he sees it as "a sum-total of organisational structures of the socialist national economy, all its forms and management methods, consciously worked out and applied by society on the basis of economic

laws and taking due account of the prevailing situation". This definition is further elaborated when he examines individual aspects of the economic mechanism. The author states that planning is its main component. This is the decisive link in the entire management of socialist production. Cost-accounting and value relations, which stimulate socialist production are also of great importance.

The author justly states that in the conditions of planned economy scientifically fixed standards, normatives and prices are the major instruments of economic management and should include all links in the reproduction process. But the entire system of standards and normatives should not remain unchanged for a long time; it should be adjusted in line with scientific and technological progress.

Medvedev notes the importance of a comprehensive approach to all aspects of socialist economic management, when examining the specific features of the current stage of economic improvement of the mechanism, which took shape in the late 1970s. By that time transfer had largely been effected in industrial management from individual enterprises to associations, this, itself, was an expression of the integration processes. However, such a transfer is not an end in itself: it is effective, inasmuch as it increases the degree of socialisation of production and facilitates the creation of qualitatively new conditions for the use of the potentialities of integrated enterprises. That is, it smoothes the transition to direct economic ties on a contractual basis.

The integration process is also reflected firstly in such instances as the organisation of interbranch production complexes (such as, for instance, the West Siberian oil-and-gas

complex), and secondly in an improvement of the planning system for cargo and passenger transportation, and thirdly in the process of unification of branch and territorial management in the economy, which is already under way.

The author devotes much attention to the higher role which should be taken by planning, a way to realising the law of the planned development of the national economy. He emphasises the significance of working towards the highest final result, and not to intermediate, quantitative indices of the growth of material production.

The monograph shows that scientific and technical progress is the principal condition of the growth and improvement of production and its greater efficiency. There should be a comprehensive approach to channelling scientific and technical progress together with its main trends. Science servicing of the national economy is regarded as an important component part of its infrastructure. Its organisational forms should be perfected, and costaccounting stimuli and social factors of technical progress used to their best advantage.

Chapter V of the monograph is of considerable interest. It discusses the need for a balanced national economy without deficit; this is outlined as a major task facing economic management.

The monograph also describes measures aimed at saving labour and material resources. Making the vast use of the latter depends both on a more rational mining of raw materials, and more rational expenditure as well as the introduction of wasteless technology. The use of secondary raw and other materials is of great importance. All this creates important reserves for increasing the volume of output and raising pro-

duction efficiency. A successful solution of these problems largely depends on correct trends in scientific and technical progress and the implementation of scientific and technical achievements.

Quite a number of new ideas are contained in the chapter on the foundations of economic theory. It discusses problems connected with the formation and development of the political economy of socialism and how to overcome the erroneous ideas of its "withering away" because of the elimination of spontaneous capitalist economy and replacing objective economic laws by voluntaristic state action. The author notes that the principal object of the political economy of socialism was defined as production relations, and that the major economic laws of socialism are now recognised as objectively existing. The concept of developed socialism advanced by the CPSU has taken shape, and a number of measures to improve economic management followed from that concept. The Marxist-Leninist theory on the aim of socialist production, developed by Lenin, is of principle importance. This aim does not boil down to satisfying social requirements, it also consists in ensuring the well-being and free, allround development of all members of society. To this should be added Lenin's ideas on elevating requirements. their volume and structure, at various stages of social development. especially during the period of socialism.

When specifying these premises Medvedev pays special attention to one of the controversial questions—that of use value and its determination. Some economists maintain that the use value is not an economic category and therefore should not be studied by political economy. The author justly criticises such argu-

ments. Use value is a result of production, hence the need for its determination and comparison. Production management and planning constantly have to deal with this comparison. The debate on use value in the monograph affords considerable interest and throws considerable light on the subject.

The author also examines the politico-economic interpretation of the category of efficient production which has been widely recognised in economic science. In this context he justly pinpoints the need to take into account not only economic but also social efficiency, inasmuch as they both can be regarded as two sides of a single unit. While social efficiency is based on economic efficiency, the latter is incomplete without the former.

Analysing the interaction of production relations with the productive forces and the superstructure, the author correctly points to the need for political economy to examine production relations as a basic and specific object of study, without of course overlooking the development of the productive forces. The statements on the combination of the objective and the subjective in political economy are of major significance. Economic laws are of an objective character. This is irrefutable. At the same time subjective factors are closely connected with objective ones; among the former come the economic policy consciously exercised by society, the quality of the economic mechanism used, the specific features of the entire system of management, and finally, the creative activity of the working people, the entire population, for that matter, and their participation in production management, planning, distribution and control.

Medvedev's monograph is a politico-economic examination of

problems insufficiently studied so far. It contains a number of new ideas developing the theory of management of socialist production, from which stem conclusions for economic practical work and which

define ways for solving timely problems of the intensification and greater efficiency of social production.

S. Khristoforov

- А. С. БОГОМОЛОВ, Т. И. ОЙ-ЗЕРМАН. Основы теории историко-философского процесса. М., изд-во «Наука», 1983, 287 с.
- A. S. BOGOMOLOV, T. I. OIZER-MAN, Foundations of the Theory of Historico-Philosophical Process, Moscow, Nauka Publishers, 1983, 287 pp.

The book under review has been written by two outstanding representatives of Soviet historicophilosophical thought: Academician T. Oizerman and the late Professor A. Bogomolov. It is one of the first attempts to analyse the foundations of the theory of the development of philosophy in Soviet science. Presentday Soviet historico-philosophical science has achieved notable successes as far as both the range of material drawn upon and the thoroughness of its analysis are concerned. And this is largely to the credit of the authors of this book.

It would not be out of place to emphasise that the study of historicophilosophical heritage is not an end in itself, but a means to develop philosophical thought in general, and the history of philosophy is an organic part of philosophy as a whole. The theoretical problems of philosophy are examined in the book on the basis of an analysis of the development origins and philosophical thought. The authors' of historicoexamination theoretical philosophical methodological questions not only contributes to a deeper understanding of the origin, formation and development of philosophy, but also makes a serious contribution to the theory of philosophical consciousness, making it possible to get a better understanding of certain cardinal problems, such as the essence of philosophy as a definite form of world outlook, the nature of the cognitive process in philosophy and the social role of philosophy. In our view, the book is a successful realisation of the principle of the unity between the logical and the historical conformably to the philosophical process, and a valuable contribution to the elaboration of philosophical problems.

The book begins with an analysis of the concept of world outlook. The authors note that various interpretations of the meaning of the concept exist. In their view, three principles can be singled out with regard to the definition of various types of world outlooks. One of these principles is called epistemological, inasmuch as it is based on the division of world outlooks into scientific, unscientific and anti-scientific. Another one is related to the singling out of the natural scientific world outlook reflecting one or another feature of reality, natural or social, which is generally expressed in a given world outlook. The third principle is defined as universal and synthetic and presupposes a general or philosophical world outlook.

The initial point of the sought-for general definition of world outlook, in the authors' opinion, is the premise

that any world outlook is a system of convictions. Conviction is, above all. definite position. Convictions which can be called convictions based on a world outlook are characterised as ideas about the general essence of natural and social phenomena; as views expressing peoples' interest in definite phenomena; as generalisations which go beyond the limits of special fields of scientific research.

The general definition of the concept of world outlook offered in the book is as follows: world outlook represents a systematic unity of the multitude of generalised convictions which are directly related to the conscious interests of people and regard the essence of natural or social phenomena, or a sum-total of certain phenomena.

On completing their analysis of the question of the essence of world outlook, the authors warn against a dogmatic, superficial approach to the sources of world outlook. It is not enough to consider that a religious world outlook is based on prejudices, while a scientific world outlook is based on facts established by science. In fact, the religious world outlook is a reflection of a historically determined social being, and scientific world outlook should not be reduced only to a generalisation of scientific data; it is largely determined by the social conditions of the development of science and the factors of social progress which gives rise to atheist, humanist and democratic ideas.

Having characterised the concept of world outlook as a whole, the authors of the book then turn to making an analysis of the specific features of the philosophical world outlook. First of all, they emphasise the fact that philosophy has the nature of a world outlook, although philosophers (for neopositivists and E. Husserl) deny this. Regardless of the position taken by philosophy with regard to world outlook, the authors point out, whether it substantiates one or another world outlook or rejects it outright, that we always find in philosophy a system of worldview generalisations. A struggle against world outlook turns out to be a struggle against a definite philosophical (and nonphilosophical) world outlook, and the denial of the philosophical world outlook is a definite philosophical conceptual position.

It is precisely the idea about philosophy as a world outlook that makes it possible to reveal, behind the outward pluralism of various interpretations of the nature of philosophy, a certain objective unity of philosophical problems. Some philosophers are known to have considered the theory of being to be the philosophy, subject-matter of others—the theory of knowledge, still others—the theory of values. Some believed that philosophy was a science, others, on the contrary, asserted that philosophy began where science ended. The book notes that different definitions of philosophy can be given their proper places (in true historical perspective, naturally), if they are viewed as different, often mutually excluding characteristics of a philosophical world outlook, whose essence has not initially been given. This world outlook changes and develops, while remaining a specific philosophical world outlook.

What then is the specificity of philosophical world outlook as compared with other forms of world outlook? The authors maintain that philosophy is, above all, a general world outlook. The concept of world outlook is revealed on the basis of an analysis of various types of world outlook. Some of them represent systems of natural scientific generalisations, others are related to social

reality. Whereas philosophy by its very character cannot be solely a nutural scientific or social world outlook. The philosophy of nature, just like the philosophy of history, is merely a part of philosophical systems.

It is because philosophy is a general world outlook that it is a theoretically substantiated world outlook. The specific features of general world outlook determine the specificities of philosophical thinking which is manifested to a sufficient degree in the theory of categories. Like the theory of categories which have general scientific significance, philosophy is a general world outlook not only in the ontological, but also in the epistemological and methodological respects.

The authors are correct in stressing that as long as opposite philosophical theories exist, there can be no generally accepted descriptive or standard definition of philosophy. A definition of the subject of philosophy can only be perceived as the dialectical overcoming of a multitude of possible objects of research, and a definition of the concept of philosophy, should, on the contrary, reflect this multitude.

With regard to the question conemergence the cerning philosophy, the authors note that it first appeared in the main cultural ancient regions of the (Greece, India and China) about the same time-7th-3rd centuries B.C. This was a period of transition from the patriarchal system of slavery, which had produced the direct forms of existence, to the production of surplus value. In Bogomolov's and Oizerman's view, philosophy emerged as a result of solving the contradiction between mythological world outlook and the rudiments of knowledge about nature and society: philosophy preserved the integral

conceptual orientation of a myth, realising it, however, on the basis of initial scientific data, and, what is more important, new conceptual forms of thinking.

The authors criticise the ideas now current in literature about the philosophical world outlook and specific scientific elements not being broken down in the emerging theoretical consciousness, pointing not only to the original subject of philosophy that arose, but also to the distinction of its method from the principles and methods of specific sciences, on the one hand, and on the other, from religious and mythological concepts. The former are oriented towards directly observed and verified facts, whereas the latter are based on tradition and Philosophy. authority. however. claims to be a special contemplation of the existing and its essence, supported by the means of rational thinking as "dialectics", that is, the art of debating, bringing to light and settling contradictions in the ideas about the world.

The book gives an assessment of the various phases in the historicophilosophical process within the context of the formation of the history of philosophy as a special field of knowledge. It is noted that although there was an abundance of historicophilosophical works in late antiquity, they did not practically elaborate theoretical and methodological questions relating to science.

In the Middle Ages, commentaries to works by philosophers of the past, especially those by Aristotle, became a genre close to the history of philosophy. Inasmuch as the main purpose was to substantiate religious dogma, mediaeval commentaries had not, strictly speaking, become historico-philosophical works. The situation changed in the Renaissance: instead of following "authoritative"

sources, works appeared which critically analysed them and there was a desire to expand their range and, most important, to assess them as part of the cultural heritage.

The book examines in detail the history of philosophy in the present epoch, but most of the attention is devoted to Hegel's historicophilosophical concept. This is quite understandable for, according to Marx, Hegel was the first to comprehend the history of philosophy as a whole. Emphasising Hegel's service to the development of the integral concept of the historico-philosophical

process, the authors by no means offer any apology of Hegel.

The book ends with an analysis of the main features of the historicophilosophical process. It is emphasised that recognition or denial of the development of philosophy is a crucial conceptual and ideological question, for it deals not so much with its past, but its present and future.

The new book on the theory of the historico-philosophical process makes a valuable contribution to the development of philosophy.

V. Shvyrev

- В. А. ПЕЧЕНЕВ. Социалистический идеал и реальный социализм. М., Политиздат, 1984, 367 с.
- V. A. PECHENEV, Socialist Ideal and Real Socialism, Moscow, Politizdat Publishers, 1984, 367 pp.

The book under review is devoted to the problem of correlating the ideal and reality, of making the aims set by society correspond to what is actually achieved. The book deals with the embodiment in social practice of the social ideals which reflect the aspirations and hopes, labour and struggles of millions of people, with the programmatic goals of the Communist Party of 'the Soviet Union and firm conviction of their feasibility.

Every person striving to attain significant aims asks himself whether he is organising his life in accordance with his convictions and ideals and what he should do to implement them. Without properly understanding this there can be no integral, creative personality, a person loses any sense of perspective, and ceases to strive for better things, the inner support of existence disappears and

the understanding of the meaning of life withers away. An active social position is replaced by indifference, disappointment, passivity and egoistic concern for the immediate moment.

Aims are closely related to actions. The latter are permeated with the nature of the former.

The aims expressed by the socialist ideal, the book says, are based on the objective trends of social development, they have scientific backing. In this lies their radical difference from the vague noble impulses of sincere lovers of truth who dreamed about socialism without struggle, hoped, by abstract appeals for justice and good, to turn the world into a kingdom of peace and affluence. But these appeals for the noblest ideals yielded little results unless people began to see a genuine way of attaining them.

Bourgeois theorists and propagandists exert a good of effort to prove, on the one hand, the unfeasibility of the Marxist-Leniñist ideal of social life, and on the other, to slander real socialism, opposing it with the socialist ideal they themselves distort. Taking into account the popularity of the idea of socialism in the world, they do not reject Marxism-Leninism outright, but try to "discover" discrepancies between the theory and practice of scientific socialism and reveal a "conflict" between the socialist ideal and reality, a "basic difference" between reality and the image of a new society as seen by Marx, Engels and Lenin, Thus, an open and direct criticism of socialism is complemented by a criticism "upside down", as it were, that is, by attempts to make people turn away from socialism by comparing it with some "ideal" (but actually distorted) model. In other words, real socialism is criticised not on the basis of comparing it with the imperialist platformorder, but from a nothing more or less-of "communist ideals". Using alien terminology, our opponents are trying to present themselves as zealous proponents of "genuine", "undistorted" socialism.

The book Socialist Ideal and Real Socialism gives a thorough analysis of such methods and ruses employed by the ideological opponents of socialism. This is a polemical work providing arguments and documentary material enabling the reader to discern the weakness of theoretical premises and insolvency of the political approaches of the critics of real socialism.

The author does not bypass vital, difficult questions, neither does he ignore possible objections that could have been presented to him. He quotes his ideological opponents, which gives the reader an opportunity to familiarise himself with the views of the opposite side (audiatur et altera pars, as they said in Ancient Rome) and draw his own conclusion from comparing the two opposing points of view.

Polemics is organically combined in the book with a positive interpre-

tation of a wide range of questions which have a direct bearing on the main subject, such as, for instance, the correlation between the theory and practice of socialism; morality and politics; real socialism and humanism; ethics and revolutionary coercion; dialectics of ends and means in revolutionary struggle and construction; specific features of the present state of the implementation of the socialist ideal.

The realisation of the socialist (communist) ideal appearing in the form of an expected and coveted future, can be brought about, as is known, not only through Communists' sense of purpose and direction, but through the sum-total of the internal and international development factors of one or another country and the present conditions. From this follows a certain discrepancy between the ideal-a theoretically predicted picture of socialism in its final form and one or another specific historical milestone in its development, which naturally leaves its mark not only through the aims and ideals, but also through the real means of their establishment. And they are determined by the objectively existing correlation between the forces of the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and the entire course of the world class confrontation between socialism and capitalism.

To ignore this circumstance sometimes means to misunderstand the real situation in the countries of socialism, to regard it as allegedly contradicting the communist ideals and preventing them from achieving victory. The author notes that contradictions beween the ideals and specific historical realities are indeed a kind of "obstacle", but unless such an obstacle is overcome, the future communist society will remain only a dream, a utopia. The "ideal—

reality" problem is elaborated in the book as a problem of the dialectics of social progress, as a real contradiction and one of the motive factors of human history.

The question about contradictions as the motive force of social progress is of great importance for theory and practice, since society's development, including the society of mature socialism, passes through a solution of its inherent contradictions.

It can be said that the profoundly erroneous premise claiming that the development of socialist countries and the new social system proceeded without conflicts and contradictions is no longer valid. The author maintains, however, that the tendency, perhaps unconscious, and sometimes emotional, to impart a negative meaning to the very term "contradictions" and regard them not as a source of, and impetus for, social progress, but a manifestation of shortcomings and harmful phenomena, has not yet been overcome. In essence, however, one should not dramatise this discrepancy between the ideal and reality; neither should one idealise the existing social conditions. We are striving objectively to assess both the successes achieved and opportunities lost, draw lessons from our errors, take note of difficulties and complex problems in due time and evolve an effective means of solving them.

Genuine ideals should carry people with them, induce them to pose new, more complex tasks at each development stage of society. As a connecting link between the present and future, a "priority" reflection of reality, ideals stimulate both thinking and practical activity.

Socialist society is subject to constant changes and transformations,

consequently the criteria by which reality corresponds to the socialist ideal are steadily developing.

Experience and social practice testify to the possibility—and under certain circumstances the necessity—of an adjustment of theoretical premises of socialism and the ways and deadlines of its development into communism. An example of this is the concept of developed socialist society elaborated by the CPSU and the fraternal parties of the countries of the socialist community.

The book discloses the meaning of the concept of developed socialism as a historically long stage. The USSR is at the beginning of that stage. This concept, the author writes, makes it possible to see a clearer picture of the development of our society in all its complexity, contradictory nature and multifariousness, and gives Soviet people a realistic view of what they have achieved.

A precise definition of the historical stage our country is going through and the stage of socioeconomic maturity it has achieved, makes it possible, on the one hand, to map out the immediate tasks to be tackled by the Party and the people, and on the other, more correctly to correlate them with the more distant aims of communist construction, and more closely connect the ideals with day-to-day practical activity. This is the essence of the strategy of the advancement to communism.

The CPSU proceeds from the premise that the socialist ideal should be made a reality as we move towards the communist ideal. This task is today expressed in a scientifically verified slogan: to improve developed socialism.

N. Proshunin

Соревнование и конкуренция. Критика антимарксистских взглядов. М., Политиздат, 1983, 256 с.

Emulation and Competition. Criticism of Anti-Marxist Views, Moscow, Politizdat Publishers, 1983, 256 pp.

The monograph, which was written by a group of authors and is being reviewed here, is a comprehensive work studying economic, philosophical and socio-political problems of socialist emulation and capitalist competition. It criticises the attempts on the part of bourgeois ideologists to discredit the experience of emulation in the USSR, and also the latest apologetic anti-Marxist concepts of competition.

The book examines the main premises of the classics of Marxism-Leninism concerning the nature and role of socialist emulation and capitalist competition, shows the radical difference between them and analyses the CPSU's activity in organising emulation at different stages of socialist construction.

The authors note that Marx and Engels, as ideologists of the working class, revealed the objective connection between competition and private property and posed the question of the need to eliminate it and replace competition by emulation.

Soon after the triumph of the Great October Socialist Revolution in Russia, Vladimir Lenin dealt with this question by saying that when the working people had emerged "on to the road of the *independent* creation of a new life", the primary task of the socio-economic policy of the Communist Party and the Soviet state was to organise emulation.

Labour emulation under socialism is a constantly operating factor in raising production efficiency and an inexhaustible reserve of economic growth.

By taking part in emulation, the book notes, workers at socialist enterprises define for themselves the specific boundaries for raising labour productivity, improving the quality of output, reducing its cost, saving raw and other materials and other resources. In doing this they also map out specific ways of reaching the goals set. As a result, socialist emulation helps to draw the broadest masses of the working people into production management. In the course of labour emulation under socialism, real opportunities are created for the workers to display all their abilities and talents and for self-assertion of the individual.

The creative force of emulation is increased by the fact that it develops within the framework of comradely cooperation and mutual assistance. Additional energy which appears as a result of social contacts between people in the process of collective production is used for the most effective . solution of national economic tasks which face socialist society. The overall result of emulation is an increase in the material and cultural benefits available to all working men and women and a general rise in the people's wellbeing. This is why all workers are deeply interested in the broad development of emulation along socialist lines.

The book thoroughly examines the modern concepts of competition current in the United States and called upon to hide the process of aggravation of the general crisis of capitalism. The authors single out three main groups of these concepts. First, apologetic concepts of competition for "domestic" consumption, especially the concept of "free" or "unrestricted" competition as a source of wealth and impetus to

social progress, which is most vividly expressed in the economic policy of the present US Administration (Reaganomics). Secondly, the concepts of a "new era of competition" and a competitive struggle "by every possible means" as a substantiation of the neocolonialist expansion of the United States. Thirdly, the anticommunist concepts of the alleged "inflexibility and stagnation of the non-competitive economy of socialism".

The book also dwells on the sharp criticism of the modern Western concepts of competition which is now current in capitalist countries themselves.

The work denounces the efforts of bourgeois ideologues to "ennoble" competition and at the same time distort the nature and stimuli of socialist emulation and their attempts to identify capitalist competition with emulation under socialism and describe them as similar phenomena allegedly inherent in the "nature of man as such". All this is designed to drum up another version of the "convergence" of the two social systems.

- В. Т. МУСАТОВ. Международная миграция фиктивного капитала. М., изд-во «Международные отношения», 1983, 207 с.
- V. T. MUSATOV, International Migration of Fictitious Capital, Moscow, Mezhdunarodniye otnosheniya Publishers, 1983, 207 pp.

Early in the 20th century Lenin came to the conclusion that during the age of imperialism fictitious capital swelled grossly, and hence demonstrated growing parasitism and decay of capitalist society. Fictitious capital is the paper twin of real

A critical analysis of the Western concepts of competition makes it possible, as the authors note, "better to assess socialist emulation—this great driving force of technicoeconomic, socio-political and ethical progress unleashed by the Great October Socialist Revolution". It gives an opportunity to get a better understanding of the world-historic fact that it is only socialism which, by abolishing private ownership and the anarchy of production which it engenders, freeing labour and doing away with its alienation, opens the road for the emulation of millions of people.

The monograph discloses the advantages of socialist emulation as a motive force of social progress, shows the role of the CPSU in leading nation-wide socialist emulation at the stage of developed socialism. The book also discusses questions relating to the development of international socialist emulation and its impact on the acceleration of the economic progress of the socialist community countries.

P. Grechishnikov

capital. It is represented in the form of shares, bonds, promissory notes and other securities. Now it has reached huge proportions. The total market value of shares alone at the three main stock exchanges in the capitalist world—New York, London and Tokyo—amounts to almost 1.5 trillion dollars.

The book under review is based on new materials from a broad range of foreign sources. The book examines the driving forces behind the international interrelationships of fictitious capital in detail, as well as its scope and the forms of its migration, the development of the market of securities, the centres of loan capital, the role of the stock exchange and the contradictions of the movement of capital between countries.

V. Musatov's research proceeds from the principle of logical and historical unity. In the first chapter—"Development of International Turnover of Stock Values"—he shows that international trade in securities came into being under capitalism during the epoch of free competition and passed three stages in its development. These stages, the author emphasises, are not separated from each other by clear-cut dividing lines: on the contrary, the forms of this trade that emerged at a previous stage develop at subsequent stages.

At first the motive force behind international migration was the over-accumulation of capital which expedited fictitious capital abroad. The author cites interesting material to illustrate the role of the turnover of state debt obligations for the formation of national markets of stock values and which in its turn, creates a base for the wide issuance of securities of private companies. This has been developing at a fast rate with the transfer of capitalist enterprises to the shareholder form.

The development of the international market of loan capital is going through the stage of antagonistic contradictions just as any other process under capitalism. The author shows that local and world wars, and economic crises lead to sharp changes in the role of individual capitalist countries as sources of financial resources for foreign debtors. During the period after the Second World War the migration of capital between industrial capitalist countries, as well as the activities of international monopolies, increased sharply. A predominant feature of the export of capital was its transfer in the form of direct investments. connected with the activities of transnational corporations outside their countries of origin. All this led to the second stage of evolution of the international market of securities. In the 1960s-1970s, the shares of capitalist firms made their way into foreign markets at a particularly rapid pace.

Having analysed corresponding factual material, V. Musatov comes to the conclusion that a distinguishing feature of the present, third, stage is the increasing interconnection of national security markets; however it is well known that it is a contradictory process. Together with securities of the "primary the order", as the author refers to the shares and bonds of industrial companies, a considerable role is played by the fictitious capital of the "second order". These are shares of investment companies which have acquired "primary" securities. It is inevitable that the financial difficulties of national markets are transferred to the international market.

V. Musatov pays particular attention to Eurobonds and Euroshares when he refers to the present level of internationalisation in fictitious capital. He sees the reason for their emergence as the need to issue and distribute securities on an international scale and this, in turn, is connected with the internationalisation of production and capital, which cannot be satisfied solely by the interconnection of national markets of stock values. The sphere of the latter's movement is a more or less independent superstructure over national markets. The only method for dealing with this situation satisfactorily is the use of Eurocurrencies. which are being handled increasingly by international bank monopolies. The author characterises Eurocurrencies as national currencies which became detached from the money

markets of individual countries, free from the jurisdiction of the state that issued them and that joined the international turnover. The author proves that the US dollar remains the basis for the "Eurocurrencies pool" and reveals methods of mass accumulation of Eurodollars on the international market. V. Musatov analyses the development of the regional securities market—the Eurobond market. He shows the insolvency of views of some Western economists on the market Eurocurrencies: on the one hand, they are "blinded by the freedom of the market forces" which determine the movement of Eurocurrencies, and unwilling to see the negative aspects of this phenomenon, and on the other, they admit the unsteadiness of the edifice on which the market of Eurobonds has been built. and look for ways to stabilise it. This chapter shows that Euromarkets, for their part, are factors capable of exerting a strong negative influence on the capitalist economy as a whole. Comparing traditional foreign bonds and Eurobonds, the author notes that outward differences between them are disappearing. This is generally connected to the expansion of international securities transactions. He emphasises that the distinction between these two types of bonds lies in their different functions in the capitalist economy, and not in formal aspects connected with technical particularities. as some Western economists believe.

In V. Musatov's view, the second type of securities current in the Euromarkets (Eurobonds) was much less widespread. This is connected with the tendency of these securities to return to the national market of the company that has issued them. Deals with them are often made at national stock ex-

changes (unlike those made with Eurobonds).

Many Western economists deny the existence of a special market of Eurobonds, maintaining that they in no way differ from the shares of companies circulating within the framework of national markets and which become drawn into the international turnover. Criticising, this view, the author shows that the expanding circulation of the shares of transnational corporations gradually acquires a new quality, and this leads to the formation of an international share market, which becomes a superstructure over national stock exchanges. The first chapter ends with a number of interesting tables giving an idea of the great scope of international transactions with stock values.

The second chapter of the monograph examines the mechanism of international trade in securities. The problem of distinctions is, as it were, the "national garb" of fictitious capital, which includes such aspects as the type of securities, the structure of stock exchange systems, the methods of conducting exchange transactions, the range of deals, the composition of contractors and the degree of government control over this sphere of activity in various capitalist countries. The solution to this problem cannot be found in a purely technical elimination of these distinctions. The system for the international circulation of stock values is opposed by acute rivalry between credit institutions, competition between national stock exchanges, and contradictions in the interests of the economic policies of states and international monopolies. V. Musatov analyses individual elements of the system of international trade in securities which emerged as an integral system in the early 1960s.

The third chapter deals with the market of fictitious capital as an important part of the capitalist economy in the modern world. The author emphasises the link role played by fictitious capital in the interrelationships of capitals of various countries which are connected with one another mainly through shares. Fictitious capital is known to have become the main channel through which investors receive their share of the profits. Consequently, the internationalisation of capital leads to the distribution of profits on an international scale. The activities of credit and financial institutions transferring enormous means from one national market to another become a major factor of influence on the development of the world capitalist economy.

The place occupied by the international migration of fictitious capital within the capitalist system of world economic links, can be seen in a number of functions implemented in the form of security transactions. V. Musatov examines the politicoeconomic essence of the market of stock values using new statistical materials. It was established to be a channel for the internationalisation of financial capital; an element in the expansion of transnationals; a source for the foreign financing of private companies, bourgeois state and international financial organisations of the capitalist world; an instrument of the international flow of capital; a factor seriously influencing the economic situation, making for both synchronisation and intensification of differences between individual markets: an instrument of financial domination over developing countries; a speculative arena where there is acute competition.

The last, fourth chapter of the monograph examines contradictions in the flow of securities between countries. It is shown that international trade in securities is necessarily influenced by all the consequences of crisis in the world capitalist system. As the international migration of fictitious capital develops it does not acquire more stability, but becomes increasingly unreliable. Inflation and the currency crisis threaten the very foundations of existence of the international market of loan capital. The very nature of fictitious capital is a source of acute problems. This may be demonstrated by the high volatility of share and bond market prices. All these contradictions are reflected in the measures of government regulation of securities in international transactions and it inevitably results in the controversial character of these measures. The methods for regulating these measures will be extremely limited.

Competition between the currencies of West European countries, the United States and Japan is a subject of special analysis in the chapter. The author's investigations in this sphere confirm the conclusion of the 26th Congress of the CPSU that inter-imperialist rivalry involves all centres of capitalism now, including the United States. West European and Japanese monopolies hold out hope of finding profitable capital investment spheres there and learning American technological secrets.

V. Musatov's book is a serious work written at a high scientific level, and of considerable interest.

V. Motylev; E. Molodykh Воспроизводство населения СССР. под ред. А. Г. Вишневского и А. Г. Волкова. М., изд-во «Финансы и статистика», 1983, 303 с.

Reproduction of Population in the USSR, Ed. by A. G. Vishnevsky and A. G. Volkov, Moscow, Finansy i statistika Publishers, 1983, 303 pp.

Many specialists are currently engaged in the studies of population reproduction on a significant area of the Soviet Union. Studying population in the USSR is an extremely difficult task because of the regional and ethnic differentiation of demographic indices and a multitude of interacting socio-psychological and socio-economic factors which determine the level and basic components of birth rate and mortality. It is an especially complex task to discover ways and means of substantiating the social regulations governing family-demographic processes.

Now that Soviet science possesses data about the state and trends of the reproduction of population in various regions of the country, and of its dynamics and differentiation, there is a more urgent need to develop and define more correctly corresponding theoretical concepts. Active research is being conducted in this sphere and already various points of view on reproduction of population have been tained. Some demographers interpret it in the widest possible sense as the formation of people of definite historical social quality, that is, those who possess'the social qualities which allow them to take on the role of "subjects" in society (Demographic Policy: Implementation and Improvement Under Developed Socialism, Kiev, 1982). The population is identified with society, and the development

of the population—becomes part of social development. Demography has been elevated to the category of a metascience. However, this interpretation does not make the system of population reproduction as clear as we think.

The supporters of the so-called narrow approach do not want to find an explanation for this system. They turn to the family and motivated this by the fact that in the present type of reproduction, the natural population increment is determined mainly by the birth rate. "Effective measures aimed at increasing the birth rate," maintain A. Antonov and V. Berisov, "cannot be but measures to strengthen the family as a mediator in the interrelationship between society and the individual (A. I. Antonov. V. A. Borisov, "The Family as an Object of Socio-Demographic Management", The All-Union Scientific Conference "Incomes and Consumption in the Family", Erevan, 1983, p. 87). What, then, should the family be like? In the view of the authors, it is necessary to make a wide use of the possibilities offered by modern extended family. There is no doubt that the more archaic the relations. the more intensive the procreative activity. However, if one takes into account the objective tendencies in the evolution of monogamy, one can safely say that it is unfeasible to place one's hopes on the patriarchal

One should emphasise that more intensive research into the family does not mean that an analysis of its development laws will automatically disclose all determinants of the birth rate. To understand the system of population reproduction one also needs to be aware of its own inner logic. The authors of the monograph under review proceeded exactly in this manner. It was prepared by a

group of associates of the Research Institute of the Central Statistical Board of the USSR. The theoretical basis of this fundamental work was laid by a number of earlier publications also written by them and is a result of comprehensive investigations over more than 20 years. Being supporters of a "narrow" understanding of population reproduction, the authors, at the same time, analyse demographic processes in the context of all social changes.

The empirical basis of the book is provided by the materials of population censuses and the current statistical survey, as well as seven sample all-Union and local surveys of the birth rate during the 1960-1978 period. The authors ably use both traditional (for example, mortality tables, marriage rate tables) and (mathematical-demographic newer models) methods of analysing empirical material. In this respect the book under review is unique. It is without doubt a successful attempt at synthesising everything of value which has been accumulated by Russian and Soviet demography, statistics and history of our country's population from the mid-19th century to the present day.

It is divided into four parts. The first is an elaborate theoretical introduction, familiarising the reader with the specific features of the demographic revolution in the USSR. The second and third parts analyse the basic components of population reproduction—the mortality rate and the birth rate. The fourth part examines reproduction as a whole and the changes taking place in it.

Let us, first of all, consider the theoretical conception of the analysis in the book. We consider it an extremely successful idea to examine population reproduction in terms of system of two directly opposite processes, i.e., the birth and death rates.

An interrelationship between the types of mortality and birth rate can, indeed, be found in history as an inner distinguishing feature of population reproduction, if regarded as a theoretical principle, this interrelationship enables one to review the sum total of demographic processes, evaluate them, divide them into periods and map out future prospects.

The results of team research convincingly show that over the last 100 years a more complex phenomenon than the simple change of demographic systems has been taking place in our country. The changes that occurred during that period were of a principle, qualitative nature, and they are justly assessed in the book as the replacement of one type of reproduction by another, in other words, as a demographic revolution.

We shall point to some of these changes to illustrate this. From the early 20th century to the beginning of the 1970s the average life span of men in this country had risen by 33 years, and that of women-by 40 years. About three-quarters of this "increase" is made up by the drop in the mortality of children up to 15 years of age. This made it possible not to maintain the previous high birth rate. A married woman born in the 1890s gave birth, on average, to five or more children, whereas for the generation of women born in the 1950s this index dropped to less than 2.5. There has been a general move to restrict voluntarily the number of children in a family and there has also been a sharp decrease in the number of years that a woman will bear children, that is, in the time from her marriage to the birth of the last child (from 20.7 years in the 1935-1940 period to 6.7 years in the 1975-1979 period). Behind these and other quantitative changes described in detail in the book stand profound qualitative changes touching on the psychology of people, the pattern of their family life, relations between husband and wife, and between parents and children, the correlation of family roles and those outside it and the position of women in the family.

The authors examine the specific features of the demographic revolution in the country, concentrating their attention on two groups of factors, while consistently maintaining their views on the social conditions and determination of demographic processes. The first, and the most important, is that connected with the character of the social system: the demographic transfer is effected mainly in the conditions of socialism. The second included a multitude of more specific circumstances, which are determined by definite historical developments, i. e., the demographic revolution in a vast multinational country taking place at a time when the country, as a whole, is also solving economic, social and political tasks of an unprecedentedly complex character.

A change in the type of mortality is assessed in the book as an important social process. Of no less importance sociologically are the profound changes in the attitude to life and death, and to the place held by the duration of human life on the scale of society's social values. All of this organically corresponds to the new type of reproduction. The authors note that for the first time the system of setting aims and adopting decisions concerning birth control emerge at the family level; this is quite correct. Regulating birth control in the family is now inherent in the modern type of birth rate. Moreover, it has become a mass phenomenon, acquiring legal and moral recognition and has now become an inalienable feature of the mode of life. The entire pattern of

demographic relations is changing, as well as the system of views on the rights and duties of parents in having children. While they note the progressive character of the new type of the population reproduction. the authors do not idealise it. Contradictions between the individual and the common social in the demographic sphere do not disappear, in the authors' view, with the establishment of the modern type of the population reproduction, but the forms for solving these contradictions become more flexible and correspond better to the character of personality, family and society under socialism.

The book under review shows convincingly both in its factual part and in its explanatory part that demographic research work is indissoluble from a sociological. economic, cultural and historical analysis. At the same time the comprehensive character of modern social science is no less important methodologically than disciplinary precision, consistency and a specific demographic view on social facts. A distinguishing feature of the book is its attempt to display, wherever possible, the logic of a purely demographic approach. At the same time the authors are well aware of the need to apply an inter-disciplinary synthesis. They put forward number of hypotheses about connections between social processes, population mobility, various systems of values and types of the individual and family, on the one hand, and some particularities in the demographic processes, on the other. Although these hypotheses have not been elaborated in great detail, their appearance in a demographic text shows how demography is drawing closer to the other social sciences.

In assessing the book as a whole, the following features should be singled out, as they make it one of the best Soviet works on demography. First of all, it appears to be an integral monographic research work, although it has been written by many authors. This is largely due to the fact that the book is based on the single concept of demographic revolution. The work is not of a declarative nature, inasmuch as it contains a vast factual material and thoroughly analyses it. The reader can trace how purely quantitative changes lead to the emergence of a new quality. Finally, the correlation of the quantitative and qualitative aspects of demographic processes is given within the framework of a typological analysis and thus reaches the level of a forecast.

S. Golod, V. Golofast

Онтология языка как общественного явления. М., изд-во «Наука», 1983, 312 с.

The Ontology of Language as a Social Phenomenon, Moscow, Nauka Publishers, 1983, 312 pp.

This monograph written by a team of authors discusses the social nature of language and its origin, its place among other social phenomena, the role in the formation of man's social essence, problems involved in the social differentiation of language, the development of artificial languages and their interconnection with natural languages.

The Introduction, written by Vladimir Panfilov, stresses the close ties between linguistics and philosophy throughout their history. In the chapter "Language as the Subject-Matter of Linguistics. The Social Nature of Language", he points out that the solution to the problem of the relationship between language and speech is of great importance for singling out language as the subject-matter of linguistics. He also analyses various opinions on this subject.

The concept of the social character of language depends on the interpretation of the social character of man and of human society. We know that Marx defined the nature of man as a totality of all the social relations.

The social nature of language is manifested in the fact that, as a means of communication, it belongs to all language users, and that language makes human thinking and consciousness itself possible. The social nature of man, his language and thinking is defined as product of history. Being a very complex system, language is also a relatively independent phenomenon which has certain inner laws of organisation, functioning and development. These inner laws cannot be anything but socialised.

The author notes that the problem of language functions is central to modern linguistics. Views differ as to the number of language functions, their correlation on the genetic plane, and their division into primary and secondary. Panfilov believes that the social nature of language and of man as the carrier of language is manifested in its two functions—communicative and expressive.

In the chapter on "The Origin of Man and Language in the Process of Labour Activity", Boris Yakushin outlines the main phases in the emergence of language against the background of the emergence of mankind. Yakushin draws the conclusion that man's relatively weak ancestors were able to survive and, moreover, to conquer nature only due to a sufficiently complex and

flexible social organisation of the Hominidae horde, which was hierarchical in structure. Generalising the observations of the "language" and thought-processes of primates and those of children's speech, the author concludes that the higher primates, just as children under two. can operate with such categories as the subject and object of an action, its place and direction, existentiality and possession. They also have certain forms of elementary communication. All of this may be assumed to have existed in the first stages of the language of proto-humans. In describing the mode of life of the primitive man, his labour and thought-processes, the author stresses the role of the collective and the collective's "leader", the role of real actions and of their effective presentation—the pantomime as the first truly human means of information. The transition from pantomime to articulate speech took place in the course of increasing symbolisation of the sounds accompanying the pantomime.

"The Historical Types of the Community of Men and Language", from the pen of Mukhamet Isayev, characterises language as the most important attribute of any historical community of men—the clan, tribe, nationality, and nation. The author traces language development resulting in the emergence of the language of a nationality. In this connection, the very concept of nationality and the ways of its formation are defined, and the specific features of the evolution of Soviet nationalities and their languages are discussed. Nation and national language are defined as the product of a long historical development of society. A nation, compared to nationality, is a qualitatively new phenomenon in the history of mankind, while national languages are a new stage in lan-

guage development. The formation of multinational states involves complex language problems, which are solved in fundamentally different ways in capitalist and socialist states. The clan, tribe, nationality and nation are universal types of community, occurring in different countries and regions of the Earth. Side by side with these concepts yet another historical type of community is defined, the Soviet people, which unites all the nations and nationalities of the Soviet socialist state and is the result of the profound objective changes in the life of the Soviet multinational society. The linguistic unity of the Soviet people is ensured by the existence of a single instrument of communication between nations and nationalities—the Russian language. The term "the language of communication between nations and nationalities" denotes a specific phenomenon—the use of a single language as a means of exchange of information between various peoples, and does not imply any legal advantages for that language.

Anatoli Domashnev studies the relationship between language and ideology, which is the most important part of the social superstructure and is of a clearly-defined class nature. These relations prove to be extremely complex and multidimensional: on the one hand, ideology, just as the superstructure as a whole, exerts a tangible influence on language; on the other hand, being the principal means of objectifying various forms of ideology, language also affects to some degree the formation and development of ideology. The relationship between language and ideology must be considered, in the a broad author's view, against theoretical background of "language-thinking-knowledge-ideologyreality" from the positions of the philosophical theory of reflection.

Alexander Shveitser comments on the upsurge of interest in the problem of social differentiation in recent decades. Modern Soviet sociolinguistics retains its links with the sociolinguistic trend in Soviet linguistics of the 1920s and 1930s based methodologically on materialism. The problem of social differentiation of language is closely linked with that of social differentiation of society, with due regard for varied and multidimensional structure. The social structure must be considered not only in the static but also in the dynamic aspects. The determining influence of the socium on language acts as a resultant force of both the macrosociological and microsociological factors, the former being undoubtedly primary relative to the latter. The structure of the social differentiation of language and that of society are not isomorphous with respect to each other, although the two are interconnected.

Renat Kotov considers the influence of the present-day scientific and

technological revolution on the development of society and language. The impact made by the revolution on language and its development is analysed in terms of the link between the social, technical and natural sciences. Computer technology and its wide use in information processing are viewed as the most important scientific and technical achievement of the modern scientific and technological revolution from the point of view of their social consequences, including their influence on society and language. For this reason, the "information" aspect of the scientific and technological revolution proves to be the dominant one in solving the problems of language development under the accelerated scientific and technical progress. The author analyses the information problems of modern society involved in the "information explosion", and the possibility of overcoming its consequences through automation of mass information processes.

M. Pravdin

- Н. ФОРТУНАТОВ. Творческая лаборатория Л. Толстого. Наблюдения и раздумыя. М., изд-во «Советский писатель», 1983, 320 с.
- N. FORTUNATOV, The Creative Laboratory of Leo Tolstoy. Observations and Reflections, Moscow, Sovetsky pisatel Publishers, 1983, 320 pp.

Thanks to the work of a great many scholars, textology has now ceased to be an "auxiliary" philological discipline and has established itself as the foundation for all literary criticism. The textologist, who has access to the writer's creative laboratory, is in possession of the latter's archives which offer intimate insights into his craftsmanship by revealing the very process of work and not merely its results. Textology is combined with extra-literary reality, with the author's life observations and his immediate experience providing a key element in studying the psychology of the writer's work.

This is the approach used in Fortunatov's book about the creative process of Leo Tolstoy. By simultaneously taking the manuscripts and the reality they reflected, the scholar has reproduced the "creative processing of life's facts into something of an entirely different nature, an artistic image, detail, or scene".

This explains the choice of the study object: Tolstoy's manuscripts

form an inexhaustible and instructive source for studying laws involved in the creative process. Describing Tolstov's archives, Fortunatov shows how an acquaintance with the writer's creative laboratory gives a better idea of the scope of his work, shatters many legends about his work, and makes way for a powerful, grandiose image of a creative artist. The scholar's interest in Tolstoy's manuscripts is also prompted by their unique features: they record the evolution of the conception of almost all his works because he never made a secret of his hard preliminary work. Besides, Tolstoy's amazing narrative energy was usually accompanied by a lot of introspective observations and reflections as the artist tried to understand the pattern of creativity.

Tolstoy, meditating on art and creating artistic masterpieces, at the same time seems to prompt the approach to a study of his work and the nature of art in general. Fortunatov avails himself of the rare opportunity of checking 'Tolstoy's confessions against the materials which had prompted them in the first place.

The use of this golden opportunity goes a long way to determine the content and structure of the book which, as the author stresses, attempts not only to follow the great man's thoughts but to trace how they were born and to isolate and illuminate "instants" of this work. The author succeeds in showing the most interesting, the most controversial and the most transient moments that add up to a coherent, almost tangible picture of how thoughts and facts are translated into words and images.

Accordingly, the monograph focuses on the complex processes of the remoulding of life observations into the fabric of prose.

The author examines the principle of investigation that represents an artistic image as a carbon copy of a real person or a mixture of several people. He draws his chief argument from Tolstoy's own pronouncements about the initial impulses for the creation of images, linked with the practice of the creative process and reflected in his rough copies.

For Tolstoy insisted on being regarded as a novelist and not a "writer of biography and memoirs". Although he often talked about the prototypes of his characters, he vehemently protested against simplistic interpretations of his work. Fortunatov consistently stresses the harmony between Tolstoy's declarations and his writing practice and points out every instance when the two do not coincide. He suggests that the seeming contradictions in Tolstoy's remarks about prototypes of his characters lie not in the logic of his statements but in the fact that we often do not take the trouble to penetrate that logic.

In his attempt to trace how the writer studied the personality of his characters, Fortunatov raises a wide range of questions: What are the limits of the freedom of the author's will? Where does bold experiment turn into arbitrary treatment and violation of characters leading to falsehood and artificial situations? Why do authors often complain that their characters defy them? Is there any ground for such complaints? The scholar is aware that selfconfessions of a single writer are not enough to solve these questions. And there the innumerable rough drafts reflecting Tolstoy's unremitting search for the right character come to the rescue. And again the objective laws of the emergence of a character as gleaned from manuscripts turn out to be remarkably similar to the explanations offered by the writer himself.

The book describes an exciting journey of a scientist into the world of imagination and inspiration, creative search and titanic work, into the "holy of holies" of the great master's thoughts and emotions. Fortunatov

succeeds in interpreting Tolstoy's manuscripts as a truthful chronicle of his work. And not only as a chronicle but in some ways as an encyclopaedia offering insights into the secret of creativity.

L. Saraskina

- И. А. ВЛОДАВСКАЯ. Поэтика английского романа воспитания начала XX века. Типология жанра. Киев, изд-во «Выща школа», 1983, 183 с.
- A. VLODAVSKAYA, The British Novel of Education in the Early 20th Century. Typology of a Genre, Kiev, Vyshcha shkola Publishers, 1983, 183 pp.

The early decades of this century saw an extraordinary development of the education novel (Bildungsroman). In Britain, it attracted such major prose writers as Samuel Butler, James Joyce, Herbert Wells, David H. Lawrence, Arnold Bennet, Somerset Maugham, and famous men of letters such as Compton Mackenzie, Hugh Walpole, George Kennan. A study of their works has enabled the authoress to raise some important closely interconnected theoretical questions, namely, to define more precisely the general features of the genre with reference to a particular national literature, to identify the specific features of the British novel of education, to establish the hero and conflict typology, and to comment on the recurring patterns of plot and style. The analysis of novels (the book examines ten novels, including Sinister Street by Mackenzie, Fortitude by Walpole, and Clayhanger by Bennet) extends our knowledge about the British literature of the early 20th century.

The authoress singles out three compulsory parts in the plot of the education novel: the hero's childhood (which ends with his leaving the paternal home), years of study and of travel, and finding his place in life. The authoress assigns particular importance to the second of these components which is the most stable or, to use her terminology, reveals similarity of plot lines. "The hero's life experience," writes Vlodavskaya, "is made up of delusions and errors. He errs in his choice of friends, profession, and suffers disappointment in love. He matures and progresses through the method of trial and error. The accumulation of negative results dramatises the conflict, creates emergency situations which test the hero's mettle, as a result of which he either perishes or becomes stronger and finds his identity and his place under the sun." The novels end diversely but the end is always constructive, with the hero developing a positive life programme which justifies his education.

Throughout the book (and more especially in the final section) the authoress stresses that the problems of the hero and conflict typology are coextensive. However, the material presentation and even the chapter titles ("Young People at Crossroads", "In Search of the Absolute", "The 'Little Man' Raises His Head", and "The Troubadour of Progress") belly that statement and show that the hero typology is given priority.

The great variety of heroes in the British novel of education in the early 20th century may, according to Vlodavskaya, be reduced to four types:

First. The hero is a seeking man. He is more often than not an ordinary, average young man in many ways, yet he has some distinctive traits: he is a man of mettle, has an intense inner life, a keen sense of loneliness, etc. The style of behaviour and image of this type of hero are revealed in an analysis of several books: The Way of All Flesh by Butler, Clayhanger by Bennet, Sinister Street by Mackenzie, Fortitude by Walpole, and Maugham's Of Human Bondage.

Second. The hero is an artist, a genius. Novels of great men of art (Künstlerromanen) are, in the authoress' view, less characteristic of British literature, a fact she attributes to the national character. This kind of hero is examined in the analysis of Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man by James Joyce and The Longest Journey by Edward M. Forster.

One can take issue with the authoress on that point. It is unclear how and why the British national character is an obstacle to the writing of novels about artists and men of genius. After all, it did not prevent Joyce Cary from writing his trilogy about an artist or Cronin from writing his Crusader's Tomb. Incidentally, the same period saw the publication of Lawrence's Sons and Lovers (1913) which painstakingly recreates the shaping of an artistic personality (Paul Morel). Maugham's The Moon and Sixpense, also mentioned by Vlodavskaya, was written to show the combination of good and evil in the mind of Strickland, a fictitious great painter (the fact that he had a real prototype makes no difference). There is also Maugham's later novel.

Cakes and Ale, which portrays another man of art, the writer Driffield (modelled on the British author Thomas Hardy). It is another question whether the above-mentioned books by Maugham fit the definition of novels of education.

All this, however, casts no doubts on the chief observations Vlodavs-kaya makes about the image of the artist hero. There is much in them that is interesting and new, and her methodological conclusion that this type of hero is closest to the romantic conception of the individual appears to be justified and important.

Third. The hero is a scientist. Vlodavskaya considers H. G. Wells' novel Tono-Bungay which she feels is without anologues in the period under consideration. The novelist broke new ground by becoming the first in British literature to create a realistic novel about a scientist and his place in society, and this lends a special quality to the book when viewed as a novel of education. Wells' novel is important for yet another reason: although a scientist is hardly typical of the literature of the 1900s-1910s, the book was a harbinger of the type of novel that was to become widespread in 20thcentury prose. This gives contemporary relevance to a study of a work of the past.

The fourth type of hero is "the little man". Vlodavskaya uses the novels Kipps and The History of Mr. Polly by H. G. Wells to show the socially-determined dramatism underlying the "little man's" conflict with the world of evil and injustice. The novels of education focussing on the "little man" demonstrate that a "simple soul" is incompatible with the standards and traditions of bourgeois life. That in turn determines the similarity of structure, composition, and plot in the two novels, for all their originality and

innovation (it is to be regretted, however, that the authoress confines her analysis to the novels of Wells).

She claims that the British novel of education is not to be found in its pure form, because there is usually a mixture of genres within one and the same book. Thus, Butler's The Way of All Flesh contains, along with features of a novel of education. elements of a family chronicle, of an enlightened philosophical novel, a novel of ideas, an autobiographical novel, and a parody novel; Wells' Tono-Bungay combines elements of confession and memoirs, an adventure story, a psychological and sociological novel, a novel of manners, etc. Yet in all these novels the individual's education and spiritual growth is the leading element, which determines their genre.

Vlodavskaya builds a good case to prove that the genre is not being diluted but rather its potential is being expanded and it acquires new features. She convincingly ties in this process with certain general trends in the advance of culture and society. Thus, when observing that the education novel was prompted by progress in the natural and exact sciences, she suggests the influence of scientific ideas of the novel of education on the motives behind the hero's conflict with society, on the style and on the increasingly intellectual character of the novel.

The slowing down of action, and the widening framework of the traditional novel are justly seen as qualities common to all intellectual prose of modern times.

The intellectualisation of the novel of education is most dramatically shown in connection with Butler's The Way of All Flesh. The authoress speaks convincingly of Butler's desire to fit the plot and the characters into a philosophical idea. However, her assessment of Butler's enthusiasm for Lamarckism that prompted the conception of the novel is somewhat narrow.

Vlodavskaya's book offers an interesting conception of the British novel of education of the early 20th century and fills a certain gap in the study of the literature of the period.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

BOOKS ON HISTORY

From the Editors: We publish below annotations of some fundamental works on historical sciences published between 1980 and 1984. The list has been compiled by Yu. Pantsyrev, researcher of the Institute of the World History, USSR Academy of Sciences.

History of the USSR

Internationalism of the Soviet People. Past and Present, Moscow, Nauka Publishers, 1982, 583 p.

The book traces the implementation of the Marxist-Leninist ideas and principles of proletarian internationalism in the USSR. It shows the international significance of the Great October Socialist Revolution, the formation and development of the internationalist nature of the Soviet people at all stages of the history of Soviet society and their internationalist activities in the world arena.

History of the Soviet Working Class (in six volumes), Moscow, Nauka Publishers. Vol. 1. The Working Class in the October Revolution and in Defence of Its Gains. 1917-1920, 1982, 495 pp.; Vol. 2. The Working Class—the Leading Force in the Construction of Socialist Society. 1921-1937, 1984, 511 pp.

Volume I covers the period when the working class played the major role in the victory of the October Revolution and in defending the Soviet Republic from the attacks of the combined forces of international imperialism and Russian counterrevolutionaries. It also shows the role of the working class in the creation and consolidation of the Soviet state and in the implementation of revolutionary changes in all spheres of the country's life.

Volume 2 examines the history of the Soviet working class during the transition to socialism. It analyses the numerical growth and changes in the composition of the working class in the 1920s and 1930s, the sources and forms of its reinforcement, the dynamics of its material and cultural level, the formation and development of its national detachments and the emergence of a multinational working class in the USSR.

History of the USSR from Ancient Times to Our Day (in two series, 12 volumes), Ed. by P. I. Ponomaryov et al., Moscow, Nauka Publishers, 1966, Vol. XI, 1980, 653 pp.

The work dwells in detail on the history of the rehabilitation of the country's national economy after the Great Patriotic War of 1941-1945, the consolidation of socialism and the creation of prerequisites for the

transition to a developed socialist society. It shows the consolidation of the material and technical base of the country, the development of the Soviet state and socialist democracy, cultural construction, changes in the social structure, further strengthening of the country's international position and the formation of the internationalist features of the Soviet people.

M. P. Kim, Problems of Theory and History of Real Socialism, Moscow, Nauka Publishers, 1983, 556 pp.

The monograph examines problems relating to the historical law of the establishment of socialism in the life of humanity; the general historical and the national, particular, in Soviet experience; culture and the cultural revolution in the USSR; the spiritual foundation of communist construction.

I. I. Minz, *The Year 1918*, Moscow, Nauka Publishers, 1982, 573 pp.

The monograph continues the three-volume work History of the Great October Revolution. It gives a general outline of the history of Soviet Russia in 1918. The book describes the creation of the socialist foundations, the beginning of the Civil War against the internal and external counter-revolution and the work of the Communist Party headed by Lenin in mobilising the working people to the building of socialism and defence of Soviet power.

Russia's Working Class from Its Emergence to the Early 20th Century, Moscow, Nauka Publishers, 1983, 575 pp.

This is the first Soviet research on the history of Russia's working class. The authors describe the formation of the working class, its role at the various stages of the liberation movement and the activities of Lenin and his comrades-in-arms in the organisation of the RSDLP.

A. M. Samsonov, *The Battle of Stalingrad*, Moscow, Nauka Publishers, 1982, 623 pp.

The author analyses the course of the military operations and shows the unbreakable unity between the military feat of the defenders of Stalingrad and the labour feat of the workers, collective farmers and intellectuals in the rear, and discusses political, military, economic and ideological aspects of the subject.

Soviet Culture. Its Past and Present, Moscow, Nauka Publishers, 1983, 431 pp.

The work dwells on cardinal questions of the theory and history of Soviet culture as a new type of culture and patterns of its development. It also describes the formation of the spiritual make-up of the individual of the socialist epoch and the international significance of the Soviet experience of cultural construction.

World History

The Great October Revolution and the Revolutions of the 1940s in Central European and South-East European Countries. Essays in Comparative Studies of Socio-Economic Transformations in the Revolutionary Process, 2nd edition, Moscow, Nauka Publishers, 1982, 535 pp.

The book describes how the experience of the Great October Socialist Revolution was drawn upon during the revolutions in Central and South-East Europe in the 1940s and discloses their general laws and specific features.

The Orient: on the Threshold of the 1980s. The Newly Free Countries in the Modern World, Moscow, Nauka Publishers, 1983, 269 pp.

This work written by a group of authors analyses the crucial socio-

economic and political processes under way in the developing countries on the threshold of the 1980s. It characterises the growing role of the region in the world economy and politics, and the world revolutionary process. The book shows the aggravation of socio-economic contradictions and the class struggle, as well as the radical differences between the neocolonialist policy of imperialism and the internationalist policies of the USSR and the entire socialist community towards the newly free countries.

World History (in 13 volumes), Ed. by E. M. Zhukov et al., Moscow, Sotsekgiz-Mysl Publishers, 1958-1983; Vol. 13, 1983, 718 pp.

The volume covers the period between 1961 and 1970. It discusses the history of individual countries and deals with international issues including those of disarmament, European security, peaceful coexistence, the work of the UN, and the world Communist, working-class and democratic movements.

The Second World War (a Short History), Ed. by the International Editorial Council headed by E. M. Zhukov and P. A. Zhilin, Moscow, Nauka Publishers, 1984, 590 pp.

This is the first collective effort of historians from eight socialist countries-Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, the GDR, Hungary, Mongolia, Poland, Rumania and the USSR. It analyses. on the basis of the recent research. the military, socio-political, diplomatic, ideological and economic aspects of events and processes on the eve of, and during, the Second World War. It shows the responsibility of the imperialists for its outbreak and characterises fascism—the cause of the escalation of aggression. The work discusses the course of the anti-Hitler coalition's struggle (it included the USSR, the USA, Britain, France, China and, by the end of the war, more than 50 states) against the aggressive bloc of nazi Germany, fascist Italy, militarist Japan and their satellites on all fronts and theatres of the war, primarily on the Soviet-German Front, the principal front of the Second World War.

History of the Second World War. 1939-1945 (in 12 volumes), Chairman of the Editorial Commission D. F. Ustinov, Moscow, Voenizdat Publishers, 1973-1982.

This is a fundamental research work on the political, military, economic and social processes which took place in the world on the eve of, and during, the Second World War. It gives a thorough analysis of the causes and nature of the war, the course of major events of the war, and the struggle of the popular masses against the fascist invaders; the book reveals the activities of Communist and Workers' parties in the Resistance movement, characterises the position of the anti-Hitler coalition countries and irreversible shifts taking place in international relations, and shows the decisive role of the Soviet Union in defeating the aggressor. The work also sums up the results and lessons of the war and defines the historical place of the Second World War in the present epoch.

History of the Ancient Orient, Part I, Moscow, Nauka Publishers, 1983, 534 pp.

The work reflects the present state of Soviet science on the ancient Orient. The book is based on materials from the latest discoveries in ancient history, archaeology, linguistics and literary studies. The aim of the work is to reveal, as fully as possible, the knowledge gained so far about the history of civilisation in Asia and North Africa in accordance

with the requirements of modern science.

History of Primitive Society. General Questions. Problems of Anthroposociogenesis, Ed. by Yu. V. Bromley, Moscow, Nauka Publishers, 1984, 431 pp.

The book examines source studies and the historiography of the history of primitive society, the methods used in its reconstruction and the synthetic nature of that science. On the basis of palaeoanthropological and archaeological data, and also the possibilities opened up by their general theoretical interpretation, the authors uphold their view that it was only the transition to the conscious, purposeful manufacture of working tools that proved to be the border-line dividing protohumans from the first human beings.

The Culture of Byzantium (The 4thfirst half of the 7th centuries), Moscow, Nauka Publishers, 1984, 723 pp.

The work gives an integral picture of the development of Byzantine culture from the 4th to the first half of the 7th centuries, examining multifarious superstructural phenomena in the mediaeval Byzantine society in their direct relationship with basic phenomena and factors of the socioeconomic history of the Byzantine Empire. Typologically, the work examines the problem of the formation and development of the ideology and culture of Byzantine society from the 4th to the first half of the 7th centuries. It also elaborates problems relating to the crisis in, and decline of, slave-owning ideology, the cultural heritage of antiquity and its role in the development of Byzantine civilisation. A great deal of attention is devoted to an analysis of the main aspects of the progress of social thought, philosophy, literature, science and the arts of Byzantium, various trends of ideological and political struggle and the evolution of Byzantine culture.

International Working-Class Movement. Questions of History and Theory (in seven volumes), Chairman of the Editorial Commission B. N. Ponomaryov, Moscow, Mysl Publishers, 1976-; Vol. 4, 1980, 732 pp.; Vol. 5, 1981, 750 pp.

The fourth volume deals with the revolutionary upsurge between 1917 and 1923, a new stage of the international working-class movement and the construction of the world's first socialist state, the revolutions in Central Europe, the confrontation between the revolutionary and socioreformist tendencies, the elaboration of the strategy, tactics and organisation of the communist movement, including the problems relating to a united workers' front and the national liberation struggle. Central is the role of Lenin as the greatest theoretician and leader of the world proletariat, not to mention the international significance of Leninism.

The fifth volume examines the problems relating to the internationworking-class and communal ist movement, 1924-1945. good deal of attention is devoted to an examination of the creative activity of the Soviet working class, which has built the world's first socialist society, the revolutionary struggle of the working class in capitalist countries and the national liberation movement in colonial and dependent countries. Also shown is the role of the international proletariat as the leader of the forces of democracy and social progress in the struggle for liberation from fascism.

National Question in Eastern Countries, Moscow, Nauka Publishers, 1982, 272 pp.

This collection of articles analyses national relations in the developing countries of Asia, Oceania and North Africa during the 1960s-1970s. They deal with ideological problems, including religious questions; economic factors that exert a great deal of influence on national relations; ethnosocial and, as part of them, ethnolinguistic processes.

Modern History of Asian and African Countries, Moscow, Nauka Publishers, 1982, 560 pp.

This work, which was written by a group of authors, deals with the history of Asian and African countries from the mid-17th century up to 1918 and contains a historiographic review of pre-revolutionary Russian and Soviet literature on the history of these countries during this period. The work takes into account the results of Soviet and foreign research up to the end of the 1970s. There is more material enabling one to understand the historical roots of the traditions of Afro-Asian countries which have an impact on their present development. New data are cited which bear on the history of South-East Asian countries. A good deal of attention is devoted to the characteristics of religious and ideological trends in Eastern countries.

Liberation Movements of Peoples of the Austrian Empire. Emergence and Development. End of the 18th Century-1849, Moscow, Nauka Publishers, 1980, 609 pp.

The book comprehensively examines and summarises a wealth of material on the history of the liberation movements of the oppressed peoples of the Austrian Empire (end of the 18th century—1848-1849 revolution). On the basis of a comparative analysis the authors recreate a picture of the socio-economic, political and cultural development of the peoples of the Hapsburg monarchy prior to the 1848-1849 revolution and characterise the social composi-

tion, structure and programmes of the liberation movements. The 1848-1849 revolution and counterrevolution are thoroughly examined.

Liberation Movements of Peoples of the Austrian Empire. The Period of the Capitalist Consolidation, Moscow, Nauka Publishers, 1981, 464 pp.

The book examines questions relating to the liberation movements of the peoples of the Austrian Empire in the period in which capitalism was consolidated and the nations formed (latter half of the 19th century). This is a research work of a comprehensive and comparative-historical nature, with a broad documentary basis. It contains thought-provoking generalisations and conclusions. The authors devote considerable attention to the formation processes of the working class and the socialist movement among each nation in the Empire.

Archaeology. Ethnography

Archaeology of the USSR (in twenty volumes), Vols. 1-5, Moscow, Nauka Publishers, 1981-; Vol. 1. The Palaeolithic of the USSR, 1984, 383 pp.; Vol. 2. The Aeneolithic of the USSR, 1982, 359 pp.; Vol. 3. Ancient States of the Northern Black Sea Area, 1984, 391 pp.; Vol. 4. Eastern Slavs of the 6th-13th Centuries, 1982, 327 pp.; Vol. 5. Eurasian Steppes in the Mediaeval Period, 1981, 303 pp.

Volume 1 acquaints the reader with the most ancient period in the history of the USSR, from the time of the appearance of man to the Mezolithic, which began about 10,000 years ago. For dating and interpreting the material, data of related sciences—geology, palaeontology and anthropology—have been used.

Volume 2 is the first attempt to summarise materials of the original early land-tilling cultures that had emerged on the territory of Central Asia, the Caucasus, the Ukraine on the west bank of the Dnieper and Moldavia in the sixth-fourth millennia B. C. Special attention is devoted to the chronology and periodisation of archaeological sites.

Volume 3 describes sites dated to the period between the 7th century B. C. and the 4th century A. D. The development of handicrafts, agriculture, urban development, art of warfare and trade connections is described in detail. Questions relating to the interrelationship and interdependence of the cultures of Greek towns and local tribes are thoroughly dealt with.

On the basis of materials from burial mounds and settlements, as well as of other sources, Volume 4 examines all aspects of the cultures of the Eastern Slavs on the eve and during the period of the formation of the Old Russian state, and also their relations with their neighbours—the Finno-Ugrians, the Baltic peoples, the Iranian and Turk peoples.

Volume 5 examines archaeological materials from the 4th to the 14th centuries obtained in the steppe belt stretching from the lower reaches of the Danube to Altai. It traces how the nomads passed, in the course of millennia, through all development stages—from the military democracy of conquering-peoples to powerful empires, whose economic foundation was cattle-breeding and land-tilling, handicrafts and trade.

Yu. V. Bromley, Theoretical Ethnography, Moscow, Nauka Publishers, 1984, 264 pp. (in English).

The book characterises all the basic functions of ethnoses, which manifest themselves in the most diverse areas of society's life—from economy, to psychology. The author analyses some aspects of the theory of ethnos, which have not so far been sufficiently elaborated—types

and levels of ethnos, the ethnic functions of culture and psychology (including self-awareness) and the main stages of the ethnic history of mankind, beginning with the emergence of ethnoses in primitive society to ethnic processes in the modern world.

S. I. Brook, The Population of the World. Ethnodemographic Reference Book, Moscow, Nauka Publishers, 1981, 880 pp.

The book contains latest data on a wide range of problems dealing with the population of various countries. It gives a general characteristic of the population on a worldwide scale, describes the ethnic, linguistic and religious situation in each country (210 countries altogether), and reviews the demographic situation in each continent. Data on the numerical strength of each people of the world by the middle of 1978 are provided.

M. N. Guboglo, Modern Ethnolinguistic Processes in the USSR. Basic Factors and Development Trends of National-Russian Bilingualism, Moscow, Nauka Publishers, 1984, 288 pp.

The monograph, compiled on the basis of population censuses and departmental statistics, as well as data of ethnosociological investigations, examines the conditions in, and factors of, the formation of national-Russian bilingualism in the USSR. It characterises the scope and forms of the manifestation of bilingualism in the production, sociopolitical, cultural, family and everyday-life spheres of various demographic, socio-professional and national groups of the population of the Soviet Union. The book also analyses the trend of functional interaction of languages and discloses the socio-cultural consequences of bilingualism.

Dwellings of Peoples of Central Asia and Kazakhstan, Moscow, Nauka Publishers, 1982, 240 pp.

The book examines types and designs of rural and urban settlements and dwellings, traditional methods of heating, outbuildings of the region in the 18th-20th centuries. The work is richly illustrated. Individual elements in habitation are extensively examined.

Development of Ethnic Self-Awareness of the Slavs in the Early Middle Ages, Moscow, Nauka Publishers, 1982, 357 pp.

The book analyses the emergence and formation of the Slav peoples' ethnic self-awareness on the basis of the study of written sources. This process is compared with the socioeconomic and socio-political development of the Slav world. Chronologically, the work embraces the period from the first mention of the Slavs in written sources till the early 12th century. The work is the first attempt in Soviet and foreign Slavonic studies to investigate this problem on a comprehensive comparative historical basis.

B. A. Rybakov, Kievan Rus and the Russian Principalities in the 12th-13th Centuries, Moscow, Nauka Publishers, 1982, 600 pp.

The book examines the initial

stages of Russian statehood. The author characterises the origin of the Slavs, their economy, social structure, culture and everyday life and describes in detail the union of the Slav tribes in the middle reaches of the Dnieper which had taken shape 300 years before the Normans appeared there. This is a history of Kievan Rus as described in epic songs (bylina) and chronicles of its bright, original culture, rich architecture, painting, literature and applied arts. Economic, political and cultural ties between Rus and other states are also described.

B. A. Rybakov, Paganism of Ancient Slavs, Moscow, Nauka Publishers, 1981, 607 pp.

The world outlook of the Russians. Ukrainians and Byelorussians are examined in the book as a product of the entire historical development. The author divides paganism into periods thoroughly examines the world outlook of land-tillers on the territory of the Ukraine in the fourth-third millennia B. C. and how it affected the world outlook of the Slavs. He extensively examines Slav idols and sanctuaries, as well as heathen symbols on houses and household utensils—distaffs, towels, earthenware, etc.

OUR GLOSSARY

HISTORICAL SCIENCE (HS) is a set of social sciences studying the past of mankind in all its concreteness and diversity. To establish the laws of historical development HS investigates facts, events and processes on the basis of historical sources which are dealt with by source studies and other auxiliary historical disciplines.

HS consists of world history and the history of individual countries and peoples; it is divided into the history of primitive society, ancient history, the history of the Middle Ages, and modern and contemporary history. As a set of sciences history includes the special historical disciplines—archaeology and ethnography. History forms a part of the group of the humanities treating of particular regions (African studies, Balkan studies, etc.), peoples (Sinology, etc.) or groups of peoples (Slavonic studies, for instance).

History became a science when it began to base itself on the ideas of Marx and Engels, on historical materialism—the materialist conception of history, the major principles of which are: the primacy of material life in society; the idea that people, the working masses themselves make their history while the motivating springs of their activities are determined by the material conditions of social production; the historical approach to society, i. e., recognition of its development in history, and understanding it as a law-governed natural process of movement and change of socio-historical formations; the class struggle is the driving force of the development of antagonistic society. The class struggle leads to a social revolution which is a manifestation of the contradictions between the productive forces and the relations of production, and a natural form of transition from one formation to another. Capitalism is the last antagonistic formation in history to be replaced of necessity by the communist formation as a result of a socialist revolution.

ONTOLOGY (O)—the science that treats of the nature of being; that branch of philosophy which investigates essential properties and principles of being, its structure and regularities. In its essence, O expresses the picture of the world which corresponds to a certain level of the knowledge of reality and is fixed in a system of philosophical categories typical of the given epoch and also of a philosophical tradition (materialism, idealism, etc.). In this sense each philosophical and in general theoretical system proceeds from certain ontological notions which underlie it and change as knowledge develops. The term "ontology" was first used by Rudolf Goclenius (Germany) in his philosophical lexicon (1613) as a synonym of metaphysics. It was widely used by Christian von Wolf and his school to define the first, basic part of metaphysics which defined pure being. Until the 19th century O had been developing on the basis of speculative notions about the hidden essence of things. The inconsistency of such a theory of being was criticised in German classical philosophy and was overcome by Marxism which showed the necessary connection and unity of ontology, epistemology and logic, and, consequently, the dependence of ontological notions on the existing level and forms of knowledge.

In the 20th century, scientific knowledge has grown ever more abstract and given rise to a number of fundamental ontological problems linked with the adequate interpretation of theoretical concepts and substantiation of the theoretical foundations of new trends and methodological approaches in modern science (quantum mechanics, cosmology, cybernetics, systems approach).

Some trends in present-day bourgeois philosophy (phenomenology, existentialism, personalism) are characterised by attempts to revive ontological problems in a new, mostly subjective context, for instance, as a question about layers and levels of human consciousness.

ECONOMIC ACCOUNTING (EA)—as an economic category of socialism it is a system of relations between society as a whole and its economic links (enterprises, amalgamations, organisations, state and collective farms, ministries), between the economic links themselves, and also between those links and their subdivisions. EA is a form of realisation of the unity of economic interests of the individual, work collective and society, which ensures the planned organisation of the national economy with the utilisation of commodity-money relations, makes enterprises materially interested in the state plans being fulfilled, promotes the growth of both production and socialist accumulation with the least labour expenditure. Those relations reflect the objective necessity to ensure, with the greatest efficiency possible, the process of reproduction at the level of enterprises in unity with social reproduction.

EA is manifested in the self-repayment of enterprises which is regulated by society as they fulfil their production plans and sell their output. The profits thus gained cover expenses—the cost of raw materials, depreciation charges, wages and salaries of factory and office workers, etc., and bring the net profit—the difference between profits and expenses. On the basis of norms established by the bodies of state economic management the net profit forms economic incentive funds which serve as a source of additional remuneration for work and the results of production, of financing culture and welfare services, and housing construction and of developing production.

The main principles of EA are economic independence of enterprises within established limits; self-repayment and profitability; material interest in and responsibility for the results of economic activity; financial control over the rational utilisation of resources.

EA differs radically from the capitalist commercial approach based on the exploitation of hired labour and aimed at getting maximum profit for the employer with minimum capital investments. The goal of EA is to ensure a continuous growth of social production and, on that basis, the allround satisfaction of the constantly growing material and cultural requirements of the working people.

The socialist state organises EA by formalising self-financing relations in legal and legislative acts and applying them in the planned management of enterprises. EA thereby becomes a method of planned socialist economic management.

The combination of the three types of economic interests in socialist society, the combination of planned management and relative organisational and economic independence of enterprises serve as the objective basis of EA. The said independence of enterprises means that, within the limits of established specialisation, state plans and laws regulating property and labour relations, enterprises dispose of the production funds and money allotted them; pick employees; organise production and management, labour and remuneration, additional material and moral incentives; maintain equipment in operational condition. The enterprise is a juridical person and as such it has a bank account, has the right to get credits, balances the accounts, concludes economic agreements with other enterprises and organisations, etc. All that creates conditions for a rational combination of the advantages of centralised planning and the development of the initiative and creative activity of work collectives.

Production accounting within the enterprise, which is the continuation and completion of the EA of the enterprise, plays a big role in the system of self-financing relations. The essence of this form lies in comparing the expenses per given amount of work with the norms specified in the plans and the material incentives the

workers get for the materials and money saved. Lenin emphasised that millions of people could be led to communism "not directly relying on enthusiasm, but aided by the enthusiasm engendered by the great revolution, and on the basis of personal interest, personal incentive, and business principles..." (V. I. Lenin, Collected Works, Moscow, Vol. 33, p. 58).

At the stage of developed socialism the role of EA grows. Concrete forms of EA are being enriched and developed in the direction of stricter planning and greater responsibility for the quality of work and products, of stimulating scientific and technical progress.

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To the Reader

This is the last issue of our quarterly in 1985, the year, of the 40th anniversary of the victory over German fascism and Japanese militarism in the Second World War, the year of the 40th anniversary of the United Nations, and for the Soviet people—the year of intensive preparations for the 27th Congress of the CPSU.

This issue therefore opens with an article by Andrei Gromyko, Member of the CC CPSU Politburo, Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, who shows that in the present complicated international situation the USSR following the Leninist foreign policy advocates relaxation of the international tension, averting another world war and broad inter-state cooperation. Academician P. Fedoseyev points to the important role scientists have to play in the anti-war movement and emphasises that peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems is the basic principle of the international policy pursued by the socialist community countries.

Developed Socialism: Topical Aspects

The main part of the issue is devoted to various aspects of the society of developed socialism: Academician V. Afanasyev reveals the principal aims and tasks connected with the allround perfecting of the Soviet reality, which the CPSU regards as its number one strategic task at present. Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences V. Medvedev discusses the question of contradictions under socialism, which is of key methodological significance not only for the social sciences but also for the practical efforts to improve social relations. In analysing the highly topical issues of economic centralisation and decentralisation, O. Lazis shows that the consolidation of centralised planning and management and the expansion of the economic independence and rights of the enterprises are two aspects of one and the same important process. Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences I. Frolov notes that only radical social transformations in the direction of socialism and communism can solve the humanist problems of the development of man and society in the era of the broad application of the new technology. O. Yanitsky in his interesting study treats of such an important form of the activity of the urban population as nature protection.

The 40th Anniversary of the United Nations

The maintenance and consolidation of peace and international security, the promotion of cooperation in a number of fields, which, in turn, promotes peace on Earth—such, V. Shkunayev states, is the main purpose of the United Nations Organisation which was founded 40 years ago. V. Petrovsky analyses the system of guarantees of international security, while

S. Tsukanov and A. Miroshnichenko discuss the role of the United Nations in the development of scientific and technical cooperation among states. The Soviet efforts to achieve unity of the Great Powers at the Dumbarton Oaks Conference in August-September 1944 are described by V. Berezhkov who took part in that conference. This issue also gives a review of a round-table conference sponsored by the Mezhdunarodnaya ekonomika i mezhdunarodniye otnosheniya journal concerning the role of the United Nations and the attempts to increase the organisation's efficiency.

Contemporary History

The article entitled "The Results of the Second World War and Its Lessons" shows the decisive role of the Soviet Union in defeating German fascism and Japanese militarism. It notes that another world war can be averted only by the joint efforts of all peaceloving people. P. Vladimirsky considers nuclear arms limitation and nuclear weapons non-proliferation as major means of maintaining peace and strengthening international security, while A. Kutsenkov shows the unprecedented scope of militarisation in the USA and the neocolonialist policy pursued by that country in the international arena.

Interdisciplinary Research

M. Avakov and A. Grinberg expose the imperialist policy of Washington in its attempt to establish law and order which meets the interests of the US military and industrial complex and runs counter to the interests of all nations. Trying to restrain the progressive youth movement, the reactionary quarters of the capitalist countries, V. Khudaverdyan and E. Shumilova write, are using not only the repressive state machine but also the neo-nazi and right-radical organisations and leftist groupings of young people in the capitalist countries. Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences N. Tolstoi discusses general questions of ethnolinguistics within the framework of the "language-culture-ethnos" concept.

The information and bibliographical sections of the journal as always acquaint the reader with the work of world congresses, international and national conferences, symposiums and meetings of social scientists and carry reviews of the latest books by Soviet scholars and an annotated list of recent Soviet works dealing with international organisations.

The Editorial Council and our staff wish you peace, happiness and all the best in 1986.

Along the Leninist Course in Foreign Policy

ANDREI GROMYKO

From the Editors: The Soviet press reported on February 16 that, in connection with the UN decision to announce the year 1985 the Year of the United Nations and the year 1986 the International Year of Peace, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium had set up a relevant commission headed by Andrei Gromyko, Member of the Politburo of the CC CPSU, Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet. We open this issue, which is devoted mostly to the UN and peace efforts, with his article.

The world, as we see it today, presents a varied and complex picture. A tense political atmosphere reigns in it. The rate at which international events develop has increased sharply and, at times, becomes particularly rapid.

Never before has such a large number of states taken part in world politics. One hundred and fifty-nine countries are now represented at the United Nations.

Each day one has to deal with an avalanche of problems, their scope ranging from the seabed to outer space. This is particularly true of the foremost problem, unprecedentedly urgent in its global significance—that of safeguarding peace and driving the thunderheads of the war danger away from the world's horizon.

After all, our planet is literally groaning with the weight of the accumulated armaments in which an unheard-of destructive power is concentrated. Should these weapons be put to use—and there are forces on the international scene whose militarist policy is pushing the world closer to catastrophe—this would call into question the very survival of life on Earth.

Given this nature of the current international situation, it is especially important to gain a correct understanding of the essence of what is happening and to be able to properly get one's bearings in it. We Communists can do it using a tried and tested instrument which

makes it possible to clearly see the motive forces behind world developments, behind the policy of this or that state and, therefore, to move confidently in international affairs.

The theory of Marx, Engels and Lenin remains the most reliable instrument for grasping the realities we do and will live in tomorrow. In all aspects of their activity—and, naturally, in foreign policy—the CPSU and the Soviet Government have always unswervingly followed Marxism-Leninism, this ideology of revolutionary creative effort and peace.

It is impossible to overstate the credit due to Lenin in developing and enriching all component parts of Marxism and in applying it consistently in new historical conditions. Leninism is the Marxism of the era of imperialism and proletarian revolutions, of the era of the collapse of colonialism and the victories of national liberation movements, of the era of the transition from capitalism to socialism and of the building of communist society.

Leninism is the eternally vibrant spring which we tap for ideas and wise advice. The secret of the unfading freshness and inexhaustible vitality of Lenin's doctrine—and of Marxism-Leninism as a whole—is that its principles and ideals are clear and close to millions upon millions of working people, that each generation invariably finds in it answers to the acute questions that arise.

One cannot but feel admiration in considering the huge amount of work Lenin performed both in the pre-revolutionary period and after the October Revolution to identify and scientifically substantiate the central goals, major principles and aspects of the international activities to be pursued by the Communist Party and the Soviet government. Directing these activities in the course of several years, he was the first to combine the theory of scientific communism with the foreign policy practice of the Soviet republic.

This fruitful merger gave birth to socialist foreign policy which, since the October Revolution, has been a reliable bulwark in the struggle of peoples for peace, freedom, independence and social progress.

Lenin accorded priority attention to a strictly scientific approach to international developments and foreign policy, an approach incompatible with arbitrary or time-serving action, shallow improvisation or scholastic theorising. "Marxism," he wrote, "requires of us a strictly exact and objectively verifiable analysis of the relations of classes and of the concrete features peculiar to each historical situation. We Bolsheviks have always tried to meet this requirement, which is absolutely essential for giving a scientific foundation to policy."

Regarding the foreign policy pursued by states as an expression of the interests of the classes ruling in those states and the essence of world politics as the class struggle of opposite socio-economic systems, Lenin always skilfully revealed the class interests that were central to any international issue, no matter how deeply they were concealed. "When it is not immediately apparent which political or social groups, forces or alignments advocate certain proposals, measures, etc.," he stressed, "one should always ask: 'Who stands to gain?'... In politics it is not so important who directly advocates particular views. What is important is who stands to gain from these views, proposals, measures." ²

From the very first years of Soviet government, Lenin viewed the creation of the new society and the efforts to ensure favourable external conditions for this creation in organic unity and in dialectical interdependence. "It is fundamentally wrong, un-Marxist and unscientific," he pointed out, "to single out foreign policy from policy in general, let alone contrapose foreign policy to home policy." ⁸

Lenin emphasised that the state of affairs with the socialist revolution in Russia should underlie all efforts to identify the international tasks facing the Soviet government, that it was imperative to subordinate everything to the interests of safeguarding and consolidating socialist gains in our country. That is how he himself acted.

Lenin contributed fundamentally to the elaboration of the tactics and strategy of socialist foreign policy and to the emergence of its diplomacy. This contribution included scientific forecasts of the course the revolutionary and liberation struggle would take, due regard for inter-imperialist contradictions, and skilful use of the entire range of forms, techniques and methods in the arsenal of socialist diplomacy.

Lenin dealt directly with all matters—whether big or small—concerning Soviet foreign policy and diplomatic service. He accorded unwavering attention to the diplomatic aspect of statesmanship: he sent messages to heads of states and governments, directed talks and personally conducted them, met and talked with many foreign representatives, diplomats, public figures, journalists and writers.

Lenin was the author of hundreds of documents of foreign policy issues: from the Decree on Peace, the first foreign policy instrument of Soviet Russia, to guidelines for Soviet delegations which took part in international conferences, to memos and instructions for our representatives abroad. The salient features of these documents are profound meaning and pithy, always extremely precise and expressive form.

Lenin advocated a realistic and sober approach to the varied realities of international relations. The ability to anticipate the course of developments in these affairs many steps ahead was the basis of Lenin's tactical flexibility which so impressed his contemporaries. The courses he mapped out often baffled those who kept thinking in terms of the past, who failed to see that the situation had changed. These qualities Lenin possessed rose to particular prominence at responsible historical junctures, such as the peace of Brest-Litovsk, the Genoa Conference and the Rapallo Treaty with Germany.

Lenin regarded the use of inter-imperialist contradictions as an imperative rule of Soviet foreign policy. He offered a brilliant example of such use at the time the peace of Brest-Litovsk was concluded, when it proved possible to gain the breathing space our country needed so badly.

Were it not for the ability, fostered by Lenin, to identify and differentiate between trends and nuances existing among the bourgeois quarters and the differences and clashes of interests among the imperialist countries, there would have been no anti-Hitler coalition in which the Soviet Union, the United States, Britain and France took part. And though we know that friction and differences were present in the coalition, it went down in history and in the memories of nations as a case of cooperation of countries belonging to different social systems in the struggle against a common enemy.

Lenin's activity in the field of foreign policy is the most vivid and eternally meaningful example of commitment to the Party's interests and to lofty principles, of skill in assessing social, economic and political processes and phenomena in their indelible and contradictory interrelationship, of prompt response to the changes that occur.

Naturally, both the position of our country on the world scene and the international situation have changed radically compared to the period when Lenin stood at the helm of the Soviet state. The emergence, after the Second World War, of the world socialist system in which countries of three continents—Europe, Asia and America—are already represented today, transformed the world's image.

Historically, socialism determines the main content and direction of the development of human society. It is a firm mainstay of peace, democracy and progress. Thus life itself confirms the wisdom of Lenin's prediction that socialism would become an international force "capable of exercising a decisive influence upon world politics as a whole".⁴

The might and the international prestige of the Soviet Union have grown incomparably greater than they were in Lenin's lifetime. Our country has earned, in world affairs, the unconditionally recognised status of a great power without which no problem of any significance can be solved. Among other things, this is clear from the Yalta and Potsdam Agreements. This is reflected in the United Nations Charter under which the Soviet Union, as a permanent member of the Security Council, bears special responsibility for the maintenance of universal peace.

But even now, when we face newer and newer tasks in the field of foreign policy, we are still deeply committed to the meaning Lenin's behests have for today.

A product of a socialist revolution, Soviet foreign policy, has been and remains an instrument of revolutionary transformation in our country. It is a policy of internationalism, for the interests of the Soviet people coincide with the vital interests of working people in all countries. It is permeated with a spirit of solidarity with all genuinely revolutionary and progressive forces of today's world.

The salient features of Soviet foreign policy are genuine democracy, genuine and effective recognition of equal rights for all states, of the equality of all races and nationalities. It is a thoroughly humanitarian policy, for it is consistently peace-oriented. Socialism knows no objectives other than concern for the people's interests, and, first and foremost, this implies tireless efforts to prevent war.

The class, socialist nature and content of Soviet foreign policy are embodied in its fundamental Leninist principles—proletarian internationalism and peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems.

With the victory of the October Revolution, proletarian internationalism became the cornerstone of Soviet foreign policy, reflected in the steady support extended to the revolutionary and liberation movement of the working masses and of oppressed peoples. Explaining the essence of this principle, Lenin wrote that "capital is an international force. To vanquish it, an international workers' alliance, an international workers' brotherhood, is needed. We are opposed to national enmity and discord, to national exclusiveness. We are internationalists".⁵

In terms of the relations existing among socialist states, proletarian internationalism assumes its highest form of socialist internationalism. This is a logical stage in the development of the international solidarity of the working class in a situation when it has become the dominant class and its Marxist-Leninist parties have turned into ruling parties in many countries, when they have to tackle, on a practical plane, new tasks of building socialism and communism, deepening and developing the international relations of a socialist type, consolidating the international positions of the world socialist system, and jointly defending socialist gains. And, despite all obstacles its class adversary tries to erect in its path, world socialism continues its consistent consolidation and is confidently gaining strength.

Over a short historical period socialism, as a social system, has convincingly demonstrated its essential advantages over capitalism. Briefly, these are social and national equality, planned economic

development, ideological unity of the society, concern for man and allround development of the personality; this lays a firm basis for continuously enriching the socialist way of life, for perfecting the political system of socialism, socialist democracy which truly and effectively guarantees to man the broadest possible rights and freedoms, as well as access to the highest planes of knowledge and to cultural values.

The world of capital, unable to rid itself of far-reaching economic crises and severe socio-political upheavals, can offer nothing to counter such cardinal accomplishments.

Steady progress of the many-sided interrelationships existing among the socialist countries has led to the emergence of the socialist community. It is an entity composed of states whose typical features are joint action which the ruling Communist parties, government bodies and civic organisations take on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, intensive development of economic integration, and an unprecedented scope of cooperation in all spheres of life, including effective coordination of foreign policy efforts. Relations of a new type have been established among these countries. Along with genuine equality, non-interference in the internal affairs and mutual respect for the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of one another, they also feature fraternal friendship and comradely mutual assistance.

This, as a whole, is what is at the heart of socialist internationalism.

The objectively inevitable comprehensive process in which the socialist community countries, bound by the same type of their political and socio-economic systems, their common philosophy and the community of their goals and ideas in the struggle for peace and socialism, are growing closer to one another consolidates their unity. The close cooperation of these states, cooperation in which national and international interests are in harmony, has now assumed the quality of fraternal unity.

For thirty years now the Warsaw Treaty has been standing guard over socialist gains. Safeguarding the interests of international security, it generates collective initiatives aimed at strengthening peace.

The Council for Mutual Economic Assistance operates as an effective instrument of economic integration of the socialist countries, of the international socialist division of labour.

A system of bilateral treaties of friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance has taken shape.

History vividly bears out Lenin's conclusion that the increase in the number of questions requiring "uniform, principled decisions in different countries is striking proof that socialism is being welded into a single international force". The community of the socialist states is a healthy and vigorous organism which has a great salutary effect on the situation in today's world. This community has become the principal obstacle to aggressive imperialist policies, the vanguard of the revolutionary and national liberation movement, of the broad front of the anti-war forces.

The socialist countries are profoundly aware that the effectiveness of socialist foreign policy and success in the drive to preserve peace depend to a considerable degree on how vigorous, purposeful and concerted their action on the international scene is. They have accumulated a rich store of experience in their cooperation in the sphere of foreign policy. Today, one can speak of a single strategy these countries pursue in world politics.

A mechanism which coordinates the international activities of the socialist countries has taken shape and is functioning smoothly. Here, a special role is played by meetings of the Political Consultative Committee (PCC) of the Warsaw Treaty member states. PCC meetings have produced major proposals on key issues of European and world politics; many of these proposals served as a basis for discussions at the United Nations and other international forums or were reflected in a number of important treaties and agreements concluded by countries with different social systems.

Guided by a clear awareness of their historical responsibility for the future of the world and of socialism, the socialist community countries preserve and cherish their unity. They strive invariably to make it ever closer. The strengthening of friendship and cooperation with the fraternal countries will continue to be a priority aspect of the foreign policy pursued by the CPSU and the Soviet Government.

"The socialist revolution," Lenin stressed, "will not be solely, or chiefly, a struggle of the revolutionary proletarians in each country against the bourgeoisie—no, it will be a struggle of all the imperialist-oppressed colonies and countries, of all dependent countries, against international imperialism."

The October Revolution merged in a single current the struggle of the proletariat for socialism and the movement of the imperialistenslaved peoples against colonial oppression. It has thus demonstrated that these peoples are an active anti-imperialist force, an ally of the socialist revolution.

One of the historical accomplishments of Lenin's thought is that he identified the main laws governing the development of the national liberation movement, predicted the collapse of the colonial system, substantiated the idea of a non-capitalist development path and elaborated the issue of building the new society in economically underdeveloped countries.

Lenin mapped out specific tasks of socialist policy and diplomacy vis-à-vis countries long subjected to colonial plunder and oppression:

support of their efforts to consolidate their national independence, aid in all their progressive undertakings, help in overcoming economic and cultural backwardness, strict observance of equality and non-interference in their internal affairs, understanding and respect of their national and historical traditions, assistance in their full-fledged participation in the solution of international problems, solidarity in the struggle against the forces of imperialism.

Upholding the cause taken up by Lenin, Soviet foreign policy has done much to bring closer the hour of triumph of the liberation struggle waged by the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America. Having received a powerful impetus from the October Revolution, this struggle entered the stage of a new upsurge as a result of the victory over nazi Germany and militarist Japan which was won 40 years ago and to which the USSR made the decisive contribution.

Of great help to all those who were to fight against colonial rulers was the incorporation, on Soviet insistence, of the demand for the equality and self-determination of peoples into the UN Charter. An outstanding landmark on the way to the elimination of the infamous system of colonialism was the 1960 adoption, on Soviet initiative, of the UN Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

Many times, resolute moves by the USSR have enabled young independent states to withstand imperialist attempts to interfere in their internal affairs. The opportunity to fall back on the solidarity and assistance of the Soviet Union is still of vital importance to many of them.

Our country extends broad political, economic and other support to newly free countries. The high level attained by the USSR in its relations with these countries is clear from the series of friendship and cooperation treaties it has concluded with India, Syria, Angola, Ethiopia, Afghanistan, the PDRY and other countries. These are treaties between equal and independent countries dedicated to peace.

The Soviet Union and the socialist community stand firmly for a kind of international law and order, for a system of international relations in which the people of any country, big or small, could live in genuine freedom and independence and shape their own destiny.

No state has the right to interfere in the internal affairs of another state, to impose alien ways on other peoples. Any outside moves to forcibly change or undermine a country's social system or overthrow its government must be ruled out.

Meanwhile, such moves are practised increasingly often lately by those who would like to hold sway over the world, who regard as an affront any free expression of the peoples' will. They aim at eroding the possibility of ensuring peaceful relations among states, of building up mutual trust.

In a nuclear age, such gross violations of elementary international norms of conduct and ethics are especially inadmissible since this can have disastrous effect not only for the freedom of peoples but also for their very survival.

The overwhelming majority of the UN membership made their attitude to such moves perfectly clear at the 39th Session of the United Nations General Assembly. A resolution based on a Soviet draft was adopted, proclaiming that the policy of state terrorism must not be tolerated. That was an important step in the struggle to safeguard the sovereignty of independent states and the inalienable rights of peoples.

It was a severe indictment of the policy of state terrorism exemplified in the US occupation of Grenada, in the gross interference in the internal affairs of El Salvador committed by the United States to preserve the rule of an anti-popular regime, and in the undeclared war launched by the United States against Nicaragua.

Again denounced was the Washington-encouraged policy of permanent aggression followed by Tel Aviv with regard to Arab states. Also resolutely condemned was another course sponsored from across the Atlantic—that of the racist regime in Pretoria which stubbornly tries to keep the people of Namibia in colonial chains and does not cease its interventionist forays against the neighbouring African countries.

Peoples of the world shall never accept the arbitrary action taken by imperialism. They reject with indignation its way of thinking and its mode of political conduct. And so imperialist diktat is a course that is historically doomed.

The Soviet Union regards prevention and elimination of the dangerous sources of tensions and armed conflict—and they are an inevitable consequence of this course—as an expression of internationalist solidarity with the peoples and countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, as an important aspect of the struggle to consolidate universal peace.

We are profoundly gratified to witness full-fledged participation by scores of newly independent countries in international affairs, their growing activity in the drive to uphold peace. The positive role played in world politics by the countries belonging to the non-aligned movement should be particularly singled out. It has turned into an influential anti-war and anti-imperialist force, and the USSR accords proper appreciation to this fact.

The CPSU and the Soviet government are steadily pursuing and will continue to pursue the course which is a legacy of Lenin: that of promoting relations of friendship and cooperation with developing countries, of further strengthening the alliance between world socialism and the national liberation movement.

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Lenin's discovery of the law of uneven capitalist development at the imperialist stage enabled him to deduce the possibility of an initial victory of socialism in a few countries or one, individual, country and, consequently, the inevitability of coexistence between countries with opposite—socialist and capitalist—social systems.

The rivalry of these systems is the main content of the era we live in. While emphasising the aggressive nature of imperialism, the highest stage in the development of capitalism which, as a historically doomed social system, preaches a cult of force and relies on militarism, Lenin rejected the fatalistic notion that this rivalry would inevitably lead to constant wars between capitalist and socialist countries. He pointed to the possibility and necessity of their peaceful coexistence.

The proletariat, Lenin noted, paves the way "to socialism, which alone can give the war-weary people peace, bread and freedom". The October Revolution, with "Peace to the nations" among its central slogans, was "the first victory in the struggle to abolish war".

The emergence of real socialism as represented by the Soviet Union—and the principal course it pursued internationally was a policy of peace stemming from the ideology of Marxism-Leninism and from the requirements inherent in the building of the new society—gave a powerful impetus to the anti-war movement of nations, to the peace movement.

It was inevitable for Lenin's Decree on Peace to proclaim peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems as one of the fundamental principles of Soviet foreign policy. Ever since then we have upheld this principle unswervingly and worked to ensure its acceptance as an element of international relations as they are practised.

History has decided the dispute between socialism and capitalism about the possibility or impossibility of peaceful coexistence of countries irrespective of their social system, a dispute that started during the Civil War and the struggle against the foreign intervention and that was continued in the clash with nazi Germany and her allies. This dispute has been decided in favour of recognition of socialism, of its foreign policy charted by Lenin.

Peaceful coexistence is a distinctive form of the class struggle between socialism and capitalism. This struggle is being fought and will continue to be fought in the economic, political and, of course, ideological spheres since the philosophies and the class goals of the two social systems are opposite. However, this struggle should be waged in forms which rule out armed conflict.

Differences in the social systems of different countries must not be used as a pretext for ignoring generally accepted norms of conduct in international affairs. Nor should ideological differences be transferred to the sphere of relations between states.

We do not impose our ideology, our values rooted in the very nature of the socialist system on anyone. The Soviet Union also firmly opposes any attempts to impose alien ways and views on socialist society, rejects the inventions about a "communist menace" and "Soviet military threat", and maintains that it is inadmissible to recklessly advertise "crusades" against socialism.

Innate to peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems is a vast constructive potential for developing good relations between them. After all, this is borne out by the record of the 1970s, when international relations turned from the cold war and confrontation to a policy of detente. And no matter how hard the enemies of this policy are now trying to make people forget it, the nations cherish the fruits detente yielded.

Advocating a restructuring of international relations on the basis of peaceful coexistence, socialist foreign policy regards it as an important element in the solution of the most pressing issue of the day—that of barring war from the life of human society, of establishing durable, just and democratic peace throughout the world. Naturally, in working to attain this goal, socialist foreign policy, which has nothing in common with appearement of militarist imperialist quarters, combines unvarying dedication to peace with commitment to firmly rebuff aggression.

Strict observance of the principle of peaceful coexistence has now acquired a particular significance, for peaceful coexistence of socialist and capitalist states is the only rational alternative to nuclear catastrophe.

Today, the choice is between the life and death of our civilisation. There is no "golden mean" here: you are either with those who are preparing for war, or with those who reject imperialism's adventurous policy and are fighting for peaceful coexistence and disarmament.

Against the background of the tense situation that the aggressive imperialist forces have recently created and that is fraught with sudden dangers, the world's nations see with particular clarity the Soviet Union doing everything within its power to reliably ensure the foremost human right, the right to life. This policy encourages their hope that things will not reach the stage of catastrophe.

Any sane man will agree that the road to a world without wars cannot lead through the buildup of military arsenals, across the new mountains of armaments that keep piling up. And the position of those who claim the opposite is not simply absurd. It is criminal.

The Soviet Union declared itself firmly and openly in favour of outlawing nuclear weapons as soon as they came into the world. Our country worked to have these weapons banned both when it did not possess them and after it created them. Today, too, we advocate immediate measures to reduce and, eventually, to completely

eliminate nuclear weapons. This is the objective of a range of comprehensive initiatives we have advanced.

The USSR has taken an unprecedentedly bold step by unilaterally pledging not to be the first to use nuclear weapons. It continues to urge the nuclear powers that have not yet done so to undertake similar obligations. This would be a tangible, history-making contribution to confidence-building too.

There also exist other urgent questions related to nuclear armaments that can be solved independently. For example, what prevents us from concluding, even now, an agreement on a complete cessation of nuclear weapons tests? We favour conclusion of this agreement at any time—the sooner, the better.

For all the diversity of views about how the dismantling of the nuclear pyramid should be begun, the demand of a freeze on nuclear armaments which has spread across the world is emerging as a common denominator. Believing that it is sensible and justified, our country has put forward a relevant proposal. It is well known to the other nuclear powers and still stands.

We are convinced that observance by all nuclear powers of certain norms by which they should be guided in the present situation—as it is proposed by the Soviet Union—would be of fundamental importance. If one strives for peace, these norms are self-evident.

Plans to militarise outer space are fraught with a new and deadly danger to mankind. These plans are evident in Washington's intention to create a large-scale system of anti-missile defence.

Unless stopped in time, the extension of the arms race to outer space may become an irreversible process. The Soviet Union holds that effective measures are in order so as to preserve peace in outer space.

Any use of force in outer space, from space against Earth and from Earth against targets in space should be banned without delay. There is no other choice. This Soviet position has generated the broadest possible support throughout the world. This was expressed forcefully at the latest session of the UN General Assembly which acted on our proposal and decided in favour of preventing the militarisation of outer space and using it for exclusively peaceful purposes. Conversely, those who oppose the will of nations in this vitally important issue found themselves in complete isolation.

The news about the Soviet-American agreement reached in Geneva to begin talks between the two powers on space and nuclear armaments was welcomed across the globe. The discussion we conducted with the American side on the subject and purposes of these talks was politically tense. Finally, the American side did agree that it was impossible to consider either strategic armaments or medium-range nuclear weapons without discussing the prevention of the arms race in space.

A step forward has thus been taken in developing a dialogue between the USSR and the United States on issues that have a decisive impact on our relations with the United States of America. Of course, it is only a step compared with the colossal tasks on the agenda of the Geneva talks.

Nor can one keep silent about the joint initiative of the socialist countries concerning the conclusion of a treaty on the mutual non-use of armed force between the Warsaw Treaty states and the North Atlantic alliance countries.

The Soviet Union has submitted basic provisions of such a treaty to the Stockholm Conference on Confidence-Building Measures, Security and Disarmament. This and a number of other major proposals of the socialist community countries have been put forward in combination with certain confidence-building measures in the military field. We want the Stockholm forum to be productive and to come to a successful conclusion.

The Soviet Union has maintained and remains convinced that no step leading to easing European tensions and to a positive development of international relations can be dismissed as superfluous. It is important to preserve and strengthen the process encompassing all Europe and begun in Helsinki with the signing of the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe ten years ago.

To a great degree, the readings of the barometer of world politics depend on the state of affairs in Europe—witness the deterioration of this political climate brought about by the beginning of the deployment of new US nuclear missiles in the FRG, Great Britain and Italy.

One cannot—and we shall not—ignore the fact that in some places, the forces which still cling to a hope of revising the borders that shaped in Europe after the Second World War are rearing their head. There are also cases when the official quarters of some Western countries pat the revanchists approvingly on the back. Statements are also made by these quarters clearly indicating a desire to question the obligations undertaken by the members of the anti-Hitler coalition.

Postwar realities were born of the great Victory over fascism. They have been formalised in Allied agreements on the postwar arrangements, in bilateral treaties between a number of countries and in the Helsinki Final Act. Loyalty to all this is a guarantee of European security.

No one has the right to question the Yalta and Potsdam Agreements which have become pillars of international law and which have been the basis of European and world peace for four decades now. Nations paid a high price for these agreements. Twenty million Soviet people perished in the battle against fascism, for life

on Earth, and other countries of the anti-Hitler coalition also suffered a heavy loss of life.

The essence of the obligations undertaken by the victorious powers is to struggle resolutely to prevent world war from flaring up ever again. This is also reflected in the UN Charter.

The USSR is true to this oath it swore and reiterates its commitment this year, the year of the 40th anniversary of the end of the Second World War and the creation of the United Nations. Mikhail Gorbachev says, "In the foreign policy sphere our course is clear and consistent. It is the course of peace and progress." 10

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union, its Central Committee and the Central Committee Political Bureau continuously focus their attention on world politics and daily direct the international activities of the Soviet Union, invariably guided by Lenin's priceless behests. Our country will continue its efforts to implement the Leninist foreign policy strategy in the name of the victory of socialism, in the name of a peaceful future for the present and coming generations.

The other countries of the socialist community, the fraternal Communist parties, the international working-class movement and vast popular masses on all continents are also on the side of peace. This powerful force is capable of solving the task of preserving peace on Earth.

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<sup>1</sup> V. I. Lenin, Collected Works, Moscow, Vol. 24, p. 43.
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² Ibid, Vol. 19, p. 53.

³ Ibid., Vol. 23, p. 43.

⁴ Ibid., Vol. 31, p. 148.

⁵ Ibid., Vol. 30, p. 293.

⁶ Ibid., Vol. 13, p. 75.

⁷ Ibid., Vol. 30, p. 159.

⁸ 1bid., Vol. 23, p. 308.

⁹ Ibid., Vol. 33, p. 56.

Our Course Remains Unchanged: Peace and Progress. Documents of the Extraordinary Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee, March 11, 1985, Moscow, 1985, p. 15.

Peace Movement Today and Peaceful Coexistence

PYOTR FEDOSEYEV

Mankind is now going through one of the most crucial periods in its history. At present, it is in fact a question of whether terrestrial civilisation will survive or whether life itself on our planet will perish in a nuclear holocaust. There is no global problem more pressing and important than the problem of ensuring peace and security, and that of arms limitation and disarmament. Unless progress is achieved in this area, no real conditions for solving the other global problems can be created.

No serious discussion of human rights can ignore the fact that the US and NATO strategy of superarmaments, in the illusory chase for military superiority over the other side, is pushing the world to the brink of an all-destroying catastrophe and violating one of the basic rights of man and mankind, the right to life.

The positions, views and deeds of the scientists of the world acquire exceptional significance under these circumstances. The scientists' first duty is to tell the truth about the possible effects of a thermonuclear war, to sound a warning against unleashing it, to point out the real ways to ensuring security, and thereby to mobilising the peoples to struggle for peace everywhere.

Together with their foreign colleagues, Soviet scientists have done much in recent years to explain the scope of the danger that threatens us, and to mobilise the international community to fight against it. Characteristic in this respect is the response to the decisions of the all-Union conference of scientists to rid mankind of the threat of nuclear war, for disarmament and peace, that was held in Moscow in the spring of 1983. Some prominent foreign scientists participated in it, too. Scientists have intensified their efforts in this

field. This is evidenced by the growing attention to and trust in their views, opinions, evaluations and predictions among the broadest sections of the international community.

Scientists cannot of course confine themselves only to warnings about the inevitable catastrophic consequences of a nuclear conflict for life on Earth. Their task (and that is especially true of the social sciences) lies in correctly pointing out the source of danger, in revealing, to put it in Lenin's words, the secrecy in which war is hatched. Problems of war and peace, just like all global problems, do not exist in isolation. They are inseparable from the world's social contradictions, from the level of development and nature of the class structure of different countries, and from the policies of the ruling classes. Without an analysis of all these factors it is impossible to disclose the underlying causes of the aggravation of international tension, to lay bare the sources of the military threat and, consequently, to find and suggest the means for checking it.

Non-Marxist scientists' attempts to evade the issue of who is responsible for fuelling international tension and stepping up the arms race, or to apportion the blame equally, or, finally, to blame technology for everything, are scientifically untenable. They are, moreover, harmful and dangerous, for they can direct the peace movement along the wrong channel or lead it astray.

All of this has a direct bearing on the peace movement today. The fact that it has achieved an unprecedented scope and influence on the masses is evidence of a profound positive change in the consciousness of millions of people no longer willing to reconcile themselves to the policy of preparing for a "victorious" nuclear war and infinite build-up of armaments. The peoples all over the world basically want the same things—peace, security, and fruitful international cooperation. The affinity of their ideals, goals and aspirations is the most important basis of the peace movement, the foundation of this new and specific social and historical community.

At the same time this movement, democratic in its nature, is inevitably marked by the diversity of the social forces that constitute it, by contradictions in the political positions of its participants, their ideological differences and at times by the irreconcilability of their views. This plurality, which testifies to the support for the cause of peace by the overwhelming majority of Earth's population, is, of course, a sign of its strength, but also of potential difficulties.

One must take into account first of all the significant differences between the peace movement in the socialist countries, in particular in the Soviet Union, and the anti-war movements in the capitalist states, differences which follow essentially from two opposite socio-political systems.

The USSR's policy of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems, aimed at securing a stable peace for all peoples, and embodied in the Peace Programme worked out by the CPSU is actively supported by all Soviet people. The peace movement therefore practically involves the whole of the adult population here. Thus, more than 100 million Soviet people took part in the demonstrations, rallies, and other actions against the deployment in Europe of destabilising "Eurostrategic" weapons in 1983 and 1984 alone. The social homogeneity of Soviet society determined the fact that there were no differences of opinion between participants in these actions, and demands and slogans were universally supported, although the solution of a number of problems, particularly those that had to do with forms of the movement, with methods of its organisation and the search for new ways to conduct anti-militarist propaganda, were by no means simple.

The main thing is that the ideas of the Soviet peace movement, both those that were proposed within the movement itself (such as the slogan "'No!' to all nuclear missiles in the East and in the West") and those that were borrowed from the arsenal of its friends (e.g., the demand of US peace campaigners to freeze the production of nuclear weapons), were adequately reflected in the Soviet Union's peace initiatives on the international arena. In the other socialist countries, too, the peace movement involves nearly all of the population in complete agreement with the policies of their states. There are some people in the West who are amazed at this coincidence of the slogans of social movements and the governments' policies. But there is nothing surprising about this fact, for ensuring a lasting peace on Earth is the goal of both the public and the governments in the socialist countries, and the common objective of the socialist community.

For obvious reasons, the situation is much more complicated in the anti-war movement in capitalist countries. Its participants represent qualitatively different classes and social groups, and this cannot but affect the degree of consistency of their anti-militarist actions, the forms of these actions, the specific features of their concrete demands and slogans, and the alternatives they insist on. Besides, the peace movement in the West is subject to massive brainwashing by military and pro-military propaganda out to disorient it, confuse it, and poison it with anti-communism and anti-Sovietism. State organs, the police and courts in many capitalist countries inflict ruthless reprisals on anti-war campaigners; they treat them like criminals and set backward sections of the population, extreme right-wingers and neofascists on them. The greatest difficulty that the peace movement has to contend with there is the fact that the US Government and its NATO allies ignore the peaceful initiatives of the public in these countries and evade any discussion of these initiatives, stepping up at the same time their efforts to achieve nuclear superiority, to militarise the economy and the entire life of society.

In this context, it is especially important to achieve mutual understanding, mutual assistance and solidarity between the peace forces of all nations; to see clearly the sources of the growing military threat; to formulate the slogans and objectives that are of key importance at the given moment, and to improve the methods and means of their implementation. We believe that a great positive role can be played here by scientists, including those that study the peace movement itself. Strange as it may seem, the contemporary peace movement has so far not been studied by progressive scientists of the world as thoroughly as the occasion demands. Such efforts of anti-militarist scholars would significantly enrich the content of the discussions within the framework of the movement, thereby developing its self-awareness and correct orientation in world affairs and, consequently, ensuring its performance of its historical role.

One of the major achievements of the contemporary peace movement lies in that the community of its main goals is becoming more and more apparent despite the diversity and disparateness of its constituent forces. This is the first positive result of the internal dialogue in the peace movement that has reached unprecedented intensity. Significantly, the unifying principle of the dialogue, the element that cemented it, as it were, was the spontaneous antimilitarist attitude of the broadest sections of the public (including those that are completely unsophisticated politically) worried about the threat of war. Ordinary people rejected the logic of nuclear arms drive, refused to accept the view that deployment of new first-strike nuclear weapons in Western Europe can consolidate security and diminish the threat of an all-destroying nuclear war.

The pro-militarist press and reactionary politicians made vigorous efforts to compromise these expressions of mass consciousness as faulty or incompetent. Imperialist propaganda spreads the myth that the peace movement is directed by "the hand of Moscow", and bourgeois ideologists declare, with a wise air, that "fear is a bad counsellor", and that "responsible decisions cannot be taken in the streets", etc.

It is a fact, however, that the greatest impact on the debate about peace in recent years has been made precisely by "the man in the street", by the ordinary people who often do not trust convoluted arguments at all, relying more on their common sense and emotions. This phenomenon deserves special attention. We believe that the mass protest against war these days expresses the concentrated experiences of previous campaigns against war, which enriched mass consciousness and affected the formation of alternative thinking of the most diverse strata of the population on matters of security.

The masses, and the broadest masses at that, have now gone much further than the level of the 1950s or even of the 1960s, the time of relatively passive actions, like the "without us" or "without me" movement. By the beginning of the 1980s, anti-war campaigners

had gone through a useful schooling (in particular during the campaign against neutron weapons), had acquired certain specialist knowledge and a large volume of information that had previously been outside their field of vision and interest. A positive role was played here by certain research centres and groups that emerged in the movement itself and did a great deal for its proper orientation. As a result of their activity, not only individual scientists, experts, or well-educated groups, but dozens and hundreds of thousands of peace activists were able to refute convincingly, quoting facts and figures, the false arguments of NATO strategists for the need to restore the "balance of force" allegedly disrupted by the Soviet Union. Peace activists realised themselves, and were able to explain to others, that new American missiles in Europe were intended entirely for launching the first or "pre-emptive" strike against the USSR and its allies.

As distinct from the past (recall, e.g., the arguments of adherents of military preparations and re-armament in the 1950s), the popular masses in the West were better able to appreciate the foreign policy of the USSR and other socialist countries, and their peaceful initiatives. They rejected the analogy, that was then thrust on public opinion, between Pershings and the Soviet medium-range SS-20 missiles intended to replace similar obsolete missiles, which in no way upset the existing military and strategic balance.

As a result, it is a fact, and one that merits special attention, that it was the masses that formulated the main slogan of the campaigns of recent years—stop the deployment of new American missiles in Europe. Organisations campaigning for peace accepted that demand of the broad public, offering it as a key peaceful alternative to the militarist policy of the US ruling circles. This was an expression of the growing maturity of the peace movement: demands that originated with the masses assumed clear-cut form in the slogans formulated by vanguard forces and were then again accepted by the movement, which is given a new impact as the slogans become widespread.

During the internal discussions and the many-sided debate, the peace movement worked out not only the principal or decisive slogan of the given moment but also a number of other ideas, suggestions and projects that were of a more special nature (or, contrariwise, were more general and intended for a long-term perspective). Unlike the principal slogan, many of these ideas and concepts have no basis in the masses so far but only in separate organisations. At the same time these ideas, even if they are criticised or challenged by other trends, are of great interest as evidence of the growing creative strength of the movement, of the search within it for the solution of difficult and complicated tasks involved in creating the conditions for real disarmament and a world without weapons.

The worldwide scope of the peace movement, the unprecedented scale of the socio-political forces represented in it, participation in the movement of massive sections of the public from countries with different social systems—all of this forms a most important source of its potential ability to influence the development of the world situation and the solution of the main issues in preserving and consolidating peace. In the present context of a deteriorating international situation, the realisation of that potential largely depends on prospects for mutual understanding and interaction between the two principal sections of the movement—peace fighters in the socialist countries and anti-war campaigners in the capitalist countries. Progress in this direction is extremely important for transforming the world anti-war movement into a more effective factor of world politics, a factor that would facilitate the change from confrontation to detente and international cooperation.

We are far from underestimating the complexity of the problems involved. Anti-war campaigners in the West and in the East act under different conditions, are concerned with different tasks, and they fight in different ways for a peaceful policy that would be in accord with the common interest. Differences of opinion are inevitable between them, particularly over priorities in their concrete actions. Opponents of detente and disarmament try to exploit these differences and to disunite the peaceloving community and bring into conflict the anti-war movements in the West and in the socialist countries.

Opposing these attempts is a task of the utmost importance. The tide of world events can only be turned towards a revival of detente and international cooperation through vigorous activity by peaceloving states and the efforts of a powerful, united world movement against war. If the cold war-mongers succeed in isolating the anti-war movement in the capitalist countries from the mass peace movement in the socialist states, the attainment of that noble goal would be greatly hampered.

In the present very difficult international situation it is especially important that the broad anti-war forces in the West and the East should be fully aware of their common vital interests. These interests must be the compass in the search for points of contact that may help to preserve and consolidate peace. Emphasis on these tasks should not be interpreted as a desire to ignore ideological and political differences, objectively existing within the anti-war movement in the West and in the East or to avoid debate on controversial issues. It is important, however, that differences over concrete political or ideological issues should be overcome on the basis of respect for the independence and equality of all the sections of the present-day anti-war movement in the name of a higher goal—averting a thermonuclear catastrophe and preserving and consolidating peace.

One of the primary tasks of the dialogue within the peace movement, and in the first place between the public in the socialist and the capitalist states, is overcoming each other's prejudices and erroneous conceptions and facilitating an understanding of the real views and positions of the two sides, which are continually distorted by the opponents of the peace movement. In recent years, certain progress has been achieved in this area. Evidence of this can be found in the success of major international forums of peace fighters in many countries in 1983 and 1984, which widely represented the anti-war organisations and movements of the West and the East. These forums included the World Assembly for Peace and Life, Against Nuclear War (Prague), the Second Vienna Dialogue— International Conference for Disarmament and Detente, the Conference-Consultation on the World Disarmament Campaign and Prevention of Nuclear War (Geneva), a sitting of the Special Non-Governmental Organisations Committee on Disarmament, a European Conference of Representatives of National Movements for Peace (Athens), and World Peace Council's sessions.

Analysis of documents adopted by these forums shows that there is a wide range of coinciding concrete demands:

- as far as nuclear missile systems in Europe are concerned, it is, above all, the demand that the NATO decisions to deploy 572 American first-strike missiles in Western Europe be revoked and the missiles deployed be withdrawn;
- as far as the global halting of the nuclear arms race and nuclear disarmament are concerned, there must be demands for freezing nuclear arsenals, reduction and complete elimination of nuclear stockpiles, international talks with these aims in view, and conclusion of the necessary treaties;
- to reduce the risk of nuclear war, the nuclear powers must decisively condemn such war and renounce the use of nuclear weapons as first-strike weapons; they must pursue the policy of detente and disbandment of military blocs;
- in other areas, the demands include prohibiting all types of mass destruction weapons, the development of new types of such weapons and militarisation of space, as well as reduction of conventional weapons and military spending and using military resources to satisfy peaceful needs.

These slogans do not exhaust the coinciding demands of "Western" and "Eastern" movements, but they do give a clear idea of the growing affinity between the positions of the two sides, in the interests of accomplishing tasks common to all and of working out a concrete unified platform of the social forces fighting against war covering the key issues of disarmament, preventing nuclear war and putting an end to the arms race.

Of special significance in the present situation is conducting the dialogue on a higher level, discussing earnestly and frankly those

issues on which the approaches of the two sides differ. The focus here is undoubtedly on problems of diminishing the actual danger of war and curbing the race in nuclear and conventional armaments.

Now that the deployment of American first-strike nuclear weapons in Western Europe has begun, and the socialist countries have been compelled to take certain countermeasures, many participants in anti-war actions especially stress the need for stopping the process of building up nuclear armaments and turning that process back. It should be noted that numerous statements on this subject quite justifiably describe the deployment of American missiles in Western Europe begun late in 1983 as an adventurist action aimed at further qualitative and quantitative escalation of armaments by the USA and its NATO allies. The view is sometimes expressed that the Soviet Union must take a one-sided initiative in the new situation, by freezing its nuclear armaments, and doubts are voiced about the necessity of the Soviet Union taking countermeasures to strengthen its defences and the defences of its allies.

This view is erroneous, we believe. It should be emphasised that the countermeasures of the USSR and other Warsaw Treaty countries are in no way intended to step up the nuclear arms race in Europe. These measures were necessitated solely by the deployment of new American missiles on the continent. These countermeasures are not intended to bring military superiority but only to frustrate the adventurist plans of the American Administration actively preparing for nuclear war. Besides, these measures are restricted in scope, being strictly confined to the limits necessary for maintaining a balance of forces and neutralising a concrete danger coming from the USA and NATO, in particular from those directions where the new American missiles are stationed.

In the new situation, aggravated by the deployment of American medium-range missiles in Europe, the Soviet state, which expresses the interests of the whole people, continues its vigorous efforts to turn the dangerous tide of events. It persistently calls on US and West European leaders to weigh again the consequences of the deployment of new American missiles in Europe both for their own peoples and for the entire mankind, and to go back to the situation that had existed before the siting of those missiles.

Attempts to present the Soviet measures to maintain the necessary military strength as stemming from a desire to build up the first nuclear strike potential are also unfounded. The Soviet policy of security and the Soviet defensive military doctrine are aimed at averting war, at protecting the peoples of the world against aggression, and at defending peace. They proceed from the assumption that a nuclear war cannot be won and that a reasonable alternative to peaceful coexistence does not exist.

The obligation assumed by the Soviet Union unilaterally not to be the first to use nuclear weapons illustrates clearly the defensive character of its military policy. This obligation is not a mere declaration but a highly important practical step.

Soviet measures are thus purely defensive, they are not directed towards creating overwhelming military superiority, still less towards unleashing a nuclear war. Attainment of political, military or any other goals is not connected with any plans for a nuclear war. The Soviet defensive military doctrine does not in general contain any concepts like "the first strike", "pre-emptive strike", "preventive strike", etc. The Soviet Union does not seek to amass offensive weapons, achieve superiority in the number of nuclear warheads, copy US actions in escalating military spending, etc. The countermeasures that the Soviet side takes in the military field, including also in Europe, have for their object the neutralisation of the military advantages which the US hopes to achieve in order to implement its policy of blackmail and nuclear aggression. The countermeasures of the USSR are necessary to keep the other side from reckless attempts to disrupt our peaceful life and endanger the security of the entire socialist community.

Various figures in the anti-war movement in the West sometimes assert that the measures taken by the USSR in response to the deployment of American missiles in Europe are not effective enough, for the further arms race on the continent will inevitably decrease the level of security in the USSR, in Europe, and in the whole world. The level of security in the USSR, just as in the other European countries, would of course be higher if the level of the nuclear armaments confronting each other in Europe were lower. It was on this assumption that the Soviet Union proposed to free Europe from nuclear weapons, both tactical and medium-range, or, to begin with, to reduce the nuclear arms of both sides on a parity basis. But that proposal was rejected, and the USA began to implement a long-term programme of sharp increases in the number of medium-range missiles on the European continent, thus disrupting the talks on both strategic armaments and nuclear armaments in Europe. The purpose of such a policy is to upset the existing balance of forces, to achieve military superiority, and to build up an entirely new nuclear arsenal, which would be aimed, judging by its qualitative parameters, at launching the first ("crippling") strike, i.e., at destroying strategic systems, command centres and communication lines in the USSR. It was in this context that the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries were compelled to take the necessary countermeasures, for there was no other way of keeping in check those who nurture the lunatic idea of the first nuclear strike. Without these countermeasures, the peace and security of the peoples of Europe and of other continents would be in even greater danger. If such measures had not been taken and the USA had achieved strategic superiority. adventurist-minded politicians and military leaders would undoubtedly have felt greater temptation to engage in a trial of strength, and

their certainty of eventual success would have been greater. The risk of launching a nuclear war would have grown sharply and as a result the security of all countries would have been severely undermined. The security situation would have been much more alarming than it is at present.

This does not of course detract from the historical significance of the task of curbing the nuclear arms race and reverse it. Resolving

that problem would mean reliable security for all.

The Soviet concepts of military potential, balance of forces and equal security have as their aim precisely vigorous action in favour of peaceful coexistence, strengthening trust between peoples, comprehensive and allround cooperation between the USSR and all other nations in carrying out the tasks of curbing the arms race and consistent reduction of the level of military confrontation. There is no justification for regarding these concepts in the same light as the doctrines of "balance of terror", "nuclear deterrent", constant lead in the qualitative arms race, and hostile confrontation of states with different systems, that are current in the military-political circles of the NATO countries.

Consider, for instance, the issue of nuclear weapons, nuclear equilibrium, nuclear deterrents. The Soviet Union's position on this issue is quite clear. Unlike the United States, the Soviet Union is against competition in building up nuclear arsenals. The USSR has always been and remains a consistent adherent of the prohibition and destruction of all types of nuclear weapons. The Soviet proposals on this issue have long been under consideration at various international forums. But discussion of these proposals is blocked by the US and its allies.

The Soviet Union recognises the need for a balance of forces and for ensuring stability in the military and strategic sphere, seeking to create a system of security which would be based first and foremost on a policy of peace. The only meaning that possession of nuclear arms has for the Soviet Union is that of a warning to the potential aggressor that any attempt to launch an attack against this country may become suicidal for him. It is thus not merely a question of deterrence, defence and forced measures prompted by historical experience and real danger. An important point of the Soviet doctrine of security is the view that the balance of nuclear forces in Europe and the world must be used as a transitional period in the reduction of all nuclear weapons on a mutually acceptable, equal basis.

In the present situation, it is urgently necessary to search for ways of breaking up the arms race spiral under the new and more difficult conditions, for averting a nuclear catastrophe. However, can this be achieved by the proposal that the USSR should unilaterally freeze its nuclear armaments and refrain from countermeasures at a time when the US and NATO escalate their nuclear armaments and are

set for a first strike? Would such a decision be conducive to a more restrained policy on the part of the US government? Both these questions must obviously be answered in the negative.

It is a well-known fact that ability to deliver an "accurate first strike" is the strategic objective of the US Administration. The Washington strategy of "direct confrontation" with the USSR envisages complete and indubitable military superiority, being the first to deliver a nuclear strike, and getting the upper hand in a nuclear conflict. The guidelines for military policy worked out by the US Defence Department for the period of 1984-1988 officially state the goal of destroying socialism as a socio-political system. The new American nuclear missiles in Western Europe are apparently intended to play a prominent role in these plans—they are meant to disrupt the existing parity of forces and to create a nuclear basis on the European continent for launching the first strike and waging nuclear war according to various scenarios—those of a limited nuclear war, regional war, protracted war, etc. The deployment in Europe of American missiles especially intended for launching the first or crippling strike shows that US leaders are taking practical steps towards implementation of those plans.

Increased political pressure from the mass peace movement can of course build a powerful counterbalance to Washington's lunatic plans. The harsh facts are, however, that at a time of unprecedented growth of the activity of the anti-war forces in the USA, the Federal Republic of Germany, Great Britain and some other NATO countries, the aggressive ruling circles of the USA and their allies continue to implement large-scale offensive military programmes and to deploy the American first-strike missiles in Europe, accelerating other military preparations as well.

Naturally, the socialist community cannot disregard this reality if it wants to preserve its ability to withstand the pressure and the blackmail on the part of the politicians who have declared a crusade against socialism and are now trying to build a nuclear-missile basis for this adventurist premise. The corresponding countermeasures of the USSR and the other states of the socialist community are intended to make the potential aggressor see the futility of launching direct military action against the socialist countries.

If the US and NATO leaders were indeed ready to give up their attempts to achieve military superiority over others, they have had ample opportunity to demonstrate that readiness. The Soviet Union's major unilateral initiatives, including a moratorium on the deployment of Soviet medium-range missiles and their reduction, presented just such opportunities, as did the USSR's pledge not to be the first to use nuclear weapons or to launch anti-satellite weapons into space. The US response to all these acts of military restraint was unambiguous: the White House invariably responded by implementing fresh programmes of development and deployment of nuclear

weapons, refusing to assume any obligations concerning restrictions in this area. The Washington Administration is blocking progress in the most diverse areas of arms limitations and disarmament, such as preventing the spreading of the arms race to outer space, banning chemical weapons, stopping nuclear arms tests, taking practical steps to prevent nuclear war, freezing nuclear arsenals, implementing confidence-building measures in Europe, etc.

As for the USSR, it has put forward a comprehensive and realistic programme for putting an end to the deadly spiral of the arms race, for reversing the trend, and taking decisive steps towards disarmament. The Soviet Union's proposals include, among others, immediate freezing of all nuclear arsenals, preventing the spreading of the arms race to outer space, radical reduction of the level of nuclear confrontation in Europe, limitation and drastic reduction of strategic armament, banning and destruction of chemical weapons, and reducing military spending.

The Soviet Union urges that preventing nuclear war should be the cornerstone of all the nuclear powers' policies, and that they should found their relations on the goal of attaining peace, including the obligation to reduce, step by step, nuclear arms on the principle of equal security, until all types of nuclear arms are eliminated.

A revival of the political process, leading to nuclear disarmament, would be largely facilitated by adopting the Soviet proposals on the restoration and consolidation of international confidence introduced at the Stockholm conference. They include both major political and legal steps (a pledge not to be the first to use nuclear weapons and a treaty on renouncing the use of force between the Warsaw Treaty countries and the NATO countries), and technical military measures. Their realisation would be a significant contribution to international security and to the realisation of urgent measures for the limitation and reduction of nuclear armaments. The statement of the Council of Ministers of the USSR approved by the USSR Supreme Soviet on April 12, 1984, confirmed the Soviet Union's readiness "to negotiate radical measures on the limitation and reduction of armaments on the just foundation of the principle of equality and equal security".

But the efforts of one side alone cannot put an end to the spiral of the arms race, still less can they turn the tide back. This goal can only be achieved by the nuclear powers meeting one another half-way, by active and comprehensive cooperation between all states, a more effective participation of the peaceloving forces in the struggle for disarmament, overcoming the resistance of those circles of bourgeois society which, for some reason or other, are not interested in detente, disarmament, and other measures for removing the danger of a nuclear catastrophe.

The Soviet Union's proposal on negotiations with the USA on the entire range of questions of non-militarisation of outer space, and reduction of strategic nuclear weapons and medium-range nuclear

missiles became an event of world importance. All these questions should be discussed and solved as interconnected. The world public has positively evaluated the communique on the talks between the USSR Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko and the US State Secretary George Shultz held in January 1985 to define the stands of the sides in this field.

The qualitatively new and dangerous situation brought about by the escalation of the nuclear arms race cannot but arouse the profound concern of the broadest sections of the population both in the East and in the West and impel an active search for ways out of the blind alleys into which the build-up of armaments and accumulation of weapons of mass destruction leads. The Soviet proposals mentioned above point the way to a change for the better in the entire international situation, to a reduction and reversal of the arms race.

We do not believe, however, that only these proposals deserve attention. Interesting ideas and initiatives are also put forward by the various peaceloving trends in the Western public who are concerned, just as we are, about the menacing tendencies of international development, particularly in the sphere of armaments. We are ready to discuss these ideas and initiatives openly and to look for those elements in them that are conducive to safeguarding common interests and common security. We would like to recall here that the main principle of the international policy of the socialist community is peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems and attainment of universal and a stable peace on Earth.

Developed Socialism: Topical Aspects

Perfection of Developed Socialism: Directions and Objectives

VICTOR AFANASYEV

The year 1985 is a crucial and momentous one. It is the year of preparations for the 27th CPSU Congress which is to take stock of the country's progress for the last five years and to chart its course for the next five years and the foreseeable future. The congress is to adopt a new variant of the Programme of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and review its Rules.

Communism is our cherished goal. We have already covered much of the long and difficult road to it, and we have achieved much in all spheres of social life. It would be wrong, however, to assert that Soviet society, which is a society of developed socialism and the supreme achievement of human civilisation to date, is perfect. It is still confronted with many objective difficulties, which will be discussed below. It has not solved some problems due to subjective reasons. It still has imbalances, shortages and contradictions. That is why the planned and allround perfection of developed socialism is the Party's main strategic objective.

It was put forward by the 26th CPSU Congress, subsequent plenary meetings of the CPSU Central Committee. It must be pointed out that the perfection of developed socialism also means real progress towards communism. There is no other road to communism, and, following Lenin's bidding to the letter, the Party steers the country along this road. Acting as the nation's confident helmsman, the Party is guided by the world's most progressive revolutionary teaching and socialist and communist ideals; it draws on, analyses and generalises its own experience as well as that of the fraternal socialist countries and the world communist movement.

Strategy is a broad and substantive concept. It is usually interpreted as the main direction or objective of the communist and

working-class movement in a specified historical epoch of social development, or, using Lenin's words, as "the general and fundamental aims" of the working class and its Party.

What are the main tasks facing the Party in the achievement of its strategic objective of perfecting developed socialism? We envisage the following three groups of tasks:

- 1. Tasks which, for some reason or other, were not attained during the previous stages of the country's social development.
- 2. Tasks of the further strengthening and development of mature socialism's main principles, primarily those of collectivism and social justice.
- 3. Long-range tasks whose setting and fulfilment are indispensable both for the perfection of developed socialism and progress towards communism. For, as the October (1984) Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee pointed out, it is not only today but also tomorrow that matters.

These three groups are organically interrelated. The solution of problems inherited from the past creates prerequisites for solving those of the present, which, in turn, makes it possible to set and achieve long-range objectives.

What these three groups have in common is that it is impossible to attain them without daily, hard, effective, creative and organised work. Everybody must do his duty with the maximum of discipline and responsibility. Everybody means everybody from worker to minister. The key to the fulfilment of the tasks of the past, present and future is better and more efficient work today in comparison with yesterday, and better, more efficient work tomorrow in comparison with today.

Let us take a closer look at the three groups of tasks whose attainment spells implementation of the Party's strategy in the perfection of developed socialism.

First, let us discuss the tasks inherited from the past which we failed to solve during the stages of the first phase of the communist system. These tasks are most evident in the economy. We have not yet attained maximum labour productivity, because alongside advanced technology and processes our economy still uses many outdated machines and plant; there are still people who do not work conscientiously and efficiently, or have the necessary skills. A sizable share of labour is still manual, arduous or unskilled (for decades the figure has been hovering at about 40 per cent); we have not fully resolved the food problem, and the USSR Food Programme is specially designed to eliminate it.

There is still a great deal to be done in the social and political fields, especially in culture and education. There are still survivals of the past in the consciousness and conduct of people, as well as instances of anti-social conduct, crime, nationalism and parochialism. Some of these unwanted phenomena have been inherited from the

past, while others are products of our violating certain principles of socialism, shortcomings in education and other latter-day developments.

Means of overcoming these problems include criticism, timely identification and elimination of shortcomings, stricter discipline and sense of responsibility, and better organisation. The Party has consistently advocated broader use of principled criticism, resolutely opposing all attempts to suppress it, to say nothing of persecuting for it. This, however, does not mean that criticism and self-criticism have a lesser role to play in attaining the objectives of today and especially those of tomorrow. To cope with the latter two groups of problems, it is also necessary to use the Party's tested tools, which are increasingly those of debate, i.e., identification, comparison, and assessment of diverse opinions and options and selecting the best of them. To use an analogy, the solving of problems inherited from the past is a sort of a mopping up operation.

The range of problems which must be solved to improve all aspects of developed socialism proper is much broader. The USSR has a powerful economy which largely meets the requirements of developed socialism. However, there is room for improvement. This primarily involves modernisation of fixed assets on up-to-date technology and production processes. Not infrequently, however, this process falls short of the Party's instructions.

Equality, social justice and collectivism are immutable principles of our society. Our way of life would be unthinkable without these overriding principles. But here too there is room for improvement, the more so that in certain instances these principles are violated. For example, we are in no position to assert that our system of material and moral incentives is ideal. If it were ideal there would be no people who succeed to put in less work for more pay, people with unearned income, people who live beyond their means and people who lead parasitic lives.

The important thing today is to preserve and multiply the positive changes in industry and agriculture, in transport, the services, culture and education which were achieved during the last few years. These changes include higher growth rates in production and labour productivity, an improvement in animal husbandry, better social services in rural areas and fresh advances in science and technology. These achievements are less due to greater capital investment or some cardinal restructuring, than to the Party's efforts in putting the vast and complex national economy in order, and its resolute countering of negative developments which block the way to progress. A number of recent measures were designed to increase discipline and responsibility and to improve organisation. These measures have met with understanding, wholehearted approval and support by the people.

And finally, a few words about our long-range objectives. Although they are things of tomorrow, the preparation for their solution is a thing of today. We have already mentioned the modernisation of production. Modernisation means improvement of what already exists. However, this is not enough for progress towards communism, that is the creation of its material and technological base. Hence the need for fundamentally new, even revolutionary, technological solutions which ensure a rapid manyfold growth of labour productivity and a radical improvement in quality of products. Hence the need for the development of more science-intensive, but less material- and energy-intensive, labour-saving industries which would displace manual labour, especially arduous or monotonous. Examples include automated processes using sophisticated microelectronics, flexible technologies which can readily switch to the production of new products, versatile processing centres and robotisation, nuclear synthesis, biotechnology, informatics, genetic engineering and waste-free technologies, which not only save materials and energy but also meet the most demanding ecological standards.

Somewhat similar processes are called for in the education and moulding of the new man. Present standards are no longer adequate to measure a man's worth today People of today must also be taught in accordance with the lofty communist ideals of tomorrow. According to Marx, harmoniously developed man is, to communism, "an end in itself". We must move towards that end consistently, bearing in mind that man's consciousness is a fortress which is being taken day by day and step by step.

The economy and production sphere represents the foundation of social development and the main sphere of the contest between the two opposite social systems, socialism and capitalism. This means that the perfection of the society of developed socialism primarily involves the perfection of production. The principal means of attaining this objective is intensification, for it is only by means of intensification that the challenging goal of making the country the world's first in labour productivity can be attained.

Intensification means transition from quantitative growth (growth of capacity, mainly using existing technology, and growth of the workforce) to qualitative forms, involving fundamentally new technologies, improved organisation of labour and management and higher skills of workers. To put it simply, intensification of production means producing more and, what is more important, better products in a shorter time, using a minimum of capacity, labour, material and financial resources. The motto of intensification is faster production of low-cost and better products.

To borrow a term from philosophy, the essence of intensification is saving time, which is an important indicator of social progress. "For an individual and society alike," wrote Mark, "the comprehensiveness

of their development, their consumption and their activities depends on saving time. In the final analysis, all economies boil down to saving time."⁵

Lenin also attached exceptional importance to the time factor. He insisted that time must be saved in things big and small, in work as in everyday life, because he realised that without time saving it was impossible to eliminate Russia's backwardness, to overtake and surpass developed capitalist countries and to gain the upper hand over capitalism in the economy and culture. "But we gain time," wrote Lenin, "and gaining time means gaining everything."

Why do all economies ultimately boil down to saving time? Why is time-saving a major indicator of social progress and the comprehensive development of all society and each of its members?

The answer is: primarily because society's material and cultural potential is determined by the level of its productive forces, which in turn depends on the quantity and quality of material and cultural values produced by society per unit of time. Time is a prime factor in measuring rates and speeds. The greater the rates and speeds the greater the role of the time factor, the greater the significance of each unit of time. Saving time means gaining in performance.

A variety of indicators can be used to measure the performance of a social system: completion times, recoupment times, material and other inputs, etc. The first two indicators involve time as a direct measure of efficiency. Material inputs also include the time factor as the time spent for their production.

The greater the "density" of a unit of time, that is, the number of material and cultural values produced within its span, the higher the level of production, society and the individual. Such is the general formula representing the connection between social progress and time saving. This high level of production and high level of time saving are necessary but far from sufficient for ensuring the comprehensive development of society and its members. The vital thing is for the material and cultural values to become property of the whole of society without exception.

Capitalist countries produce a lot of values, especially material values. But what is the good of them for the vast majority of the working people who produce these material values but cannot fully enjoy the fruits of their labour. Naturally, saving time under capitalism can result in improved living standards won primarily by the working people's bitter class struggle. However, saving time under capitalism is chiefly a means of stepping up exploitation. Although it is working people who do the time saving, it is capitalists and other propertied classes that enjoy the greater part of the fruits of this saving. It is natural that saving time under capitalism, while remaining an indicator of the level of material production, has little bearing on the comprehensiveness of society as a whole, to say nothing of the development of its members. It is no coincidence that

Marx applied the principle of time saving as a criterion of social progress to collective production which is a feature of socialism and communism. What is more, he defined time saving as the first economic law of this production.

It is important to point out that time saving is not only the first economic law, it is also the first sociological law of the operation and development of socialism and communism. When we say that a society's progress is allround we mean that it boasts a high level of production, social relations and culture. By the same token, when we say that an individual is harmoniously developed we mean that he is a producer, a public figure, a thinking and constantly learning person, a carrier and creator of moral, aesthetic and other cultural values.

When we speak of saving time as an indicator of harmoniously developed individuals we include not only their working but also their leisure time. Working people need leisure for continuing their education and intellectual development, for the performance of social functions, for communication with friends and, in short, for giving free rein to their physical and intellectual capacities.

Thus, saving working time and an increase in leisure time which can be rationally used for the good of society and its members represent the essence and the main direction of the intensification of socialist production and progress of socialist society as a whole.

In our view there exist the following three main factors of intensification:

- (1) A scientific and technological revolution, as well as the prompt and efficient introduction of its achievements in the economy and public life.
- (2) The improvement of the economic mechanism, including economic management and management in other spheres.
- (3) Improving the level of education and skills of the working people, because the future of our plans, our economy and our society depends on people, their skills, their education, their proper positioning in the social organism, their interaction, their sense of responsibility and discipline.

The improvement of the economic mechanism and the entire management system deserves special attention, because scientific and technical progress and the process of training more skilled workers must be properly managed.

The scientific and technological revolution provides enormous, even inexhaustible, sources and reserves for boosting production, increasing its efficiency and raising labour productivity. It must be admitted, however, that the latest advances in science and technology are not properly used, and sometimes the situation is downright bad. The reason is largely the deficiencies in management and the economic mechanism, particularly deficiencies in the system of material and moral incentives. Other reasons include deficiencies in

the system of indicators used in the planning and assessment of the work of enterprises, amalgamations and ministries.

The main indicator used in plans and reports is, as before, sales in rubles. Although for many years now attempts have been made to substitute more sound indicators for physical volume and cost ones expressed in rubles, the role of the latter in assessing economic performance is not yet taken into account properly.

A great deal has been said and written about the deficiencies of physical volume and cost indicators. They compel manufacturers to produce costly items because their workforce, labour productivity, wages and bonus funds are ultimately dependent on sales expressed in rubles. This partly explains why a number of low-cost items,

needed by society, are in short supply.

Where is the remedy? Although the 26th CPSU Congress pointed to the need to work out a system of economic indicators, our economists have not yet come up with one. There is no doubt that the system must include indicators which would reflect the real contribution of every enterprise, amalgamation and ministry to the growth of public wealth, such as the fulfilment of the plan for the production of full ranges of products, and the honouring of contractual obligations. These indicators are of paramount importance. For example, failure to deliver a small cheap component may result in the non-fulfilment of the plan by a large number of related enterprises, and failure to fill orders of the retail trade network results in shortages and an imbalance between cash incomes and commodity mass. It is most important to ensure that the value takes priority over the cost approach. People need inexpensive consumer goods of good quality.

At present a major economic experiment is being conducted throughout the country. Its aim is, firstly, to increase the *independence* of enterprises' staffs and management and, secondly, their *responsibility*. When the experiment was launched it involved five Union and republican ministries, and their number has since grown manyfold. The economic experiment is spreading and it has already produced positive results. However, it has also revealed certain problems which require additional attention on the part of planning and economic bodies.

Training of skilled personnel must also be placed on a scientific foundation. Although technology makes rapid progress, the training of specialists, skilled workers and managers is sometimes not up to modern standards. As a rule, our educational institutions produce engineers and designers of narrow specialisation. Modern production, however, calls for versatile specialists who are well versed in scientific and technological foundations of modern production, who are flexible, able to be promptly reoriented, and have mastered the most advanced methods of designing and manufacturing high-technology items. This equally applies to workers. The drive to combine jobs should be encouraged to the utmost.

The countrywide general and vocational school reform now under way is designed to give modern, diversified polytechnical education to the country's youth, to establish an organic link between education and productive labour, to prepare the younger generation for work in conditions of a rapidly changing technology of today and tomorrow. The process can be described in brief as intensification and improvement of education and training. Or, to put it differently, it may be described as "compression" of education, which is expected to give more and better useful skills to our young men and women, in the same or less time.

The perfection of developed socialism includes not only the economy but also other spheres of our complex social mechanism.

In the social sphere the Party will seek to actively contribute to the deepening of processes which lead to the emergence of a classless socialist society and the flourishing and drawing closer together of its nations, and to work for social relations to be built everywhere strictly in conformity with the principle of social justice inherent in socialism.⁵

In the political sphere, the main target is the achievement, to the fullest extent, of the people's socialist self-government which, according to Lenin, is such a democratic system of governing the affairs of society and the state which is not only for the working people, but also by the working people.

The emergence of the people's socialist self-government presupposes the further consolidation of the Soviet state, the society's political system, the extension and deepening of socialist democracy, processes which in the long range are called upon to ensure the participation of all citizens in running the affairs of the state and society and the ever fuller exercise by the Soviets, work collectives and all other links in the socialist democracy system of those broad powers which are granted them, as well as to give free rein to their creative activity, and to ensure the use of time-tested effective and efficient work methods and the search for new ones.

The tasks in the *cultural sphere* include the ongoing effort to increase the knowledge, culture and consciousness of citizens, to improve ideological, theoretical and propaganda work in order to bring the Party's theoretical conclusions and guidelines home to the entire nation. The Party expects that these conclusions and guidelines will be adopted by the whole of society.

The guidance by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in the economy and other spheres is the guarantee of success in this challenging task of perfecting the society of developed socialism. The CPSU is the ruling party and in the final analysis it is responsible for all and everything. The Party has its specific methods and means to exercise this guiding role.

These include methods of exerting political influence on economic development, social relations, democracy and culture, as well as methods of persuading, organising and educating masses. The Party exercises its guiding function by charting key directions in the economic and social policies, organising control of their implementation and positioning communist cadres in all areas of socialist construction.

Under the leadership of the CPSU the Soviet people are successfully coping with the challenging tasks of present and future.

NOTES

- ¹ V. I. Lenin, Collected Works, Moscow, Vol. 17, p. 39.
- ² K. Marx, Capital, Vol. III, Moscow, 1971, p. 820.
- ³ Marx/Engels Archives, Moscow, 1935, Vol. 4, p. 119.
- ⁴ V. I. Lenin, Collected Works, Vol. 32, p. 492.
- ⁵ Kommunist, No. 18, 1985, p. 14.
- ⁶ V. I. Lenin, Collected Works, Vol. 29, p. 183.

A Central Problem of Developed Socialism's Dialectics

VADIM MEDVEDEV

The topic of contradictions under socialism is of cardinal methodological importance for all social sciences and for practical work to perfect social relations. "Life prompts that we should consider the objective dialectics of the forces and relations of production with greatest responsibility as the major source of the acceleration of society's socio-economic development. That obliges us to reveal and resolve the contradictions thus emerging in due time. Under socialism they are not antagonistic, of course. But if obsolete elements of production relations remain, the economic and social situation may deteriorate, "1 said Mikhail Gorbachev.

The evolution of the topic of contradictions under socialism is rather complex and instructive. It can, to a certain extent, serve as a graphic illustration of the contradictory nature of the process of cognition. There was a time when in theory and practice contradictions were overemphasised and represented in a hypertrophied form. A case in point is the idea of continual sharpening of class struggle in the process of socialist construction, which was later subjected to justified criticism. And there was a time when the role of contradictions in the development of socialist society was either ignored or underestimated, when scholars displayed a certain timidity in studying it, and many theoretical problems connected with it received one-sided interpretation and sometimes were even misinterpreted. The growing cohesion of socialist society and the accompanying idea of its new motive forces prompted some scholars to conclude that Lenin's idea of the relative character of the unity of opposites and the absolute character of their conflict is inapplicable to socialism, and that under socialism unity takes the place of contradictions as the main source of development. It is obvious that in this interpretation the general methodological and philosophical approach to the concept of contradictions was confused with the historically specific characteristic of the state of an ideological and political community of people.

Subsequent evolution of society showed that socialism as a social system is no exception from the universal laws of dialectics, which are not abolished by the victory and consolidation of the new system. Under socialism, too, contradictions provide "inner impulses towards development". This means that in this society, too, the unity of opposites is relative and temporary, while their conflict is absolute. What is more, mankind's genuine history begins with socialism, which gives free rein to its laws. Under socialism, too, society's development proceeds by way of resolving diverse contradictions, the struggle between progress and regress, between the positive and the negative. "Life proceeds by contradictions," wrote Lenin, "and living contradictions are so much richer, more varied and deeper in content than they may seem at first sight to a man's mind".

The discussion among social scholars largely overcame the above-mentioned extreme interpretations of the character of contradictions and their role in socialist society. However, the recognition of the importance of the general principles of dialectics in the study of socialist society's development was not duly followed up by their application to the analysis of concrete social phenomena and processes.

The Soviet Union's entry into the stage of developed socialism provided new material for more theoretical generalisations and conclusions, and stimulated scholarly interest in the problem of contradictions. It gained in topicality and importance especially after the last two years' plenary meetings of the CPSU Central Committee, which conducted a comprehensive, strictly scientific analysis of the chief problems of our society's development from a position of political realism.

Developed socialism, the peak of social progress today, is not free of problems. "It still has many objectively determined difficulties which are natural for the present level of development. There also are quite a few shortcomings caused by subjective reasons, by the not always skilful and organised work of people." Socialism's development is inherently a complex dialectical process, whose underlying features include the emergence, building up and resolving of contradictions. Their underestimation or disregard may result in stagnation phenomena, which make socialism's progress slower and more complicated. It is especially important to take this into account under conditions of developed socialism characterised by highly dynamic social, economic, cultural and ideological processes and by a great diversity and continual improvement of social relations.

It follows that one of the main functions of socialist society's political and public institutions, the CPSU first and foremost as its

leading and guiding force, is to foresee contradictions, identify them in good time and ultimately resolve them. Transition to intensive forms of socio-economic development and maximum use of socialism's enormous creative potential make it imperative to be able to identify emerging contradictions in the complex pattern of social life, boldly analyse them and mobilise the working people to resolve them.

This is also of vital importance from the point of view of the long-range objectives of building communism, for there is no demarcation between the perfection of developed socialism and its gradual evolution to the higher phase of communism. Socialism's consolidation, perfection and development and the onset of transition to the higher phase of communism should not be regarded as divided by a clear-cut boundary. Socialism's development is a continuous dynamic process involving qualitative and quantitative changes brought about by multiform contradictions.

The importance of contradictions in socialist society's progress can hardly be overestimated: socialism accelerates its forward march by timely identifying and resolving them. At the same time it would be wrong to let abstract, a priori schemes and even isolated real-life developments push one towards the other extreme of stating that the more numerous and the sharper the contradictions, the faster and the more efficient the process of social development. It is no secret that certain scholars are all too fond of artificially piling contradiction upon contradiction, making the exercise an end in itself. It goes without saying that this approach has nothing in common with a dialectical analysis of contradictions. One should not make a fetish of contradiction, forgetting that they are a source of development not because they continually multiply, are conserved or built up, but because they are identified, resolved and overcome in good time.

Past discussions of the concept of contradictions under socialism did not lead to definitive conclusions. The time has come to pool the efforts of specialists in diverse branches of social science to produce a balanced and integral concept of contradictions under socialism, including that stage when it is continually being perfected, matures and gradually evolves into the higher phase of communism. This is the order of the day at the new stage in the problem's scientific elucidation.

The picture of contradictions in socialist society is as rich and varied as social life itself. Situated at various levels of the social structure, they differ in manifestations, duration and impact on society. At any given moment contradictions are to be observed at different stages of their evolution, ranging from latent to full-grown forms waiting for their resolution. That is why their study and

appraisal must strictly conform to Lenin's principle of concrete

analysis of a concrete situation.

Contradictions in socialist society are not chaotically distributed, they are part of a system of social relations. This makes it possible and even necessary to classify them. The great theoretical, methodological and practical importance of classifying real dialectical contradictions under socialism is obvious. Their classification is called upon to give insights into the sources and driving forces of development, and to properly identify the priorities and extent of transformations, as well as relationships between them.

There have been different and, on the whole, interesting attempts in scientific literature to classify contradictions of socialist society. It is our view that such classifications should rest on a well-defined typological foundation and a dialectical interpretation of the contradiction category, which is by no means equivalent to a mere difference. "Only when raised to the peak of contradiction," wrote Lenin, "do the manifold entities become active (regsam) and lively in relation to one another,—they acquire that negativity which is the inherent pulsation of self-movement and vitality." 5

However, to restrict contradictions solely to absolutely clear-cut polar opposites, the positive and the negative, would mean to impoverish the overall pattern of contradictions and disregard their diversity. It must be borne in mind that "such metaphysical polar opposites exist in the real world only during crises, while the whole vast process goes on in the form of interaction—though of very unequal forces, the economic movement being by far the strongest, most primordial, most decisive—that here everything is relative and nothing absolute." ⁶

It is possible to identify, with a degree of arbitrariness, three types of contradictions characteristic of the present state of socialist society. (We leave aside outer contradictions stemming from the confrontation of the two world systems, as well as their impact on the evolution of socialism's inner contradictions.)

The first type is associated with certain phenomena which socialist society inherited from the past and with the fact that some problems of the preceding stages of socialist development were not completely solved. In the economic sphere, for instance, such contradictions are due to agriculture lagging behind industry and the still large share of manual labour in a number of industries on the backdrop of an overall labourshortage. There is also a sharp contradiction between fundamental principles of social, economic, cultural and ideological life, on the one hand, and breaches of discipline, public order, moral and legal norms, as well as attempts to use state and public property for personal enrichment, and other forms of anti-social behaviour, on the other.

In the management sphere there are yet instances of inertia, routine, economic conservatism, red tape and parochialism. Con-

tradictions stemming from these and similar phenomena are historically specific and transient. They can be resolved by purposefully pulling up inefficient economic sectors, tackling problems that have come to a head, consistently combating negative phenomena and removing objective and subjective causes that determine their preservation and, in certain cases, their revival. In this it is crucial to consistently promote and consolidate socialist, collectivist principles of social life, and to implement a complex of social, economic, ideological, educational, organisational, administrative and legal measures.

The second type of contradictions in socialist society stems from lack of correspondence between people's subjective activities and objective laws of social development; inadequacy of people's conscious acts for meeting certain requirements of social development; shortcomings, errors and miscalculations in studying them, as well as in day-to-day practices of social management, the style and methods of work.

Contradictions of these types are not inevitable. In principle, they can all be avoided or at least reduced to a minimum. Socialist society has the necessary means at its disposal. Among them are the scientific, Marxist-Leninist approach to the analysis of social processes and phenomena, society's vast and constantly growing intellectual potential, decades of experience in managing every sphere of social life, further strengthening and deepening of democratic principles in management, collective policy- and decision-making, and promotion of criticism and self-criticism. In combination these means help prevent incomplete, inaccurate and erroneous decisions.

However, a realistic scholar will have to admit that it is impossible to rule out the appearance of such contradictions. Emerging contradictions must be spotted in good time and measures taken to resolve them by correcting the inaccuracy or error in the management's decision.

As socialism grows and develops, so do its inherent contradictions of the third type: those between productive forces and production relations, those between production relations and the superstructure, and between components of these spheres. Contradictions of this type include, for example, contradictions between material and human factors of production; between the achieved level of the social nature of production and the forms of public ownership and management structures and methods, between distribution according to work and the public consumption funds; between the directly social nature of socialist production and the commodity-money relations; between accumulation and consumption; between the growing educational level of the masses and their political awareness and the degree of their participation in management, etc. These inherent contradictions of socialism play the main and ever-growing role as a source of socialist society's development.

Resolving these contradictions is not equivalent to removing them by overcoming one of the opposites involved. Rather it means that at every step the contradiction acquires a new, higher form of motion. In a discussion of contradictions inherent in socialism it would be a fallacy to identify them solely with difficulties, shortcomings, errors, breaches and the like, because this would mean, wittingly or unwittingly, the negation of the objective basis of contradictions and their law-governed nature.

Socialism's contradictions form a system organised around its basic contradiction. The possibility and need to identify and define this central, pivotal contradiction have been a major topic of discussion in literature. Many scholars suggest that the central contradiction is the one between productive forces and production relations as the two aspects of the mode of production, or the one between the degree of development of the social nature of production and the specific forms of socialist ownership and appropriation, which is almost the same thing. Other social scholars believe that socialism's basic contradiction is the one between equal status vis-à-vis the means of production and inequality in distribution and property status of people stemming from the operation of the law of distribution according to work. A third view is that the central contradiction is the one between the achieved level of production and the steadily growing requirements of people and the whole of society.

It ought to be noted in this connection that the positing of the problem of socialism's main contradiction should be more specified. What are we talking about? The communist system as a whole or its socialist phase? The mode of production or the system of production relations? Without answering these questions and thus specifying the subject of our discussion it can hardly be expected to produce a satisfactory result.

If the case in point is the communist mode of production as a whole, then it would seem that the basic contradiction is to be found in the interaction between the achieved level of productive forces and the historically determined forms of production relations. This interaction inevitably brings about a contradiction between society's steadily heightening requirements and the possibility of satisfying them. If, on the other hand, the subject of discussion is the socialist economic system, the promising interpretation of its basic contradiction would be as one between essentially directly social nature of production and the commodity-money relations.

As a source of development, contradictions are fluid and changeable. That is why they must not be considered in the abstract, isolated from their specific states and historical context. Viewing them from this perspective, we tend to support the suggestion about

differentiating contradictions between the law-governed evolution stages of contradictions, inevitable under socialism, on the one hand, and possible, though not inescapable stages, on the other.

The first law-governed stage of a contradiction is its latent, "embryonic" state. The polarisation of the whole has not yet begun and appears as a mere difference—the opposites have not crystallised. The second stage is characterised by the splitting of the whole into two opposites, their growing disparity, polarisation and interaction. The third stage is usually believed to involve resolving or overcoming the contradiction.

So far these questions have attracted little attention. There are views that tacitly link the need to resolve contradictions with their sharpness, apparent difficulties, etc. By the same token, lack of sharpness is regarded as calling this need into question. Not infrequently, the very appearance of contradictions is associated with their sharpness. Wittingly or unwittingly, this approach amounts to an apologia of laissez-faire attitudes, inertia, sitting on the fence and waiting for the sharpening of contradictions as a signal for starting to resolve them.

Contradictions' complexity and different times of coming to a head should not obstruct from view the task of identifying them as early as possible in order to begin their gradual solution. This evokes important economic, political and socio-psychological consequences in the form of boosting progress and producing a beneficial effect on public opinion, intellectual atmosphere and the predominant mood.

We have already pointed out that socialist society has the necessary means of identifying and resolving contradictions in good time.

Non-interference in the evolution of contradictions and their disregard may lead to the appearance of their chance components which could otherwise be avoided. What we have in mind is the excessive disparity or sharpening of contradictions which slows down social progress, or even aggravates the state of affairs in certain fields, which gives rise to social tension.

This idea seems to be responsible for the attempts of certain authors to revise a well-known provision of Lenin's that in a socialist society antagonisms disappear, while contradictions remain. These authors suggest that socialism may see the appearance of antagonistic contradictions and the transformation of non-antagonistic contradictions into antagonistic ones. These attempts seem unsound to us, even with the reservation that this transformation is not an objective regularity of socialist development, that it takes place only in certain conditions, and is transitory, local and isolated in character.

It must be observed in this connection that it is impossible to classify a contradiction as an antagonistic or non-antagonistic one without providing clear answers to the following questions: What type of contradiction is being discussed: one inherent in socialism or

one inherited from the past? What stage of socialist development is being discussed: the period of transition or the stage of developed socialism?

If we are discussing contradictions inherent in socialism, there are absolutely no grounds for speaking of antagonisms or even the transformation of non-antagonistic contradictions into antagonistic ones, i.e., those which are resolved by means of destroying one of the opposites in the course of class struggle. Their character and content are a product of the socialist system which got rid of class antagonisms. As Marx pointed out, bourgeois production relations "are the last antagonistic form of the social process of production" 8.

Social development under socialism proceeds not by way of a clash of classes pitted against each other, not by way of class antagonisms, but by way of conscious, historical creative work of the masses united in the socialist state and public organisations guided by the Party. We have already pointed out that this gives rise to new unprecedented driving forces of social progress embracing the economic, socio-political and ideological spheres. Hence the special character and method of resolving contradictions—through conscious and planned perfection of different aspects of social life and the abandonment of outdated forms and methods of its organisation. Although this process calls for overcoming inertia and conservatism of individual members of society, it does not create prerequisites for class struggle, for society has no classes or social groups which have a vested interest in preserving the past as a means of survival.

Those who suggest that socialism's contradictions may develop into antagonisms claim to have provided a philosophic explanation of crisis situations which took place in certain socialist countries and were accompanied by a rapid sharpening of class struggle. The point is, however, that these situations were not brought about by socialism but, on the contrary, by its insufficient development under conditions of a period of transition from capitalism to socialism with its inherent class struggle, and by failure to observe socialist principles in different spheres of social life.

There have also been references to the existence of criminals and anti-social elements under socialism. Granted, these people's anti-social activities are inimical to socialism and must be resolutely combatted. However, these phenomena are not in socialism's nature either, their carriers do not make up a class or a separate social group and cannot trigger a class confrontation inside socialist society. Rather they are but survivals of past antagonisms which are being overcome in the course of socialism's perfection.

Analysing the causes of their survival and even enlivening under certain conditions, one must take into account the fact that socialism's development takes place against a background of class struggle on the world arena and a global confrontation of the two socio-economic systems which is unquestionably of antagonistic character. Imperial-

ism seeks to erode socialism's foundations, undermine the ground-work of socialist social relations and revive the residue of old antagonisms in the socialist countries. The socialist countries counter this crusade against them with greater cohesion and more vigorous joint actions on the world arena.

It follows that the assertion that socialism's contradictions may acquire antagonistic character is devoid of theoretical, methodological and practical foundations. Its authors would be well advised not to drag the idea of antagonism into the theory of socialism but to analyse the real content of real contradictions.

It bears stressing once more that the non-antagonistic character of contradictions can by no means be used to justify lack of attention to their identification and resolution. Procrastination, indecision and stop-gap measures, on the one hand, and lack of preparation and recklessness in taking practical steps to resolve contradictions, on the other, are fraught with grave consequences and can slow down social progress, produce certain social tensions and do economic and moral damage.

Hence the need for new insights into socialism's dialectics, steady improvement of the scientific management of social processes, competence, sense of responsibility and creative approach on the part of all practical workers; stepping up the struggle against inertia, routine and conservatism; and the wisdom to see the new and the progressive in good time and to give them a green light.

Hence the need for continual improvement of organisational structures and forms of management, and the style and methods of administration in conformity with the demands of life.

Hence, finally, the need for constant care about promoting social activity of the masses, greater involvement of working people in management, and unflagging attention to their opinions, suggestions and proposals.

For these are inexhaustible sources of accelerating social progress under socialism.

NOTES

- ¹ M. S. Gorbachev, The Living Creativity of the People, Moscow, 1984, p. 13 (in Russian).
- ² V. I. Lenin, Collected Works, Moscow, Vol. 21, p. 38.
- ³ Ibid., Vol. 34, p. 403.
- ⁴ Materials of the Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee, June 14-15, 1983, Moscow, 1983, p. 8 (in Russian).
- ⁵ V. I. Lenin, Collected Works, Vol. 38, p. 143.
- ⁶ K. Marx, F. Engels, Selected Correspondence, Moscow, 1955, p. 507.
- ⁷ See, for example: Dialectics of the Development of Socialist Society, Moscow, 1980 (in Russian).
- 8 K. Mark, F. Engels, Selected Works, Moscow, 1969, Vol. 1, p. 504.

Economic Centralisation and Management Centralism

OTTO LAZIS

In October 1921 Lenin wrote in a draft report on the New Economic Policy to be presented to the 7th Party conference of the Moscow gubernia: "We knew, saw and said: We need a 'lesson' from 'the Germans', a lesson in organisation, discipline and higher productivity of labour. What we did not know: What is the socio-economic ground for this work? Are we going to use the market and trade mechanisms, or are we going to work against them?" 1

These notes drew a clear distinction between questions about which Marxists had had no doubts from the outset, and those about which they had not been sufficiently clear prior to the Great October Revolution, the first-ever experience in the building of socialism. The "lesson" from "the Germans", i.e., the highly industrialised capitalist countries, were mentioned by Lenin as early as the spring of 1918. Pointing to Germany as a country boasting modern large-scale capitalist engineering and planned labour-organisation, he wrote:

"Socialism is inconceivable without large-scale capitalist engineering based on the latest discoveries of modern science. It is inconceivable without planned state organisation, which keeps tens of millions of people to the strictest observance of a unified standard in production and distribution. We Marxists have always spoken of this..."

For three decades after the Great October Revolution the capitalist countries remained the only source of foreign experience in economic management for the world's first country of socialism. The same period, however, provided striking examples of economic growth and progress in the science of economics, which were to be carefully studied by many countries: the ramified system of

comprehensive economic accounting, set up in the 1920s; the system of nation-wide planning which is reflected most graphically in the five-year plans; and the special economic management system which evolved during the Great Patriotic War and made it possible to marshal economic resources for victory. It is natural, therefore, that the new countries which joined in the construction of socialism after the emergence of the world socialist system concentrated primarily on Soviet experience.

Today these countries have accumulated more than three-decade experience of their own in building the new social system, ushering in a new stage in the exchange of economic ideas: without disregarding positive achievements of states belonging to other social systems, the socialist countries can now maintain a lively exchange of promising experience among themselves. It is symptomatic that the 26th CPSU Congress stressed the importance of this exchange in the construction of socialism, and cited specific examples from the social and economic spheres.⁸

A series of monographs under the common title "Economics and Politics in the Socialist Countries", prepared by the Institute of the Economy of the World Socialist System, the USSR Academy of Sciences, has been designed as an in-depth study of the socialist countries' experience in the field. In 1983 Nauka Publishers brought out the first few books in the series. The present article is not meant either to review or systematically discuss them. This writer has used their wealth of factual material for one purpose only—to consider the fundamental principles involved in different approaches to the management of socialist production. Each of the above-mentioned monographs devotes a special chapter to the subject.

The economic planning and management system and methods have long been the subject of vigorous debate in scientific and certain other quarters in most socialist countries. Without such ongoing debate it would be impossible to find answers to complex questions posed by modern economic life, especially during transition to intensive economic growth. The debate revealed the existence of certain central problems which kept cropping up. Probably the most controversial problem has been that of the correlation of the economic functions of central management bodies and those of enterprises. Advocates of both "centralisation" and "decentralisation" of management and planning have repeatedly gone on record with arguments in support of their respective cases.

The "centralisation" vs. "decentralisation" debate has revealed what looks like promising common ground for many representatives of both sides: stronger centralised planning, and broader economic independence of enterprises are not fatally irreconcilable, they are two aspects of the same process, and as such, can and must develop simultaneously.

However, the existence of such "common ground" should not give rise to complacency: it is no guarantee that science will provide trustworthy answers to the complex questions posed by economic life. What is obvious is that, proclaiming this seemingly universal truth, the "centralists" and "decentralists" apparently give it a different meaning. This is possible because in the generalised form given above, and as often as not the formula is not elaborated upon, the truth is as sound "in general" as it is meaningless when it comes to specifics. It is not enough to proclaim it in a general form. As a minimum it is also necessary to indicate, first, which principle (centralism or independence of enterprises) is given priority in this dialectical interaction of the two contradictions, and, second, what is the specific mechanism of this interaction.

True, there seems to be no argument about the first question, at least when it is formulated in the most general form. There has long been a consensus among most authors that the very nature of socialist ownership and the advantages it offers demand that priority be given to centralised planning and management carried out in the interests of all of society. R. Belousov recently recalled this idea in his article "Democratic Centralism and Economic Independence". However, it is not socialist economy in general that is the subject of the debate, but primarily the present stage of its development, that of intensification, which gives rise to new, unprecedented problems. The central question in the context of this stage's tasks is what is the actual linkage between the two aspects of management. In our view, the mechanism of their interaction is such that an enterprise's independence and its economic responsibility for the entire process of extended reproduction are not only tolerable but, what is more to the point, useful and necessary features of the socialist economic mechanism. The independence, rights and responsibility of enterprises are indispensable, if centralism is to work.

Lenin wrote in 1918: "As a matter of fact, democratic centralism in no way excludes autonomy, on the contrary, it presupposes the necessity of it." What is directly relevant to our case in this observation concerning the development of society as a whole and primarily of its political organisation is its pivotal formula: "centralism does not exclude, but on the contrary presupposes". Lenin proceeds to elaborate the idea in the economic context: "Our task now is to carry out democratic centralism in the economic sphere... At the same time, centralism, understood in a truly democratic sense, presupposes the possibility... of a full and unhampered development not only of specific local features, but also of local inventiveness, of diverse ways, methods and means of progress to the common goal." The observation dates from the first few months of Soviet government. In the context of today's advanced economy it would be

even less correct to say that centralism can develop together with greater economic independence of enterprises. It must be stressed that centralism cannot exist without the enterprises' greater independence.

Thousands of facts of economic life show that the real clash is not between centralised planning and enterprises' independence but between genuine centralism (expressing the interests of society as a whole) and pro-forma centralism (representing interests of narrow groups, such as departmental, local and other vested interests).

Genuine centralism means that economic processes are directed in a planned fashion from one economic centre, irrespective of the specific means used to achieve this goal. In the case of pro-forma centralism, decisions are made not by enterprises but by corresponding ministries or other state administrative bodies, which are not interested in whether these decisions are carried out and whether they guarantee planned and balanced development in the interests of society as a whole. What is more, characteristic features of pro-forma centralism include distrust of independent decisions of subordinate enterprises and indifference to whether these decisions contribute to the achievement of the overall objectives of the national economy. Lenin warned of the dangers inherent in such an approach, when he insisted on strict differentiation between genuine and pro-forma socialisation of production.⁸

It follows that the crux of the matter is not choosing between "centralisation" and "decentralisation", but finding reliable means of carrying out genuine centralism. The search for a correct solution to this problem will benefit from an examination not only of Soviet experience but also that of other socialist countries.

Before making an analysis of the many aspects of this experience, we would like to give a more precise definition of the term "centralisation". In our view, the opposing of "centralisation" to "decentralisation" which, as we have already shown, has gained currency, is not only essentially unsound but also inaccurate terminologically. In such an approach centralisation is regarded as a purely managerial process, whereas, according to Marx, centralisation is an economic process. It is a process of the merging of capital, which accompanies concentration, extends and accelerates it. "Centralisation completes the work of accumulation by enabling industrial capitalists to extend the scale of their operations." The following widely known observation by Marx also bears quoting in this context: "The world would still be without railways if it had had to wait until accumulation had got a few individual capitals far enough to be adequate for the construction of a railway. Centralisation, on the contrary, accomplished this in the twinkling of an eye, by means of joint-stock companies.... The masses of capital fused together overnight by centralisation reproduce and multiply as the others do, only more rapidly, thereby becoming new and powerful levers in social accumulation." 10

In comparison with capitalism, socialism, with its firm foundation of public ownership of the means of production, offers far greater scope to centralisation. Whereas capitalist centralisation manifests itself primarily in the growth of monopolies by a variety of means, ranging from-driving competitors out of the market and takeovers to such "peaceful" ones as mergers, socialist centralisation relies on planned state activity and independent decisions of its economic organisations. Under socialism the economic centralisation process picks up momentum and gains in importance, which unquestionably makes it an attractive subject for independent scientific analysis. In order to avoid terminological confusion, in subsequent discussion we are going to use the term "growing centralism" to denote the managerial process of strengthening the role of national planning, reserving the term "centralisation" for economic processes of the merging of "capitals" in the Marxian sense.

It should not be construed that in emphasising the differences between economic centralisation and centralism in management we deny the existence of links between these different and independent processes. Quite the contrary! There are very close links between them. Evidence of this can be found in the GDR's recent experience described in one of the above-mentioned monographs.

After going through a number of stages, socialist centralisation in the GDR's industry has manifested itself most graphically in the creation of combines, which, after the reorganisation of 1977-1980, have become practically a universal form of production organisation. The "combine" concept encompasses amalgamations of enterprises which may differ radically in their internal structural links. What is important however is that combines are production and not administrative amalgamations (as was the case with most of the earlier, presently dissolved, amalgamations of people's enterprises).

The salient features of the GDR's combines can best be seen by comparing them with Soviet production and research-production amalgamations. Their common feature with Soviet amalgamations is that they now represent the basic economic unit in the country's industry. However, the combines' rise to a dominating position was more rapid: today they account for practically 100 per cent of the output of the country's centrally subordinated industry, whereas production and research-production amalgamations produce about one half of the USSR's industrial output. In terms of work force and output an average combine in the GDR is several times larger than an average Soviet production amalgamation, although the biggest ones, such as ZIL, Uralmash or Magnitka, leave the major GDR combines far behind. And finally, both amalgamations and combines

represent more than one link in the reproduction cycle. Hence the greatest difference between them: Soviet amalgamations represent two links in this cycle (research and production), whereas the GDR's combines—the entire cycle (research-investment-production-marketing), including exports to a certain extent.

Combines have their own research centres, which employ about two-thirds of the country's research personnel. They also operate their own building organisations. Drawing on substantial development funds and enjoying broad credit-financing opportunities, combines undertake major investment programmes without resorting to the state budget. And finally, they have their own sales departments, and the biggest of them even have their own foreign trade enterprises.

The creation of a combine dramatically illustrates economic centralisation carried out by the socialist state on the basis of public ownership of the means of production. For example, twenty-two people's enterprises were subordinated to the "October 7" machine-tool construction combine to form a single closely-knit production complex presently employing 21,000 people. The tyre-manufacturing combine includes 6 specialised production enterprises, a repair enterprise, a large research centre and a foreign trade enterprise with a combined staff of 11,000. The "Schuhe" footwear manufacturing combine consists of 90 enterprises and employs 42,000.

It is quite obvious that such a degree of centralisation of production funds in industry creates favourable conditions for greater centralised management, including direct management. The fact that the whole of centrally subordinated industry is concentrated in 132 combines gives an excellent "bird's eye view" of it from a common centre. Was easier administration then the aim of the economic reorganisation? An examination of the GDR's experience shows that it was not. Despite the tempting ease of ruling by fiat, neither the combines' volume indicators nor range of goods are in the national planners' focus of attention. Even such a traditionally centralised planning function as balancing consumer goods' supply and demand has been transferred to the combines, which also conclude sales and deliveries contracts. In contrast the central features of the national economic plan are normative indicators, primarily economy of material inputs per unit of output, and economy of labour inputs. Investment planning is also subordinated to attaining these objectives. On the other hand, it is up to the combines to decide what technological innovations they will introduce in order to meet the strict assignments in husbanding of resources.

One might ask if it was really necessary to conduct economic centralisation on such a vast scale, since assignments, stemming from national economy normative indicators, could just as easily be given to a large mass of small-scale enterprises. The answer is that apparently the idea was to avoid pro-forma centralism. To achieve

genuine centralism, it is not sufficient to enact legislation granting certain powers to economic entities. In addition, they must be given a real opportunity for independent decisions on major problems arising in the process of extended reproduction. Only then will it be possible to achieve rapid progress in science and technology.

Owing to the combines' scientific and technological potential the GDR's industrial growth in the current five-year period was unaccompanied by increases in the number of employed and the use of raw materials and energy carriers (there was even a reduction). This means that an intensive pattern of reproduction has been practically attained in the case of the two growth factors (labour and materials), which, so far, is not the case with fixed assets. The average annual growth rate of industrial production has been maintained at 4.5-5 per cent. The national economy's performance has thus confirmed the existence of a strong link between the two processes: centralised management has been used to reinforce economic centralisation (via the creation of a system of combines); for its part, economic centralisation has reinforced centralised management and made it practical.

What is the criterion for testing the genuineness (or otherwise) of centralism? Is it the method of taking and implementing decisions or is it the result of their implementation? Different countries' experience shows that identical methods of carrying out centralism may result both in success and failure, depending on the situation. It should be obvious therefore that what really matters is not "the technology" of centralism but its effectiveness. It is a matter of record, for example, that in Poland of the 1970s the bulk of investment was made by direct decisions of central economic departments or provincial administrative bodies. This departmental and local administrative centralism, however, resulted in the disruption of the planned direction of the investment process. Uncontrolled growth of investment became a major source of economic imbalances and destabilisation. In contrast, efficient regulation from a single centre with the help of normative economic indicators can ensure balanced growth even in the case of economic decisions taken by amalgamations and enterprises themselves.

Such is precisely Hungary's experience, which provoked numerous contentious comments by certain Hungarian, and especially Western, authors, who tended to pass over in silence the role of the plan in the country's economy and to interpret the improvement of the economic mechanism as the strengthening of the "market" at the expense of the plan. The Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party rejected this view, stressing that the planning of economic "regulators" was an organic part of planned economic management. The system of

normative economic indicators in Hungary is shaped in accordance with the plan's objectives and approved by the State Assembly (for five-year periods) or the Government (annually), along with the plan as its integral element. It is interesting to note the effect such planning methods have on the evolution of real-life economic processes, using investment as an example.

Judging from the available general data, enterprises-authorised investment predominates in Hungary's economy. For example, in 1976-1980 enterprises authorised 55 per cent of total investment, with only 45 per cent authorised by state bodies. At first sight, centralism has ceded first place to "local" authority, at least in the choice of investment targets (total investment volume is determined by the state plan and passed down to enterprises via economic "regulators").

A closer look at the situation, however, has revealed the following. Several five-year plan periods back, the country adopted central development programmes, approved by the government and called upon to ensure the development of key areas of scientific and technical progress, and of priority sectors. In the current five-year plan period there are 5 such programmes (in petrochemistry, aluminium industry, computer technology, electronics, pharmaceuticals and plant protection chemicals). Their share in industrial investment has grown from 17-18 per cent in 1971-1975 to 25 per cent. What is interesting is that in the 1970s the state budget provided no more than one half of the appropriations for central programmes, with the figure dropping to only 10-11 per cent in the current five-year plan period. The remainder is put up by enterprises from their own funds and voluntarily. They do so, because they find this profitable after studying alternative investment targets and taking into account national bank rates (differentiated, depending on the loan's purpose) and profit margins of different investment variants. The effectiveness and prompt repayment of investment are guaranteed by the fact that enterprises make their own decisions and spend their own money. The system of normative economic indicators, for its part, ensures priority financing of society's most urgent tasks.

It goes without saying that, to be successful, such a system calls for a certain level of planning, constant attention to the evolution of economic processes and prompt intervention to adjust imbalances and set mistakes right. The following is an example of this challenging work.

In 1976 Hungary decided to abandon the previously mandatory splitting of enterprises' profits into a development fund and a profit-sharing fund used as a source of incentives for workers. Now all profits after taxes constitute a single incentives fund. Enterprises decide for themselves what to spend their money on, with one proviso: money spent for productive purposes is not liable to

additional taxation, whereas money used for consumption is liable to a progressive tax.

The main idea behind the innovation has justified itself: juridical independence, accompanied by economic constraints, has produced the desired effect. Given freedom of decision, enterprises did not hasten to spend their profits on higher wages, and, as a result, the main proportions in the sphere of consumption remained close to the planned ones (other regulators, too, were used to assure this). However, investment resources on the accounts of enterprises turned out to be much greater than the country could afford in a difficult foreign economic situation. On the national level the investment volume target was overfulfilled, which in the existing situation was more a disadvantage. However, the system of economic levers permits also a "fine adjustment" of the economic mechanism. The profit tax was raised from 36 to 40 per cent, and later subsequently to 45 per cent. The enterprises' investment potential was reduced to a socially acceptable level. Centralised control of the investment process with the help of economic "regulators" proved to be not only more reliable but also conceivably quicker in comparison with the administrative-distribution system which may take years to achieve a drop in investment.

A discussion of the linkage between economic centralisation and management centralism must also provide answers to the following question: what is the subject of centralisation and what is the vehicle of centralism? We have already noted that under capitalism centralisation is carried out by individual capitalists and groups of capitalists, all the way to the creation of monopolies. They also become the vehicle of centralism in the capitalist economy. This kind of centralism can also be operated by the state, but the nature of the bourgeois state is such that it cannot become a conduit for society's interests. The state continues to uphold the interests of monopolies or, at the most, the capitalist class, as a whole. In the economic sphere such centralism only aggravates capitalism's inherent imbalances, while its effects in the social sphere are even more destructive.

The socialist system, on the contrary, presupposes that the state becomes the vehicle of centralism and carries it out in the interests of society as a whole. In this capacity it also uses its possibilities to reinforce economic centralisation. Does this mean that the contest between the two social systems ends in a "draw", with capitalism more effective on the microlevel and socialism on the macrolevel? Definitely not! Socialism's advantages in this sphere are unquestionable. Capitalism is patently incapable of maintaining planned and balanced development on the macroeconomic level in the interests of the whole of society: that much has been shown by the crises that beset it in the 1970s and 1980s. The reason is not capitalism's technological backwardness (quite the contrary, its achievements in management techniques are impressive), but the narrowness of the

bourgeoisie's class interests. In contrast, the creative potential of socialist management can be given full play at both levels. Socialist enterprises, both state-owned and cooperative, can join the state as vehicles of management centralism and boosters of economic centralisation.

The political and economic foundations of this mobility of socialist property are apparent, they are to be found in the fact that it belongs to the people. As a result, socialist centralisation is not accompanied by the painful expropriation of the many by the few, as in the case of capitalist centralisation. The tools of socialist centralisation, which is carried out "from below", call for closer scrutiny.

For the first time its feasibility was proved by the Soviet Union in the 1920s, when its centralised system of economic agencies was supplemented by a closely interrelated system of syndicates, contractual associations whose Councils were represented at the National Council of Syndicates, and joint-stock companies. Since then a variety of new types of this economic instrument have evolved, including thousands of voluntary contractual associations and undertakings in Soviet agriculture, ad hoc contractual associations of combines in the GDR and diverse contractual associations in Hungary.

Bulgaria, which introduced a new economic mechanism in 1979, boasts many voluntary associations of enterprises. One of the new forms of organisation under the new economic mechanism is represented by joint-stock associations, amalgamations, societies and communities, set up by enterprises on a contractual basis. Neither differences in branch or departmental subordination, nor the geographical location of member enterprises play any role. Members of contractual amalgamations and associations retain full independence. An enterprise can simultaneously participate in several joint-stock associations.

The country's largest contractual association is the Bulgarian Industrial Economic Association (BIEA). Under its charter, membership is open to production, scientific-research and engineering consultancy organisations, as well as to higher educational establishments, scientific-technical and creative unions. In 1980 the BIEA founding members included 120 economic organisations. In the spring of 1982 its membership grew to 800, and district industrial-economic associations were set up.

The BIEA Charter defines it as "a voluntary public economic organisation, whose purpose is to render allround support to the promotion of economic creativity and activity of member organisations with a view to raising production efficiency and improving their work". The association has centres for economic law and strategic studies, centres for the study of the latest Bulgarian and foreign experience, and a self-supporting centre for the introduction of scientific and technological advances.

The Bulgarian Industrial Economic Association can handle extensive economic projects. For example, during its first two years it rendered financial and technological assistance in the construction of 52 small- and medium-scale enterprises for producing consumer goods in short supply. On the average they took less than a year to be completed and recouped the initial costs within 8 months.

An analysis of real socialism's experience shows that the instruments of socialist centralism are many, and their number is ever increasing. The overriding consideration in the choice of instrument for specific purposes and conditions is whether it is going to have the desired economic effect and increase the extent of socialisation of production.

The incipient internationalisation of economic centralisation and centralism is a characteristic feature of socialist economic integration today. Naturally, there are differences between these processes at the national and international levels.

Sometimes economic centralisation is accompanied by a direct international "fusing together of capitals", for example in such joint ventures as Interlichter, Erdenet or Haldex, but more frequently it is manifested in the creation of unified international economic complexes. Although the elements of these complexes remain in the ownership and under the control of the member states, they function as a single whole (examples include international pipelines, as well as several engineering and chemical complexes).

Centralised management of integration processes under socialism is characterised by special features. In contrast to capitalist integration groupings, CMEA's unprecedented international centralism is accompanied by supranational organs or functions. The beginning of coordination of the CMEA members' economic policies in areas of cooperation has been a new step in its development. A vivid example of this coordination was the 1984 Economic Summit in Moscow. A reliable guarantee of this coordination's success is not subordination of some countries to others, but mutual interest of equal partners. Thus, genuine socialisation of production diversifies and forges ahead.

NOTES

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- ⁴ Bulgarian People's Republic, Moscow, 1983; German Democratic Republic, Moscow, 1983; Hungarian People's Republic, Moscow, 1983 (all in Russian).
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- ⁷ Ibid., p. 208.
- ⁸ Ibid., pp. 241, 335-336.
- ⁹ Karl Marx, Capital, Vol. I, Moscow, 1969, p. 588.
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Man and Society in the Age of New Technology

IVAN FROLOV

The world has entered a new stage of the scientific and technological revolution whose salient features include progress in the application of microelectronics, informatics and biotechnology, prospects for harnessing the energy of thermonuclear synthesis, the further conquest of space and fresh advances in complex mechanisation and automation in the economy.

Although these directions of scientific quest have featured prominently in the scientific-technological revolution (STR) from the outset, they are currently undergoing revolutionary change, which radically transforms production technology and many other human activities. Technology is becoming a decisive factor of development today.

To master technology's full potential is a challenging task for the world, including the socialist countries. The CMEA 1984 economic summit called on member states to work out a joint 15-20-year programme of scientific and technical progress, with special emphasis on the intensive development of electronics, microprocessor technology and robotisation.

The attainment of these goals is a true challenge, requiring vast material and intellectual resources, inasmuch as new technology and hardware do not exist in a social "vacuum" and do not directly determine mankind's multi-faceted activities. And what is even more to the point, their development depends precisely on the social and human factors, albeit they do have a relative independence which tends to be absolutised in all sorts of technocratic theories. In our view, these developments call for an examination of social consequences of the new stage of the STR, especially as far as progress in

new technologies is concerned. In this examination we will try to provide answers to the following questions: What are the new problems awaiting solution? What are the changes in the approach to identified social problems of the STR?

Throughout the world vigorous efforts to boost progress in microelectronics, informatics and biotechnology are backed up with steadily increasing investment. For example, in 1981 the trade turnover in the electronics industry alone reached 100,000 million dollars and it is expected to quadruple by 1990 (during the last 15 years the industry's average annual growth rate was 10 per cent). Robot production is forging ahead, with the present leader, Japan, certain to stay at the top of producers' list at least until the end of the century.² Although higher productivity, bigger national income and several other factors have all contributed to the process, the decisive role belongs to progress in technology. It has helped increase automation, and improve quality control and working conditions, especially in hazardous industries. The 1979 standard classification adopted in Japan subdivides robots into 5 groups: (1) hand-operated manipulators; (2) robots performing a number of consecutive operations; (3) programmable robots with memory devices; (4) numerical control (NC) robots which are operated with the help of a software package; and (5) "intelligent" robots using sensors which make them autonomous. Robot improvement, especially of the latter type, would be unthinkable without rapid progress in microelectronics and the development of computers with unprecedented information potential. Research and development specialists predict that by the turn of the century robots will be equipped with visual and audio sensors, and made reprogrammable. An experimental robot of this type already exists in Japan.

The inevitable consequence of the process is that informatics based on microelectronics will be among the 21st century's leading ones. According to some estimates, in the next 20 years microelectronics equipment will become a common feature in industrial and domestic applications in the industrialised countries. It is the social impact of this process and the problems that may arise we are interested in.

There are numerous studies showing the effects of microelectronics and microelectronics-based technologies on industrial processes and organisation of labour. They point out that its application is practically boundless, ranging from steel smelting, space and ocean exploration to banking and office operations, production control and the solution of complex scientific problems, including biomedical ones. In other words, its emergence has opened up unprecedented opportunities for information storage and processing which can be

used to develop not only man-machine, but also machine-machine communication systems, which hold forth promise of improved energy control, progress in telemedicine and solutions to other challenging problems. Western scholars and futurologists believe that capitalist industrial society will evolve into "information" society, free of their present-day problems and contradictions.

The actual result, however, of the breakthrough in microelectronics is the trend towards a reduction of the capital accumulation rate with a decrease in economic growth rates and, what is most important, rising unemployment. In boosting productivity capitalism uses the new technology's high labour-saving potential primarily for dispensing with many traditional technological operations, which results in the loss of more and more jobs. According to M. Godet and O. Ruyssen, in 1970-1977 the FRG registered an increase in production by 12 per cent, and in labour productivity by 43.5 per cent and, at the same time, a 23-per cent drop in employment. The authors believe that, although the new technology increased unemployment, without it an even greater number of jobs would have been lost. Pointing to the uncertainties of the world's science, technology and energy development in the future, they call on Western Europe to introduce strict constraints and to construct a new development model which would take into account the diversity of the new opportunities, including that of creating all-European companies which would present a common front on the world markets.

It goes without saying that this future-oriented approach is hardly an answer to today's complex social problems stemming from the introduction of new technologies and affecting not only production relations but also the entire system of social relations on the macrolevel (which incidentally explains the pessimism of many such forecasts). Reviewing the social consequences of the introduction of new technologies, several Western authors come to the conclusions that "rapid technical change, ushered in under 'free market' conditions, imposes an enormously high economic, social and personal costs upon a part of the population least able to support it". In Great Britain, for example, progress in the electronics industry may bring about a loss of 5 million jobs; in the FRG it will mean a loss of 2 million white-collar jobs alone.

What are the solutions proposed by experts? Remedies include introduction of shift work, abandonment of systematic overtime, recommendations for reorganising vocational training and adjusting wage scales and, finally, proposals for reducing average annual labour inputs either by increasing the number of days-off and the length of annual leaves, or by reducing the work day. In his book, Partager le travail: Une autre civilisation industriele?⁵, the French economist M. Guillaume discusses a complex of such measures as part of the "new industrial civilisation" idea. The author of this technocratic Utopia maintains that capitalism can solve its problems

by enriching the content of labour, by promoting "pluralism" of every individual's gainful occupation, by abandoning narrow specialisation, increasing social mobility and other like measures.

The prominent French journalist and politician J. J. Servan-Schreiber holds a similar view, extolling robotisation, informatics and other "high" technologies in an attempt to prove that they will help capitalism to overcome its present contradictions, while the developing countries will achieve their goals without a social revolution and socialist transformations.

Although many Western writers do not lose sight of the need for a mutual adaptation between new technology and social structures. the conclusions they draw are as a rule in the mainstream of the "new civilisation" concept, inspired by their social-reformist ideology. Another example of this approach is the international symposium "Coevolution in the Age of Robots" (April 16-19, 1984, Paris) organised by the French Institut de la Vie in cooperation with the Centre for Systems Studies and Advanced Technologies. In his thought-provoking report Centre Director J. Robin drew a number of socially-relevant conclusions in the above vein. He claimed that "mutation" is a better description of the modern social system than "crisis" because we are witnessing a rapid transition to a new technological order, with informatics creating new models of the world. According to Robin, neither Marx nor Keynes foresaw such a growth of production forces, which gives him reason to call Marxists "traditionalists". However, society and its culture are determined precisely by this unprecedented growth of labour productivity. In order to offset the new technology's negative socio-economic effects, Robin reasons, it is necessary to design a new society in which the two will adapt to one another. This new society will be differentiated not in terms of traditional classes but in terms of people's degree of adaptation to new technology. He adds that such adaptation is also necessary on an international scale.

Similar ideas were put forward by other speakers at the symposium. The French economist Réné Passet, for example, tried to invoke certain ideas of Marx and Engels in order to prove the need for overcoming the "inversion" of man and nature.

The expression succinctly and aptly describing the main social problem at the present stage of the STR and directly related to the demands of new high technology is "high-level interaction". In our context this term from computer science acquires a broader meaning: the higher the level of technology in production and other human activities, the higher must be the level of social development and man's interaction with nature.

Marxist-Leninist theory established this relationship and mutual influence of scientific and technical progress and social changes, including cultural progress, a long time ago. What is new in its contemporary approach to this interaction is that harmony between

new technology, society and nature has become not just a pressing need but a condition for civilisation's survival.

In this formulation the problem has a real scientific and political meaning, because it largely determines specific social actions and the outcome of the clash of ideas in today's world.

Socialist society is fully aware of the revolutionising role and social impact of applying microelectronics, informatics and biotechnology. It promotes their application in every way, making full use of their labour-saving potential without the accompanying unemployment, inevitable under capitalism.

In this we see a major advantage of socialism and the cornerstone of its "high-level interaction" with new technology. The socialist countries have lately used new technology as the basis for a vigorous intensification of social production. The USSR, for example, has increased production of microprocessors by almost five times, and that of microcomputers more than doubled since the beginning of the current five-year plan period. During the same period it developed as many automated process control systems as during the whole of the preceding 10th Five-Year Plan period. This made it possible to save the labour of over 600,000 people in 1983 alone, and to create prerequisites for reducing the present still large share of arduous manual labour.

Beginning with the second half of the 1970s the GDR has been steadily increasing allocations for the development of microelectronics (from 1,000 million marks in 1980 to 2,500 million in 1984). Bulgaria, too, has made good headway in the development of new technology, particularly in microelectronics and robot technology. In the next five-year plan period it plans to spend from 70 to 75 per cent of all capital investment in the material sphere on the introduction of fundamentally new technologies and no more than 25-30 per cent on partial re-equipment and modernisation of existing facilities. Other socialist countries, too, are greatly concerned with the development and introduction of new technology.

Another big advantage of socialism is that it makes possible broad cooperation between countries with different levels of scientific and technological development in the manufacture and introduction of new technology. Whereas the capitalist world is prey to fierce competition between the Japanese "high technology" monopolies and their US rivals and increasingly the West European common front, the socialist community is an example of close cooperation and mutual assistance of its members in promoting scientific and technical progress and applying it in social production. This situation is reflected in the documents of the Moscow CMEA summit and many bilateral agreements.

It takes much effort, however, as well as skill to overcome inertia and conservatism, to use the opportunities offered by socialism in this field: The high level of new technology presupposes an equally high level of culture in work, education and personal conduct. New technology's "interaction" with man and the humanitarian possibilities of its main thrust towards his allround development coincide with the socialist society's principal value orientation—concern for people's well-being.

It would be a pure utopia to consider a real-life situation from the point of view of an ideal. We should not turn a blind eye to the difficulties and contradictions which also arise under socialism not only in the development and introduction of new technology but also in its effects on unskilled labour and in the many other problems it creates and will create in future. Among them are social, economic, organisational, management, educational and cultural aspects of the introduction of new technology.

The documents of the CPSU and the Soviet Government dealing with the introduction of new technology and improving the economic mechanism and forms of working people's participation in running state affairs, along with the general educational and vocational school reform, have laid a firm foundation for solving the humanitarian problems which have emerged at the new stage of the STR. The development of new technology is a rapid process which calls for unprecedented solutions.

New technology's "high-level interaction" with society also calls for a high cultural level which would give full play to man's creative potential. And finally, it must be part of a new "scale of values" based on the idea that man is "the measure of all things" and "history's end in itself".

All this acquires special significance today when civilisation is entering (or has already entered) the new technological age which spawns problems of its adaptation to man's development as an individual. The vistas opened up by new technologies must not be permitted to lead to man's senseless existence in a world of robots, which increasingly "oust" man from direct participation in production, by replacing him not only in monotonous or arduous operations, but also in functions which they do better than man. In the West the process has become the subject of several exercises in social philosophy, before which even the imagination of Karel Čapek, the author of the "robot" concept, pales into insignificance. Among them Aldous Huxley's and George Orwell's anti-utopias walk hand in hand with more recent myths designed either to intimidate people who are completely at a loss in today's world, alienated from society and unaware of the true meaning of new technology, or to inspire

them with impossible hopes and illusions, confined exclusively to consumerism. In a flashback to Herbert Marshall McLuhan, the myths' authors predict humanism's death, with the mass media allegedly responsible for profound changes in human nature itself. The media and technology are regarded as physical, embodied reality of culture, while ideology is regarded as a sort of decoration, "dress uniform". There is even a discussion of the possibility of the mass media changing man's physiology. The hypothetical potential of microelectronics and biotechnology (especially genetic engineering) is used to revive, in a variety of new forms, neo-eugenics ideas of "artificial man"—Homo sapientissimus and even a biocyborg— Maschina sapiens. At the same time there is a growing awareness frequently expressed in an abstract utopian form of the need of new technology's "high-level interaction" with man and humanitarian values. There are suggestions to create so-called "applied philosophy" or "computer ethics", which are already being discussed at various conferences and symposiums, studied at specially established research centres and offered as courses by many universities in the West. The Metaphilosophy journal gives a good idea of the essence of "computer ethics". The concept includes computer-aided crime, safeguarding privacy and the responsibility borne by scientists and technicians engaged in computer research, development and applications. These and other problems have sharpened in the USA where plans are afoot to set up a centralised data bank storing diverse information on every man, woman and child in the country. The US Congress was compelled to vote down the project under pressure of the public outcry. Nevertheless, computer-stored information is extensively used by police not only to combat crime but also to harass political opposition.

It is symptomatic that, in drawing up long-term plans for the introduction of new technology, a number of highly industrialised capitalist countries are placing greater emphasis on its "interaction" with man. For example, a book brought out by France's General Planning Agency says in no uncertain terms that the root of the evil is the fact that the social structure, culture and morality are lagging behind technology-provoked change. The more far-sighted Western scholars become increasingly convinced that the complexities of the situation cannot be fully accounted for by existing econometric models, and that therefore a new model is called for, which must include not only the information sector but also other non-material aspects of man's activities, including his interaction with the environment. 11

This is the point made by the authors of the report "Microelectronics and Society" 12 presented to the Club of Rome, when discussing the pros and cons of new technology's impact on man (the latter include thought monitoring, the possible emergence of a new technocratic elite, greater isolation and alienation, etc.)

To counter these negative trends the authors come up with their own "beautiful utopia," although they do have doubts about man's ability to continue as a creative being and to resist degradation without the struggle for survival and the need to work. In their view, robotisation will make the latter activities a privilege of the chosen few.

In other words, although the report's authors say that they are opposed to "technological determinism", their position does not go beyond it sharing the limitations of both the optimistic and the pessimistic technocratic views.¹⁵

It is our conviction that only far-reaching social transformations in the direction of socialism and communism can resolve the humanitarian problems made ever more acute by the broad introduction of new technology. Under socialism workers are not made "redundant" by technological innovation. On the contrary it enables them to become creative participants in the production process, which they mold to suit their material and cultural needs, and to give full play to their capabilities in all spheres, including those outside the production sphere, which will be increasingly taken over by machines.

The need to ensure new technology's "high-level interaction" with man calls for the theoretical and practical solution of a number of complex social problems which are quite different in the capitalist and socialist systems. The two, however, do have a common goal—to prevent the use of new technology for inhuman, military purposes. New technology's mushrooming applications in nuclear-missile hardware, put at the service of imperialism's aggressive designs, pose a growing threat to civilisation.

There is only one way: to use new technology for peaceful, humane purposes, international cooperation and peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems. The greatest social and political challenge of our time is to replace military confrontation, insane in this age of new technology, with peaceful competition in its development for the good of the whole mankind.

NOTES

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The Socialist Town: Protection of the Environment by the Population

OLEG YANITSKY

Today's towns are complex entities consisting of social, technical and biological systems. It is in the towns that man has the most strained relations with the environment, with the biosphere as a whole. This compels scientists to search intensively for ways of "ecologising" the urban environment. The town is a focal point of all problems of environmental protection, a task of great economic and social significance.

In the UNESCO "Man and the Biosphere" programme the study of towns as ecosystems is a priority area of research bringing together specialists of the social, natural and technical sciences. The aim of their joint efforts is not only to study but also to develop urban areas, to improve the quality of life. In order to understand the meaning of this thesis let us deal briefly with the notion of "urban ecology".

By this Western sociologists usually mean the spatial distribution of the urban population, its division into a network of "local communities" and the nature of relations between them. These concepts reflect the antagonistic essence of the capitalist town, its separation due to social, racial and other barriers. In recent years, the growth of prices of fuel and other resources has stimulated the examination of the town in terms of exchange between it and the environment.

In our view, the town is not merely a human habitat. It is a condensate of national wealth, of the material and intellectual values access to which is a *sine qua non* for the development of the human personality. Modern complex and rapidly developing industry makes ever greater demands on the worker which he is unable to meet by

relying only on his own capabilities. The need arises for means that would enhance an individual's capabilities. This "enhancing" function is performed by the town which not only concentrates but organises the prerequisites for man's self-realisation.

The urban environment's social and natural resources are many and varied: some are consumed by man every day, others are accumulated over the years and used within the lifetime of several generations. A social resource may consist of the experience and knowledge of a work collective, a family or a circle of intimate friends; different forms of social communication, and a person's own experience of adaptation to the urban environment. Different forms of the city dwellers' habitat represent a special resource which facilitates and accelerates assimilation of the latest achievements of science and culture by man and helps save his time and strength. Its rationalisation forms a substantial reserve for boosting labour productivity and increasing the amount of leisure time enjoyed by people.

All these different resources and forms of their concentration elevate, as it were, the immediate, local habitat to the level which meets society's requirements and make it a vehicle of universal and most socially advanced conditions of life. From the standpoint of man's development as a productive force and a personality, the aim of the town's environmental organisation is to concentrate the universal in the concrete, the local. Hence the ecology of the socialist town may be defined as a socially necessary organisation of the immediate habitat of people (in the unity of its social and natural preconditions) which enables them to recuperate their physical and intellectual forces and thus meet society's requirements.

SOCIAL ACTIVITY OF THE POPULATION AS A FACTOR IN ECOLOGISING THE URBAN ENVIRONMENT

Under socialism, when man becomes the main goal of social development, his interests, needs and the entire process of living become the driving force behind the formation of the city's ecological structure. It is the social individual that is the basis and the driving force in the construction of the whole system of micro- and macro-environments of the town, its external and internal relations. The structure and pattern of its environment are increasingly geared to the tasks of the social reproduction of the personality. This direction of urban development reflects the humanist nature of socialist urbanisation. The city is, therefore, at once an "environment" to which man is adapting himself and an "organism" which he is creating. Science, planning, the activities of government bodies and social activities of the city dwellers themselves are interrelated aspects of this process.

The town's functional organisation has different forms: institutional, group, mass and individual. One of them is the activity of the urban population on a voluntary basis, a major aim of which is to find solutions to problems that are socially significant for the entire population of the city. In other words, its important features are its public character (i.e., satisfaction of the needs of a given social entity), moral and ethical motivation, and free labour.

Considering this activity of the urban population from the standpoint of society in general, it could be said that in our conditions it is a form of self-organisation of the city's functions which makes for more effective performance expected of it by society.

But like any other activity, the public activity aimed at "ecologising" the urban environment has different aspects. In some cases, it speeds up the accomplishment of the tasks facing production, services and other subsystems of the city. For example, in recent years the population's need for places of recreation and tourism has grown so rapidly in the Soviet Union that society has not yet managed to develop the necessary infrastructure without the help of city dwellers in providing these places with the necessary amenities. In other cases, this activity of the urban population is of a creative, innovative nature. It consists in raising new problems and mobilising public opinion, leading eventually to the establishment of the industries and organisations needed for their solution.

It is no secret that it was scientists, front-rank workers and managers, and workers of culture who raised a number of urgent problems in our country, including that of environmental protection, revealed their social significance and indicated possible ways and means of their solution. Furthermore, different voluntary associations of the population have become permanent "bridges" between science and practice, forms of the realisation of socialist democracy.

Concrete forms and types of town dwellers' participation depend on the stage of the formation of the town's organism.¹

The process starts long before the first block of flats or microdistrict is built and continues long after the people move in. We believe that there are five stages: 1) fundamental research; 2) applied research and development; 3) elaboration of the urban development plan; 4) construction; 5) the growth of the urban organism, "maturation" of its environment. In the conditions of the planned development of our society the importance of the first three stages increases, which needs emphasising, since by the socio-ecological process Western researchers mean the last stage.

Each stage has its own specific tasks of interaction between scientific disciplines, science and planning, etc. There are also different forms of public participation. But today, like in the past, this participation is an integral part of the entire progression from the theory of urbanisation to the functioning of the city as a whole. Take the following typical examples.

It would seem that the stage at which the theory of urban development is elaborated is an internal affair of town-planners. But that is not the case since this theory cannot be divorced from the formulation of socially significant objectives determining the direction in which socialist society shall move. History shows that large-scale goal-oriented programmes (the State Plan for the Electrification of Russia, development of the Far North, construction of the Baikal-Amur Railway, etc.) have always excited keen interest among scientists and stimulated the social activity of broad masses of the population. This fully applies to urban problems as well. At least three times during a historically short period, the problem of the town of the future has been raised and discussed in the Soviet press. The discussion of the socialist city (in the late 1920s-the early 1930s) which was virtually nation-wide deserves particular mention. The discussion in the 1960s of the optimum town" which also involved the broad public is still fresh in our memories. Recently a whole number of aspects of socialist towns have been intensively debated. including the prospects of their development (especially in rural areas), preservation of their historical heritage and their relations with nature.

Elaboration of integrated programmes for "ecologising" the urban environment excites no less interest among the public. An example of a high degree of public participation is the "Ecopolis" interdisciplinary programme developed by scientists of the USSR Academy of Sciences, the Moscow State University, Party and Soviet officials together with the public of the town of Pushchino (see Social Sciences, No. 2, 1984).

To carry out research and development science itself needs contacts with the public. The experts (sociologists, biologists, architects and town-planners, representatives of local governments) surveyed in our poll believe that public participation is desirable at all of the abovementioned stages of the urban development process—from the development of a concept to the assessment of the implemented project (after 10 or 15 years). More than half of the town-planners spoke for public participation already at the conceptual stage, i.e., at the stage of solving purely professional problems.

Today public discussion of large-scale urban development projects is a normal stage preceding their approval and implementation. Of no less importance is the other side of the problem: "debugging" and implementation of such projects with the active participation of the town-dwellers themselves. This is a necessary prerequisite for turning the town from an engineering and building construction into a living and evolving organism, and for ecologising its internal environment.

Consider the following: a town is built or reconstructed step by step, part by part, but at each stage it must be a single whole in order to ensure the city-dwéllers' normal life and to meet their diverse needs. This wholeness must be maintained, and if this vital social task is not carried out the inevitable consequences will be an outflow of population, slower rates of industrial development, and economic losses. That is why, in addition to urban development projects, scenarios of their implementation are needed, as well as of programmes and deadlines of the process of urban development, with the emphasis on an integrated approach. Plans of integrated socio-economic urban and regional development which are being developed today are real elements of such programmes.

The role of the public in the elaboration and implementation of these programmes manifests itself in a variety of ways. The public acts outside formal channels and its activities are directed at meeting the interests of the town and its entire population by adapting a general "solution" to local conditions and providing "feedback" between the population and the urban management agencies. The process of adaptation of urban development plans is instrumental in identifying local resources and possibilities with a view to their speediest and thriftiest utilisation. Here public participation is a link between theory and practice. It promotes directly the implementation of recommendations made by ecologists and other scientists and helps researchers and town-planners to specify their objectives and find the most effective means of their attainment. In reply to the poll mentioned above, 83 per cent of sociologists, 72 per cent of town-planners and 40 per cent of biologists noted that contacts with the public provide a clearer and more detailed picture of the

But, of course, the broadest area of public participation is the process of adaptation to the urban environment. It goes on not only in new towns and districts but in all types of human settlements as well since both the environment and the needs it has to meet change in time. Both the population and nature should fit into the city and make it a whole organism. According to our estimates, there are more than three dozen types of the population's social activity and an infinite variety of its forms at places of residence. In addition to numerous house clubs, circles and other amenities, we could mention such forms as various activities for mothers in their spare time, vocational guidance centres for children, children's ecological stations, nature protection sections of local newspapers run by volunteers, etc. An experiment conducted in some towns of Georgia for seven years showed that microdistrict Soviets that are elected by direct vote by the population and work collectives are an effective means of improving local living conditions and a form of direct interaction between the district population, the Soviets of People's Deputies, local industrial enterprises and cultural institutions of a big

population's needs and their dynamics.

city.² The district thus becomes an "ecosystem": effective interaction is established between its sectoral and local elements; "no man's" land disappears, and a microclimate of mutual responsibility and confidence is created.

It is possible to calculate the immediate economic effect of this interaction.⁵

On the whole, the level of participation in such activities is rather high: our surveys showed that 60 to 70 per cent of the population would like to do socially useful work in their districts. Sociologists are currently developing criteria for assessing the social potential of towns and districts.

Diversification of the urban environment which helps build up this potential is a task where the integration of specialists and the public manifests itself most markedly. Economists regard it as a way of improving production cooperation, ensuring more effective use of urban infrastructures and better utilisation of wastes. Sociologically, greater variety means a better chance of finding a job to one's liking and of more fully satisfying one's requirements; psychologically, it is a condition making for a happy frame of mind, for the necessary emotional "tone" and attachment to one's place of residence. This, in its turn, helps to reduce fluctuation of manpower and enables the population to organise in a more rational manner its mode of life and recreation. It has been observed that the crime rate is lower where there are no vacant lots, where every square metre of land is rendered habitable. From the standpoint of biologists, a greater diversity of urban biocenoses means better resistance to human impacts and eventually less funds and efforts to maintain them. On the other hand, this diversity should not be spontaneous, i.e., due only to the growth of urban concentration which has its limits economic, social and psychophysiological. An interdisciplinary problem thus arises concerning an optimum level of diversity for different types of settlements.

It should be emphasised that it is not a question of increasing the number of natural and man-made elements of the urban environment but of their mutual adjustment, sometimes millimetre by millimetre, and of the painstaking formation of a coherent urban mechanism. Is this relevant to the social tasks that are being tackled by our society today? The answer is yes. It is a matter of providing better services and bringing more order into our everyday way of life. There is a certain gap between the high precision of modern technologies which requires precise movements, ideal cleanness and organisation of one's working place, a certain psychological attitude, and the non-professional sphere. A simple example: time is counted in seconds at an assembly line, minutes—at home, and dozens of minutes or even hours—in the service sector. But the people are the same in each case. And whatever the "objective reasons" may be for its existence, this gap is a source of psychological tension. Production

and our after-work activities cannot be divorced from each other. Not surprisingly, the workers are equally concerned today about production discipline and about putting their towns in order.⁵

The town-planner, the sociologist and the biologist—each is concerned with the diversity and attractiveness of the urban environment in his own way, but mindful of the others. A town-plan is based on the socio-professional and demographic parameters of the population that have to be known in order to calculate recreational loads on the adjacent landscape of a town (taking into account the "attractiveness" of the cultural centre and suburban parks). The landscape's stability largely depends on the diversity of its constituent natural systems.

Scientific recommendations and efforts of planners and decisionmakers are transformed into the town's organic fabric, its environment only through the social activity of the population that adjust, dovetail and adapt social, ecological, urban development and other solutions to each other. Public activity, therefore, is a powerful means of enhancing this organic unity.

It should be stressed that there is a direct relationship between scientific and social tasks, between the scientific and public activity of scientists. Discussing the problem of the country's electrification with Krzhizhanovsky, Lenin wrote that it should be not only a technical but also a political, state "task for the proletariat...." "It must be provided right away, in a visual, popular form, for the masses, so as to carry them forward with a clear and vivid perspective (entirely scientific as its foundations)...". There are no impassable borders between scientists' professional work and their participation in the town's public life.

On the one hand, public discussion of problems stimulates research. For example, a discussion in the "Gipoteza" (Hypothesis) Club of the Centre for Biological Studies of the USSR Academy of Sciences in Pushchino triggered research in the common character of biological and artistic rhythms whose findings were presented in the book Rhythm, Space and Time in Literature and the Arts. Another example is provided by experimentation with "biochemical music". Clubs of this kind also perform an important educational function. Today the Centre runs 25 clubs based on voluntary participation.⁷ On the other hand, as has already been noted the town's scientists in cooperation with researchers of Moscow State University initiated the development of the "Ecopolis" integrated interdisciplinary programme which later involved local authorities and the public.

THE FORMS AND DYNAMICS OF THE TOWN-DWELLERS' ENVIRONMENTAL ACTIVITIES

Protection of nature is a most widespread form of voluntary activity in our country. For example, the All-Russia Society for the

Protection of Nature numbers 35 million members. It has 4,000 grassroots organisations in Leningrad and the Leningrad Region alone.

This activity stems from a developed sense of civic duty, the people's awareness of their responsibility for the future of nature and coming generations. Moreover, an ecological awareness of the masses is a complex phenomenon affected by objective and subjective factors. Speaking of urbanites, this awareness was stimulated by a certain gap between the population's growing demands on the habitat and its degradation. To regenerate his physical and intellectual potentialities the modern worker needs systematic and well organised recreation while the growth of towns, the limits of their recreational potential hinder contacts with nature, decrease their quality and require additional expenditures of time and effort. The growth of ecological demands is also stimulated by the complex, intensive character of many industrial activities: people want to change their surroundings and behaviour stereotypes.

Science has excited the masses' interest in problems of environmental protection and has offered some basic principles of "ecologising" human activities. A noted Soviet ecologist, Academician Shvarts, has said that "ecology is becoming a basis of behaviour of man of industrial society in nature" for the population's affluence has increased so much and the means of transport have become so developed that both indigenous urbanites and newcomers have made contacts with nature an integral part of their normal mode of life.

Let us consider some characteristic features of the urbanites' environmental activities.

Intensive work is being done in this sphere everywhere though it varies in motivation and level. A study conducted in Leningrad revealed five types of attitudes towards the problem of the environment.

The first type (the maximalists) assesses the ecological problem as extremely serious, arguing for the need to mobilise all resources, both personal and public, to solve it. The second group (the socially oriented) believes that since pollution is caused primarily by industrial enterprises and services it can be eliminated only by public effort. The third group (the activists) is of the opinion that the ecological problem can be solved through joint efforts of state bodies and individuals, including investment of personal savings. The fourth group (the individually oriented) thinks that the problem of pollution is much less serious than that of housing, for example, and that it would be enough to apply only preventive measures backed by somewhat greater efforts of the population. There is also a fifth group which is certain that the ecological problem does not exist at all.

All demographic groups display an interest in the state of the urban environment though there are insignificant differences in the

level of their concern. The correlation of social characteristics is as follows: the level of concern of persons with a higher education is 20 per cent higher than that of persons with an incomplete secondary education. The greatest concern is displayed by skilled workers, specialists and managers; the least—by unskilled workers and those who do not work. The idea that the public should participate in the solution of the pollution problem by voluntary labour in their spare time or by donating money is supported by 57 per cent of persons with an incomplete secondary education and only by 47 per cent of those with a higher or incomplete higher education. The idea generated a positive response on the part of 56-69 per cent of workers, employees and students, and only 32 per cent of managers of enterprises and big workshops.⁹

Ecological knowledge influences the mind and behaviour of man stage by stage: initially this is only a piece of information, later it is a value, and in the end—a norm governing a person's behaviour. This is a rather long road, as is borne out by the findings of the survey cited below: 96 per cent of the group surveyed expressed a desire to participate in the protection of nature, but only 66 per cent said they had a real possibility to do so. An analysis of schoolchildren's answers showed that 66 per cent included nature protection in the list of problems facing mankind, but only 23 per cent regarded it as one of the problems that affect them directly.

On the whole, it is clearly evident that in the Soviet Union, especially in big cities, the population activity goes very often far beyond the limits of purely environmental measures. Nature utilisation is more and more becoming nature reproduction, a sphere of society's systematic production activity. "There is no way back," wrote Shvarts, "nature can be preserved only thanks to urbanisation and not by going against it or obviating it..." How can they be united? Man is interested not merely in nature but in highly productive natural systems that are, at the same time, stable. That is why, concluded Shvarts, "the only effective way of protecting a certain species or a natural complex is its rational, i.e., scientifically substantiated use in the economy". 13

It follows that both the natural systems of towns and their surrounding landscapes should be maintained and reproduced, which may be expressed in terms of quality and quantity of work. Neither the "activity" of nature nor public participation in its conservation should be taken for granted. The public's participation in the ecologisation of the urban environment is its contribution with work to the reproduction of the social and natural prerequisites of human existence.

The consumption of nature's benefits by urbanites is steadily growing. For example, the inhabitants of a small town (up to 20 thousand persons) in the middle belt of Russia gather in surrounding forests and meadows over 250 tons of mushrooms and 17 thousand

litres of berries during a season. In one year, its inhabitants caught two tons of fish, shot 300 ducks, 100 woodcocks, 50 hares and 12 wild-boars, etc. They bought 41,000 bouquets of flowers (these data do not include damage from poaching and destruction of nature due to negligence on the part of managers and violation of technological processes). The load on landscapes has increased enormously—the town's inhabitants went mushroom-picking 60,000 times. ¹⁴ It is a well-known fact that a weekly load of only several men per hectare of forest, especially in May-June, seriously changes all of its internal life.

Other problems add to the above in big cities. The planting of one tree normally costs 50 rubles, of a valuable species—over 100 rubles. Trees must be planted in towns and cities but there is virtually no soil in areas of new housing development (the natural process of its formation proceeds at a rate of approximately 1 cm per 100 years). That is why it has to be produced. In Leningrad, for example, 300,000 cubic metres of organic mixtures are produced

every year while the demand is five times higher.

Hence, the urban environment, like a wheat field, should be constantly cultivated, maintained and improved. Here public participation may assume many and diverse forms, primarily the activities of horticultural, vegetable gardening and other associations. For example, every fourth family in Estonia has an orchard or a vegetable garden outside its town. In the Gorky Region such associations unite 115,000 families, i.e., 250,000-300,000 persons, at a very modest estimate. There are 60 associations of this kind in Cheboksary. In 1982, 1,000 tons of berries were grown there on former gullies and urban marginal lands. These associations are almost completely run by the public. On the whole, personal subsidiary farms and orchard and vegetable gardening associations account for one-third of all vegetables produced in the country, and for over a half of potatoes, fruits and berries. 15

Another economic aspect of the "ecological" activities of urbanites, which demonstrates new forms of ties between town and countryside is the seasonal work of women pensioners and housewives on vegetable gardens of collective and state farms. In the Donetsk and Voroshilovgrad Regions alone, about 100,000 women are engaged in this activity. This is yet another form of the support rendered by town-dwellers to nature which suffers from both an excessive influx and a shortage of people.

On the whole, attitudes towards the town are changing. Until recently any construction was equivalent to the destruction of the soil. In the Kustanai Region, for example, nature protection enthusiasts converted a former city dump into a garden zone and ensure that the soil layer is removed before the construction of industrial plants and housing and the paving of streets and that it is later reused. Furthermore, houses are carefully removed in deserted settlements which it is inadvisable to restore and a reserve of arable land is thus

created. Public participation in these activities is an object lesson in ecological education, in care alike for natural and man-made assets of the urban environment.

But ecological knowledge which is necessary today for city-dwellers is acquired not only in an orchard or a vegetable garden. Biologists do not tire of repeating that "ecologising" the urban environment is a system of measures that include, inter alia, conservation of feeding spots for birds and feeding them in winter, a special selection of plants for towns, conservation of natural urban reserves, ecologically sound tree and shrub planting and provision of amenities in urban districts, creation or maintenance of the mosaic structure of the urban landscape since it is more stable and productive and, therefore, requires less labour and other inputs for its maintenance.

Even if a town-dweller "does nothing" in due course he will find himself in a changed natural environment because nature follows him, filling in ecological niches man leaves behind himself. Mosquitoes are graphic example that proliferate in unkept basements of urban houses.

Nature should be helped to adjust to man-made environment. So far hydraulic works erected by man on sea shores have been at best biologically neutral but as often as not—harmful. But once the surface on the underwater part of piers and embankments was made rough the effect changed to positive: algae took root and "refuges" appeared for crabs. An analogy with towns is self-evident.

Biologists urge town-dwellers to adopt an ecologically sound mode of life and also teach them to assess their actions from the economic standpoint. It should be realised, for example, that the cost of trampling down a nearby forest or cutting off branches of a poplar is dust in your flat, time spent travelling to the suburbs, frequent respiratory diseases and in the long run—a shorter life-span. The above mentioned poll showed that on the average the population settles down in a new urban district in five to seven years but it takes nature 15-20 years or more to adjust (with active help from the population). Biologists emphasise that depending on the level of ecological soundness and the inhabitants' systematic efforts the figure can be reduced to 8-10 years or increase to 30 years and more!

On the whole, a socialist town is a complex mechanism which supports the lives of a great number of people. The role of the public in helping to run this mechanism smoothly and efficiently is great: being connected with their enterprises, streets and blocks, they are able to see much better the mechanism's internal faults, bad "connections" and the lack of communication between natural and man-made socio-technical systems as well as local resources, institutional forms and concrete persons needed for improving the process of reproduction.

During recent years, public participation in the conservation of unique natural sites has become widespread. This activity is also of great social and cultural integrative significance. The objective is to create socio-cultural "nuclei" that are urgently needed in many new towns and settlements. The practice of the recent years shows that natural sites preserved during their construction, particularly if they have an instructive or historical value, can perform an important social integrative function in respect of the shaping population. "If we do not preserve what has been accumulated over the centuries, even the most fervent words about love of one's native land and patriotism will be unconvincing," wrote a worker from Surgut to a newspaper. He is concerned not only about the preservation of the buildings of the old town of Surgut, but also of its trees, meadows, the entire landscape. History and the current ecological situation are closely interconnected since demolition of old buildings means also a loss of the age-old fertile soil which later has to be imported from far away. "Our children," concludes the worker, "should learn history not only from textbooks." 16 This is a concrete example of the interest in preserving the unity of the urban environment. It goes far beyond the limits of purely environmental measures and concerns the process of gradual restoration of the historical component of a town or region which, in combination with a developed urban environment, influences a person's decision to remain in his native town and increases his productive and socio-cultural potential. The eminent Soviet scientist, Academician Dmitri Likhachev, says that there is no gap between biological and cultural ecology. Man needs a natural environment for his biological life and a cultural environment for his intellectual, moral life, "spiritual rootedness", for his sense of belonging, of moral self-discipline and sociality.¹⁷

Nature protection in the towns is gradually changing its character: more people are directly involved in this activity (tree planting, functions of control). Complex, creative activities requiring more knowledge, imagination and organisational experience are becoming more widespread.

Marx foresaw that the future would belong to the union of industry and agriculture, that the exchange of matter between man and nature would become a law governing social production and that it would manifest itself in a form most suited for the allround development of man. Socialism has confirmed this foresight, making the process an area where today the professional knowledge and public initiative are applied. In other words, this activity is a new form of cooperation between town and country, a means of bringing them together.

Another important shift is that the population's environmental activity has acquired a long-term perspective and has consequently become more closely related to science and planning. Until recently this activity was aimed primarily at solving current problems of

nature protection such as tree planting and development of amenities, functions of control, propaganda, etc. But that was not enough, life shows that elimination of the after-effects of environmental pollution, mismanagement and irrational use of natural resources is much more costly and requires more time and efforts than their prevention.

That is why today the public is increasingly concerned about the causes, the sources of pollution which are largely due to the uneven work of enterprises, violation of technological processes, non-use of the funds allocated by the state for construction of purification facilities. Workers draw the conclusion that everybody must do everything possible to protect nature at his own place. ¹⁹ Obviously, improvement of the environment around towns is directly dependent on observance of technological procedures and upgrading of standards of work.

Strict observance of the demands made of all links of the production process by science and technology is the task which is being tackled today by councils for the protection of nature and volunteer posts established at plants and factories.

Greater public participation in the long-term effort to ecologise the urban environment means better contacts with planners and decision-makers. Identification of unique natural sites, development of integrated projects of historical-natural reserves, allocation of land for gardening, development of unsuitable and inconvenient lands, expert ecological assessments, protection of suburban forests, river banks and recreational zones by enterprises—all this require joint efforts of volunteer groups, commissions of people's deputies, administrative and planning bodies.

The need for constant cooperation is also due to the close interdependence of nature protection and social tasks of improving the urban environment.

The growing interdependence of economic, planning and public organisations of towns means, in turn, the need for better planning of the population's environmental activities. They require scientifically grounded plans organically linked to plans of integrated socioeconomic development of enterprises, districts and city as a whole. There is no contradiction here: the environmental activities of the masses, their professional knowledge and common sense should be combined with the scientific principles of nature utilisation and plans of their concrete realisation in each town or settlement. Experience shows: when there is no planning, nature protection is limited to sporadic stereotyped "mass measures" (cleaning of territories, tree planting).

In conclusion we would like to stress that protection of the natural environment produces a dual effect—it changes nature and man himself. Nothing comes by itself, our prosperity is based on work—that is the main lesson of these activities. In this sense, the

activity is an excellent educator since each participant is given an opportunity to see for himself the destructive effect of a consumer attitude to nature, to feel the measure of time and effort necessary to maintain the environment of one's habitat. In other words, to bring one's mode of life and needs into correlation with the conditions that support it and the potential for their satisfaction. By participating in different environmental activities the city-dwellers gradually grow aware of the links between the big and small mechanisms of the urban entity, the importance of its inconspicuous but smooth work. "Ecological awareness" means also an understanding of the real interdependence of components of the environment, and fostering a feeling of togetherness with nature and with one's fellow human beings. It means an interest in one's place of residence, an understanding of its significance as an element of a single whole, and in the end—a sense of devotion to, and responsibility for, it. This activity impels man to think of the future since it is a contribution to a cause whose fruits will be enjoyed by future generations.

NOTES

- ¹ O N. Yanitsky, "Integration of the Social and Natural Sciences for the Purposes of Urban Development", Applied Aspects of the "Man and Biosphere" Programme, Moscow, 1983, p. 47 (in Russian).
- ² Pravda, June 29, 1982.
- ³ Izvestia, June 4, 1983.
- ⁴ Pravda, March 2, 1983.
- ⁵ Pravda, May 9, 1983.
- ⁶ V. I. Lenin, Collected Works, Moscow, Vol. 35, p. 435.
- ⁷ G. R. Ivanitsky, "A Social Experiment in Pushchino", Priroda, No. 7, 1983, p. 60.
- ⁸ A Dialogue with Nature, Sverdlovsk, 1977, p. 127 (in Russian).
- ⁹ The Town: Problems of Social Development, Leningrad, 1982, pp. 122-127; A. V. Baranov, "Responses of Urban Population to Environmental Pollution", The USSR National Commission for UNESCO (Bulletin), No. 3-4, 1980, pp. 36-37 (both in Russian).
- ¹⁰ O. N. Yanitsky, "Methodological Problems of Research in Socio-Ecological Problems", Voprosy filosofii, No. 3, 1982, pp. 97-99.
- ¹¹ G. N. Roshchina, L. B. Filonov, "Investigation of Conceptions of the Pushchino Inhabitants of Environmental Problems", *Ecology of a Small Town*, Pushchino, 1982, p. 89 (in Russian).
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- 13 A Dialogue with Nature, pp. 71, 125.
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The 40th Anniversary of the United Nations

The United Nations: Its Political Essence, Purposes and Principles

VLADIMIR SHKUNAYEV

The main purpose of the United Nations Organisation which was founded 40 years ago is to maintain and strengthen international peace and the security of states, to promote by every possible means large-scale cooperation in a number of areas thereby helping to preserve peace on Earth. According to the Charter of this inter-system international organisation, the UN should "be a centre for harmonising the actions of nations" (i.e., states). Therefore, activities aimed at attaining these objectives remain national and state ones in their essence and character while the UN serves only as a centre for harmonising these activities. This is only natural and inevitable, given the present structure of the world which consists of independent and sovereign states.

The UN is a central organisation of an institutionalised system of international relations, which has almost universal membership and virtually universal competence. Having emerged as a result of the victory of socialism, progress and democracy in the Second World War, it has become an important institution of multilateral international relations, an organisation of peaceful coexistence of states.

This point of view is upheld by Soviet science. Bourgeois science rejects this description of the political essence of the UN as an organisation of peaceful coexistence of states because of certain political positions which reflect the interests of imperialist quarters.

In its main capacity, as an organisation of peaceful coexistence of states, the UN is radically different from political or military blocs or any semblance of a world or supranational government. It is indeed an organisation of universal security and not merely that of

international security. Recognition or denial of this basic difference is important in itself but it is also significant for practical purposes and political relations between states members of the UN.

It is no secret that imperialist states, especially at the initial stage of the Organisation's existence, i.e., during the cold war, attempted to use it as a political bloc of Western countries against the Soviet Union and other socialist states; furthermore, they attempted to turn it into such a bloc in practice. Those attempts were aimed at changing unlawfully the principles of functioning embodied in the UN Charter, at obviating and actually eliminating the principle of unanimity of the permanent members of the Security Council, at redistributing the carefully considered competence of the principal organs under the Charter. Needless to say, the success of those attempts, which their initiators failed to achieve, would have undermined the UN's capacity to act as an organisation of peaceful coexistence of states, and would have turned it into a kind of a Western political alliance which would have spelt the political death of the UN.

The political and legal theories of Western scientists which gained currency in that situation (the so-called "constitutional" theory of H. Kelsen, F. Seyersted's theory of "immanent competence", and some of their concepts that did not claim the honorable title of "theories", were designed to substantiate and justify the policy of imperialist quarters which was directed against law and ignored the political realities of today's world. Imperialist policies and bourgeois science merged, poisoning the political atmosphere within the UN for a long time and, furthermore, paralysing its ability to carry out effectively its tasks under the Charter.

Paradoxically, the political meaning of theories which make the UN a "world government" or endow it with features and attributes of a supranational power coincide with the concepts which justify the transformation of the UN into a kind of political bloc of some states against the others. Since the essence of those theories has already been examined in detail by Soviet literature, one characteristic fact should be noted here. Although there is virtually no government among the member states of the UN which would support the idea of turning the Organisation into a kind of "world government" there are many advocates of unjustified and unlawful expansion of the UN powers as a whole or those of its individual bodies in order to use it in their own interests. These forces put forward a seemingly decorous and, moreover, generally acceptable slogan of strengthening the Organisation but in fact such actions encroach on the sovereignty of states and the principle of their equality. Given the present conditions, such ideas, even in abstract theoretical terms, to say nothing of practice, could be realised only if a group of states act against the will and interests of other states which again would be

equivalent to an attempt at turning the UN into an instrument of power play, into a political bloc of some states against the others.

All principles and norms of the UN Charter should be interpreted in the light of the fact that politically the UN is an organisation of peaceful coexistence of states. The Charter does imply the principles of peaceful coexistence, without specifically mentioning the term; all principles of the Charter arise directly and inexorably from the political character of the UN and establish the norm of peaceful coexistence as a generally accepted principle of contemporary international law.

This is equally true of all specific principles of the UN Charter on which the Organisation is based. These are the sovereign equality of states, fulfilment in good faith of international obligations, peaceful settlement of international disputes, prohibition of the threat or use of force in international relations, non-interference in the internal affairs of other states, etc. Characteristically, all of them (and some other principles) were included into the Declaration of Principles of International Law concerning friendly relations and cooperation between states in accordance with the UN Charter (1970) which was adopted by the UN General Assembly and which is justly called a declaration of the principles of peaceful coexistence. These principles are further elaborated in a number of other important decisions adopted by the UN in the 1970s-first half of the 1980s.

Being in essence the principles of peaceful coexistence of states, the principles of the UN Charter are clearly progressive and democratic. They contradict the class nature of imperialist foreign policies based on the denial of the equality of peoples and states, on the recognition of the lawful nature of aggression, of various interventionist doctrines, and military, political and economic oppression of states by more powerful states. But this is a seeming paradox. Clearly, an international organisation of peaceful coexistence of states, which included states with different socio-economic systems, could not have been based on imperialist norms of relations between states since they are organically opposed to the very concept of peaceful coexistence.

Even at the moment when the UN was created peaceful coexistence was, figuratively speaking, imposed on imperialism thanks to the impact of the main objective factors which determined the world's current development and manifested themselves at the end of the Second World War, and thanks to the Soviet Union's consistent and peaceful foreign policy. The UN Charter is probably the most telling proof that by that time imperialism had already ceased to be the one to determine the main direction in which international relations would develop and was forced to take into consideration the effect of powerful objective factors such as the increased might of socialism, the beginning of the disintegration of colonialism and the emergence of young states, the growth and

consolidation of peaceloving forces around the world, including the capitalist countries themselves.

The political essence of the UN as an organisation of peaceful coexistence of states is closely linked to its principles and also to the main norms of its functioning. They are also essential as a guarantee that the political essence of the UN will be realised in practice. We think it pertinent to single out three main norms. One of them is mandatory unanimity of the great powers—permanent members of the Security Council in all matters pertaining to the maintenance or restoration of international peace and security. The second norm provides for proportionally equal representation of states of different systems and regions in all the principal and subsidiary bodies of the UN. Finally, the third one stipulates the need for harmonising the positions of all major groups of member states which belong to different socio-political systems on important issues within the competence of the UN.

What was said above about the political essence of the UN generally applies to its specialised agencies. These agencies should and can be exclusively organisations of peaceful coexistence of states with different socio-political systems. Their main function is to be centres for harmonising the activities and cooperation between states within their terms of reference. Most of the specialised agencies reflect, directly or indirectly, in their charters the above-mentioned fundamental principles of the UN. However, history knows of numerous attempts by Western powers to turn the UN specialised agencies into an instrument of their struggle against the socialist countries, young developing states and national liberation movements. Such attempts were particularly persistently made during the cold war, and they are still being made today.

For example, the financial specialised agencies of the UN system such as the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. the International Finance Corporation, the International Development Association and the International Monetary Fund do not observe one of the main principles of the UN—the principle of the sovereign equality of its members. This principle is also violated by the provisions of their charters based on the formula of conventional private capitalist enterprises: he who holds the largest shares of stock has most of the votes. In actual fact, this majority is known to belong to a small group of developed capitalist states led by the US which directs the policy of these organisations. Moreover, the administrative bodies of these financial institutions of the UN system which are subordinated to the US do not consider themselves bound by the Organisation's general policy formulated in resolutions of its principal bodies. The granting of loans and credits to racist regimes of Southern Africa is only one of the more flagrant violations by these agencies of the most important decisions of the UN on matters of decolonisation and the struggle against racism.

It would be very interesting to analyse the evolution of the political climate and the alignment of forces within the UN. This evolution is closely and directly dependent on the general evolution of international relations, the development of the major trends and contradictions of today's world, changes in the relations and alignment of the main political forces on the international scene. The changes brought about by the above-mentioned objective factors in the alignment of forces and the general situation within the UN are very symptomatic.

During the initial period the situation in the UN was characterised by the following three features: international relations were dominated by the cold war; the process of decolonisation, which had already started, did not, however, gain in scale; the Western bloc within the UN possessed an impressive automatic majority and was able to push through almost any decision, it also possessed a virtual monopoly in the Secretariat of the Organisation. During the first year of the UN's existence the socialist countries had only six votes in the General Assembly, three in the Economic and Social Council, and one in the Trusteeship Council. The compact group of Latin American countries followed, almost without any protest, in the wake of the US policy; the countries of Asia and Africa (incidentally, there were only three of the latter) were as yet unable to demonstrate independent political judgement. More often than not voting on important issues proceeded along the following lines: the socialist countries were on the one side, the rest were on the other side.

Without simplifying the situation, and confining ourselves to only a very general assessment, we can state that the initial period of the UN's history was a period of persistent and shameless attempts by the main imperialist powers led by the USA to turn the UN into a political bloc directed against the socialist countries, to distort and transform the political essence of the UN in accordance with narrow imperialist objectives. This was also a period of the socialist countries' active resistance to such attempts, of their intensive drive for international peace and security, for turning the UN into a genuine instrument of international cooperation in order to achieve the aims laid down in its Charter.

The situation in the UN evolved under the influence of general changes in the international situation. The stronger international positions of socialism and its consistent peace policy resulted in the relaxation of the international climate and later in international detente. The growth of the national liberation movement culminated in the emergence of a large number of young states. The struggle for peace was intensified in the capitalist countries where the general "frame of mind" was affected by changes which occurred on the international scene. Beginning with the mid-1950s the UN witnessed substantial growth of its membership (primarily due to the entry of young states); by 1960 the process had generated a qualitative change

in the alignment of forces within the UN, with the Western bloc finally losing its automatic majority. That was the beginning of the second, fundamentally new stage in the Organisation's development. The effect of the above trends continued to be felt, leading to the appearance of the UN, as we know it now, with its virtually universal membership which changed sharply in comparison with the alignment of forces during the first period of its history.

In the present UN the socialist countries possess about 10 per cent of the votes (this relative share has been maintained during the entire history of the Organisation), but their political weight as a homogeneous group which has consistently defended the interests of peace, peoples and the UN itself, is much greater. Approximately 17 per cent of the votes belong to the group of Western countries and those who support it on major political issues (their relative share in the membership has substantially decreased). About 18 per cent belong to the group of Latin American countries, and the restalmost 55 per cent—to the group of African and Asian states which, therefore, has an independent majority, though it is insufficient for the adoption of resolutions on important questions (in the language of the UN Charter). It follows that today no single group of states exercise complete control over the Organisation. True, it should be borne in mind that as regards the principal questions, for example, economic, the developing nations, which as a rule act as a single bloc, can acquire an overwhelming majority, i.e., about three quarters of all votes. This often happens in practice. Today an overwhelming majority of votes in the Organisation also belongs to progressive forces which take an anti-colonialist stand.

This became possible thanks to the virtually complete universality of the UN membership achieved during the 40 years of its history. Leaving aside the five-year period in the early 1950s, the drive for universality never ceased and has been particularly evident since the early 1960s.

If one takes into account the significant improvements in the situation in the UN Secretariat (although it is far from perfect) the picture of the changes will be even clearer.

In the 1960s and the 1970s, the above-mentioned positive trends and the changes generated by them affected not only the UN but also other inter-system international organisations, including specialised agencies of the UN system, although to a somewhat smaller degree. Many of them carry out useful international measures despite the considerably more complicated international situation and anti-detente processes inspired by the US policy. For instance, such an organisation as UNESCO takes a generally consistent approach to the promotion of equitable and mutually beneficial international cooperation. This has made it a target for blackmail on the part of the US and some of its NATO allies. This specialised agency of the UN system does not sidestep urgent political issues which makes it an

effective instrument of cooperation between states in the interests of a stronger peace and better understanding between peoples, an instrument of coping with the important concrete tasks facing it. The same is true, to a certain extent, of some other specialised agencies.

It should be recognised, of course, that in themselves the principles laid down in the UN Charter and the static balance of political forces cannot as yet determine completely the essence, character, direction and results of the Organisation's activities. What is needed here is to take into account another most important factor—the political dynamism of the main forces operating within the UN, their activities and consistent stand in defending the ideals of the Organisation, the ideals of strengthening peace and international security, cooperation of states in the solution of major international problems, in the advancement of mankind. Without it even the most general picture of the activities and development of the UN would be incomplete.

A general assessment of the situation allows several characteristic conclusions. On the whole, the position of the capitalist countries, notably the US, with regard to the UN activities at the second stage of its development is marked by passivity and conservatism, to say nothing of rather frequent situations when they continue to advocate undisguised imperialist objectives of interference in the internal affairs of other countries and opposition to social progress. There is no doubt that this is related to the "disillusionment" with the UN, which is rather widespread in the Western countries and which was caused by the loss of their exclusive monopoly within the Organisation although they still have a considerable influence.

The group of the developing nations of Asia, Africa and Latin America (Group of 77), whose strength lies in extensive use of its advantage in the form of a majority vote, is a rather dynamic force which in general takes an anti-imperialist stand. It is especially active in defending its common economic interests, in fighting for the final eradication of all manifestations of colonialism and racism. Some of these states are not always consistent and display passivity, and some support Western diplomacy in the UN on some political issues of immense importance for the world. A general description of the developing nations' position cannot help being equivocal considering the heterogeneity of the Group, significant distinctions in the members' internal and international situation, and important political differences.

The group of socialist countries is undoubtedly the most dynamic and consistent force within the UN which is resolutely advocating the strengthening of peace and development of international cooperation. It would be difficult to overestimate the importance of this factor in the entire history of the United Nations. Its great importance was evident already during the first postwar years, during the hard times of the cold war when the unremitting and

consistent drive of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries for peace and against imperialist propaganda and preparations for another world war, for the observance of the principles of the Charter, made it possible to preserve the Organisation as an instrument of international relations. The Soviet Union's influence was particularly evident in subsequent years when preconditions were created for effective use of the UN in its main capacity as an instrument of peaceful coexistence of states, the maintenance of international peace and security, the development of friendly relations between nations, and cooperation in the solution of international problems.

In the entire history of the UN there was no other country or group of countries which put forward so many vital political initiatives or submitted so many constructive proposals useful for the cause of peace and disarmament as did the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. Even during the cold war the socialist countries' proposals were not merely a demonstration of their will and aspiration for peace since positive decisions were adopted on some of them because even in those times the imperialist states were unable to reject such proposals without the risk of finding themselves in political isolation. The socialist countries' proposals are all the more vital today when adoption of positive decisions has become a kind of rule with the UN. Even though the imperialist powers sometimes manage to frustrate their realisation, such decisions have a positive effect on the political atmosphere in the world and the UN and on the development of new democratic principles of international relations.

The dynamic and constructive position of the Soviet Union and the socialist countries in the UN can be further illustrated by the large-scale initiatives submitted by them at the 35th-39th Sessions of the General Assembly designed to remove the threat of nuclear war, to curb the arms race and strengthen confidence and cooperation between states with different social systems.

In the increasingly complex international situation when detente is attacked by certain influential forces in the West, the arms race is growing in scale and attempts by the US Administration to gain military superiority and disrupt the existing rough military and strategic parity are becoming ever more pronounced, the Soviet Union has proposed an integrated programme of measures marked by political courage and realism. If such measures were adopted they would mean a real contribution to the advancement of international detente, the curbing and limiting of the arms race, and later to the transition to disarmament and the strengthening of international security.

The programme includes measures to stop the nuclear arms race and renounce the use of force in international relations, to limit and reduce strategic armaments, prevent militarisation of outer space and surprise, unsanctioned attacks, to strengthen the non-proliferation regime with regard to nuclear weapons, to prohibit other means of mass destruction, to reduce armed forces and conventional weapons, to cut military expenditures, etc.

Two important resolutions initiated by the Soviet Union were adopted by an overwhelming majority at the 39th Session of the General Assembly alone: on inadmissibility of the policy of state terrorism, and any actions by states aimed at undermining the socio-political system in other sovereign states; and on the use of outer space exclusively for peaceful purposes, for the benefit of mankind. They are the most important political documents designed to exert a favourable influence on the international situation.

Of course, it is not only the active and consistent position of the Soviet Union and the socialist countries that is needed to set the UN on the path of the most effective actions for the benefit of peace. One of the most important prerequisites for the UN's successful activities in the future is the mobilisation of all peaceloving forces within the Organisation in order to direct its activities at facilitating the solution of key issues which affect the vital interests of mankind.

NOTES

¹ H. Kelsen, The Law of the United Nations, New York, 1950; idem, Recent Trends in the Law of the United Nations, London, 1951; idem, The United Nations. Ten Years. The UN Legal Progress, The Hague, 1956.

² F. Seyersted, "Objective International Personality of Intergovernmental Organisations", Nordisk Tidsskrift für Internationelia Relationer, 1964.

A System of Guarantees of the Security of States

VLADIMIR PETROVSKY

The current dangerous growth of tension, caused by the activisation of the imperialist forces that pursue a policy of militarism, of claims to world domination, a policy of hampering social progress and violation of peoples' rights and freedoms, makes the question of strengthening universal security ever more urgent. The Soviet Union holds that all the states should direct their efforts at removing the threat of war, the threat of a nuclear catastrophe. This aim meeting the vital interests of mankind must determine the complex of measures to provide reliable security guarantees for states in this nuclear age.

The question concerning guarantees of peace and international security has a long history. Politicians and historians have for a long time examined this subject. The problem of security guarantees acquired a new dimension when socialism, which raised the question of the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems, emerged on the world scene. The opportunities of finding a common denominator in this area have not become less. The sphere of security is not a sphere of ideology where the conflict between the two systems is inevitable. Moreover, what is needed in this nuclear age is not simply separate guarantees but a system of them to preclude the use of war, force or the threat of force to settle international disputes.

Such a system cannot be regarded as a model valid at all times and under any conditions. It undergoes certain changes in the process of its development, reflecting specific situations; it changes in time and space, varying from region to region and from country to country. Nevertheless, bearing in mind international experience one may speak of a certain typology of such guarantees. Two types of security guarantees—direct and indirect—can be distinguished in terms of their contribution to the maintenance of international peace and security.

Direct guarantees mean the limitation of arms and disarmament, peaceful settlement and prevention of international conflicts. The First Special Session of the UN General Assembly on Disarmament (1978) defined the main goal of states in the age of nuclear missiles as security through disarmament. The special significance of disarmament in the system of security guarantees is determined by its being an important factor in liquidating the material and technical basis of war. No other means of ensuring security, no matter how important it might be, is capable of erecting such a tangible, physical barrier to wars.

Considering its place and role in the system of security guarantees, the process of arms limitation and disarmament has many different parameters and manifestations, because it promotes the creation of all other direct and indirect guarantees. As is said in a UN study, "thus, disarmament becomes a primary and most important factor in strengthening international security." 1

Practical disarmament measures would have a positive effect in all spheres of international relations and favourably affect the world political climate. They would make all other guarantees meaningful and trigger the mechanism of unilateral, bilateral and multilateral peace actions.

In a letter of the USSR Permanent Mission to the UN dated May 8, 1984, in respect of an incoming study on concepts of security, it is pointed out that in the efforts to strengthen international security of crucial importance are measures aimed at lowering the level of military confrontation, arms limitation and disarmament. This is a material prerequisite for a secure peace. Security and disarmament are inseparable; only reduction of arms and disarmament can open up the main way to establishing international security. In other words, the limitation of arms and disarmament are to form the core of the security guarantees system for all states.

Arms limitation and disarmament are a long process whose final aim is general and complete disarmament. General and complete disarmament, proposed by the Soviet Union already in the 1920s as the most important task of world politics, is now recognised by the world community as the main direction of the international efforts of states.

As a result of the general and complete disarmament under strict international control war would cease to be a means of solving international problems and contradictions. All arms must be destroyed and armed forces disbanded except those required to maintain internal security and to carry out compulsory measures, provided for in the UN Charter. Only this would allow states to acquire true military security.

Acceptance of the idea of general and complete disarmament is no equivalent to the "everything or nothing" position. The road to its realisation lies through partial steps which imply measures governing the limitation, reduction or elimination of individual systems and types of weapons everywhere, and relating to the curbing and halting the arms race in certain geographical regions.

Partial measures also include those which, though they do not result in an actual reduction of military arsenals, limit the sphere of the arms race and hold it back, lessen the danger of war, and are of a preventive nature.

Thus, arms limitation and disarmament is a stage-by-stage process, in which partial measures are correlated with the tasks of general and complete disarmament as a criterion and an aim, and the steps designed to curb the arms race on the regional level become an important component of the global process.

Indirect security guarantees of states are the restructuring of international economic relations on a just and democratic basis, cooperation in promoting and developing respect for human rights and the main freedoms and the creation of a new information order.

The problem of making the structure of international economic relations correspond to the requirements of universal security has a special place among indirect guarantees. Considering the establishment and development of economic ties between socialist and capitalist states to be of great importance, Lenin called them "a certain indirect guarantee of peace", "an economic and political argument against war." In the space and nuclear age marked by acute struggle of the two systems, this tenet of Lenin becomes especially topical.

A UN study of the correlation of disarmament and international security stresses that for an overwhelming majority of states in the world "...substantial progress towards greater equality, including the narrowing and eventual elimination of the gap between the developing and the developed countries is part of the process of strengthening security." ³

Some Western researchers justly point out the significance of economic factors while absolutising economic security and disregarding the fact that the latter is inseparable from the efforts aimed at strengthening the foundations of universal peace and developing international cooperation in all fields—not only in the economy, but in policy, science, technology and culture as well. Only joint efforts make it possible to divert the resources wasted on wars and military conflicts towards industrial aims and achievement of high living standards, thus helping to strengthen the security of states.

Large-scale measures such as the decision not to use nuclear weapons first, non-use of force in general, and specific measures including dissemination of true information, renunciation of claims on hegemony and great-power ambitions, of propaganda of racism, chauvinism and national exclusiveness, attempts to teach other peoples how to live, of propaganda of violence and fanning of war hysteria, are required to create a climate of confidence between states. And, of course, a significant role in creating a favourable political atmosphere is played by confidence-building measures in the military field, both of notification and limitation nature.

The system of international security guarantees covers the entire sphere of relations between states.⁴ The soundness and reliability of such a system largely depend upon the environment in which it functions. This environment creates the background against which international guarantees are formed and implemented. In a sense it is a condition for universal security. The growing role of social forces, masses and classes, parties and movements, organisations that stand for the prevention of nuclear war, the strengthening of the foundations of universal peace is today the most significant social guarantee of peace and security.

Expansion of the social basis of security helps to develop an appropriate system of values which serve as moral and psychological guarantees of security. The creation of such guarantees is all the more important since the public in the West is brainwashed to become unreceptive of the fact that nuclear war is mankind's suicide. Some people see war as a "thing in itself" which has nothing to do with ethical values. Others, lulled by soothing myths, resign themselves to the thought that nuclear war is inevitable.

The present realities make it imperative to realise that a psychology imbued with national egoism, with the idea of struggle of "everybody against everybody", and based on the concepts of the inevitability or even admissibility of wars as an instrument of policy has become a thing of the past. A new psychology, a psychology of peace and confidence, is required. That is why, while establishing security guarantees in the material sphere, it is necessary at the same time to form such guarantees which would make the emergence of militarist and chauvinist ideas impossible and, on the contrary, would assert the ideas of humanism and cooperation between peoples.

It is pertinent to recall in this context the UN Declaration on Education for Peace, adopted at the 33rd Session of the UN General Assembly on the initiative of Poland (only the USA and Israel abstained). It is meant to create political, economic and other prerequisites and guarantees of development and the strengthening of detente and an atmosphere of confidence between states. This document, in particular, calls upon all states to bring all teaching processes and methods of education as well as the activities of the mass media in conformity with the task of preparing society in general, and youth in particular, for life in the conditions of peace.⁵

Implementation of the provisions of the Declaration by all countries would be an essential moral and psychological factor in the cause of strengthening international security at a time when the menace of war is growing. As is known, the Inter-Governmental Conference on Education for Peace held in April 1983, declared for complete and comprehensive implementation of this Declaration.

The struggle and cooperation in the world arena which mark the entering of mankind into the nuclear and space age brought with it definite opportunities for the development of a system of international security guarantees and which lead to the creation of direct guarantees of security. How should these opportunities be used? What should have priority?

This question is not a purely academic one. It required practical significance after the appearance of the first socialist state on the world scene that proposed to deal with real problems in the field of disarmament, to form a system of collective security to rebuff the aggressor. In concrete terms, the struggle of the diplomacies of the states of the two systems revolved around the relationship between disarmament and universal security. It became especially acute at international forums in the late 1920s-early 1930s. That was the question which showed up the profound gap between the supporters and adversaries of disarmament and a stronger international security. From the very beginning the Soviet diplomacy put forward and substantiated the thesis of ensuring universal security through general and complete disarmament. Addressing the first meeting of the 4th Session of the Preparatory Commission on November 30, 1927, the head of the Soviet delegation said: "We consider the best guarantee of security for all peoples and all countries is immediate and complete disarmament." "Only implementation of the convention on general, simultaneous and complete disarmament proposed by the USSR Government can satisfactorily resolve the problems of universal security and peace," observed the head of the Soviet delegation in 1928. "Only complete disarmament can bring equal security and equal conditions for all countries," he stressed in 1932.

The Soviet delegation pointed out that although partial disarmament measures were not security guarantees they nevertheless helped strengthen it. In the explanatory note to the Soviet draft convention on immediate, complete and general disarmament it was said in particular: "...The draft convention envisages already on the expiration of one year from its coming into force that the army, navy and air force of all countries will be brought to such strength so as to impede their use to conduct war thus limiting the possibility of armed conflicts even before complete disarmament is carried out." 6

The Soviet Union's approach to the relationship between disarmament and international security has always been based on the principle of unity of disarmament measures and other measures designed to strengthen security of states. Thus, the Soviet note to the French Ambassador in Moscow, dated August 31, 1928 underlined in respect of the Kellogg Pact: "...An international treaty banning war without even such an elementary guarantee as the limitation of constantly growing arms will remain a dead letter with no real content." At the same time, the Soviet Union underlined the priority of real disarmament measures from the standpoint of strengthening security. In 1929, the Soviet Government declared that it considered disarmament the most serious guarantee of peace which it had proposed and propose to all nations. Only disarmament is a real guarantee of moral and formal obligations to preserve peace under international agreement. On the other hand, each international treaty (like the Kellogg Pact) is effective and important because it contributes to the speediest implementation of the idea of disarmament.7

The obstructionist policy of Western imperialist states thwarted the efforts to ensure security through disarmament or other measures (elaboration of a convention on the definition of aggression, conclusion of treaties on non-aggression and mutual help, on neutrality with neighbouring states). Nevertheless, the fact that the Soviet Union raised the question of disarmament and other ways of averting wars and conflicts was of crucial importance.

Among the principles of cooperation in maintaining international peace and security the UN Charter names those that govern the process of disarmament. The Charter's broad and comprehensive approach to security issues, on which the Soviet Union has always insisted, deprives the attempts to oppose disarmament to other aspects of international security of international-legal grounds.

True to Lenin's principles of foreign policy the USSR has always been and is a staunch supporter of searching for solutions designed to strengthen international security, including ending the arms race, the limitation of arms and disarmament and confidence-building in relations between states. The Soviet Union assigns the highest priority to the prohibition and destruction of all types of nuclear arms. Soviet initiatives concerning burning problem are high on the list of international problems. The USSR has shown an example of goodwill by undertaking not to use nuclear arms first. It is ready to solve the problems of both "European" and strategic nuclear weapons on a mutually acceptable basis.

That is proved by the Soviet initiative which have brought about the new Soviet-American talks on a set of questions pertaining to space and nuclear armaments, both strategic and medium-range, in their interconnection. Taken into consideration is thus the objective realities of the world today, namely, the fact that nuclear weapons cannot be limited, and more so reduced, without effective measures which would avert the militarisation of outer space.

The sensible Soviet approach to this vital problem is noted by many politicians and public figures.

The talks open an opportunity—provided there is a mutual readiness—to prevent the spreading of the arms race to outer space and to stop it on Earth, thereby making a major step towards the accomplishment of the historic task of the complete and universal liquidation of nuclear weapons.

That is both possible and attainable if both sides are guided by the principle of equality and equal security and strictly follow the achieved understanding on the subject and purpose of the talks. Such is the Soviet approach to the new talks.

The Soviet Union advocates the adoption of large-scale practical measures to create a climate of confidence between states, to limit arms and to achieve a real disarmament. The proposal, made by the USSR in March 1984, on the set of norms in relations between states that possess nuclear weapons is truly of an innovative nature. The vital interests of all mankind, the responsibility of statesmen to the present and coming generations require that those norms take into account the military and strategic situation on the planet and follow the most important tasks of strengthening universal peace.

According to the Soviet initiative, prevention of nuclear war as the main goal of foreign policy should become a fundamental norm of relations between nuclear powers. There is a logical connection between this and other principles such as to renounce nuclear war propaganda, to pledge not to use nuclear weapons first, and not to use them against non-nuclear states that do not have them on their territory, not to allow their proliferation in any form. The code of behaviour of nuclear powers should include the following long-term task: on the basis of the principle of equal security to achieve, step by step, the reduction of nuclear arms until their complete liquidation in all forms. The Soviet Union is invariably guided by these principles. It is prepared to agree with other nuclear powers on mutual recognition of the norms proposed by it, and on making them mandatory.

Soviet memorandums, devoted to the questions of disarmament, pay much attention to the liquidation of conflicts and crisis situations. Its 1980 memorandum reflects this in its very title—"For Peace and Disarmament, for Guarantees of International Security". The 1982 memorandum specifies: "At the close of the 20th century a sound concept of security requires vigorous action to prevent the outbreak of armed conflicts, including nuclear conflicts, rather than the compilation of strategic schedules of their escalation."

The Soviet Union has invariably advocated peaceful and just settlement, by political means, of acute international conflicts which flare up in different regions: short and long, exclusively "local" or quickly spreading, fraught with the threat of a nuclear conflict. According to the USSR, the UN Security Council is meant to play the decisive role in the peaceful settlement of situations and disputes, the continuation of which might threaten the maintenance of international peace and security.

In the present situation it is especially necessary to consider progress in arms limitation and in the creation of other guarantees of international security as closely interrelated goals. On the other hand, it would be a mistake to present the achievement of one of them as a preliminary condition for the other. There can be arms limitation and disarmament measures that do not require simultaneous political actions. But there are others, which are impossible without parallel actions in other fields. The more far-reaching and significant in the military field are arms limitation and disarmament measures, the more pressing is the need for coordinated actions to strengthen all other direct and indirect guarantees of international security. But, as is stressed in the above-mentioned UN study, though the processes of disarmament can be separated in conceptual terms from that of formation of international security guarantees, in fact, forming a single whole, they frequently coincide and complement each other.

The unbreakable interrelation between disarmament and international security points at the need for maximum efforts to move closer to accomplishing the pressing task—to curb and halt the arms race, to proceed to practical steps to decrease the level of the accumulated arms, to real disarmament.

Both general and national security can be best strengthened, says the study, under the conditions of detente, which means establishing normal, smooth relations between states, confidence-building and the ability to take into consideration the legitimate interests of each other. "Detente is essential for progress in ensuring international security." 8

A report of the Palme Commission also confirms the decisive importance of arms limitation and disarmament for strengthening international security. It says that the acceptance of the principle of common security as a basis for efforts to reduce the threat of war, limit arms and advance towards disarmament, means, as a matter of fact, that cooperation must replace confrontation in settling conflict situations.⁹

The formation of guarantees of security of states presupposes both global and regional efforts. Those efforts must not substitute, but back each other. Regional and global security are two sides of one medal—international security.

The realistic ideas of ensuring security, which become international practice, negate the anachronistic perspective on security as synonymous with military muscle building, and make the USA and its closest allies dodge and resort to different tricks. That lays bare the hypocrisy of those Western politicians who pay lip-service to the

strengthening of international security, while putting forward different reservations and preconditions that, in fact, exclude the possibility of taking effective measures to strengthen the foundations of international peace and security. Most Western politicians are obviously dealing in non sequiturs. To begin with, they, as before, try to artificially separate international security from disarmament which is a material prerequisite of secure peace and reduce it only to one problem—conflict situations. Western diplomacy repeating what it did on the eve of the Second World War, demands the implementation of measures on conflict settlement as a precondition of arms limitation. But as soon as the question of liquidating hotbeds of tension comes up, it is ready to talk only about one or two of them, ignoring the problems that it considers inconvenient.

Such a destructive approach to the problems of ensuring international security revealed itself during the "jubilee" session of the NATO Council timed to the 35th anniversary of the foundation of this aggressive military and political organisation. In the present situation when the question of preserving and strengthening peace becomes more and more pressing, when the nations demand more and more persistently that effective measures be taken to strengthen international security, to reduce the threat of war; the USA and NATO become the main obstacle in the way, trying to impose their will on all and sundry, undermining the very foundations of common security. As is underlined in TASS statement of June 2, 1984, the Soviet Union is firmly against such a policy. Those who have not given up the dangerous illusions that they can damage the legitimate interests of the USSR and its friends and allies should once again be reminded that this would never be allowed. Any attempts of this kind are doomed to failure as it happened before. Those who determine the policy of NATO should get back down to earth, think about the consequences of their course, and realise the full measure of their responsibility to the peoples of their countries, and to all nations.¹⁰

The search for real ways and means to strengthen universal security demands a definite, politically clear position, a clear distinction between concepts oriented on ensuring security and the well-being of all countries and peoples and those that have nothing in common with security—either international or national.

The Soviet Union is actively fighting against those forces bent on increasing the military danger. The arms race, the stoking of the balance of fear is not our choice. We are resolutely in favour of reduction of military confrontation, of reaching agreements on this issue in accordance with the principle of equality and equal security.¹¹

NOTES

¹ Doc. UN A/36/597, November 19, 1981, p. 25.

² V. I. Lenin, Collected Works, Moscow, Vol. 31, p. 457.

- ³ Doc. UN A/36/597, p. 25.
- ⁴ See, for example, E. Skakunov, International Legal Guarantees of Security of States, Moscow, 1983, pp. 39-89 (in Russian).
- ⁵ Doc. UN A/Res/33/73, January 16, 1979.
- ⁶ Foreign Policy of the USSR, A Collection of Documents, Vol. 3, 1925-1934, Moscow, 1945, p. 176 (in Russian).
- ⁷ Ibid., p. 293.
- 8 Doc. UN A/36/597, p. 31.
- ⁹ Common Security. A Programme for Disarmament. The Report of the Independent Commission on Disarmament and Security Issue under the Chairmanship of Olof Palme, London, 1982.
- 10 Pravda, June 3, 1984.
- 11 Pravda, June 5, 1984.

World Community and Scientific and Technical Cooperation

SERGEI TSUKANOV, ANDREI MIROSHNICHENKO

In addition to its influence on economic and social processes within countries, today's scientific and technological revolution has a significant effect on the entire system of international economic and political relations. The existing alignment of forces in the world and its evolution are largely determined by economic as well as scientific and technical potential. On the other hand, during a scientific and technological revolution objective tendency towards the deepening and expansion of the international division of labour in the economy, science and technology requires an extensive exchange of know-how, ideas, theories and hypotheses.

The detachment of scientific and technical cooperation in a specific sphere of international relations is an important means of strengthening the international aspect of the scientific and technological revolution. This rapidly increases the number of its forms (congresses, seminars, symposiums, joint works of scientists and scientific institutions of different countries, etc.) and attracts ever growing attention to this subject in a whole number of intergovernmental treaties and agreements. An international market of scientific and technical knowledge has been established and is expanding in the sphere of trade (trade in patents and licences, technologies and know-how). A particularly rapid growth is observed in trade of science-intensive products which are the latest achievements of scientific and technical progress.

The use of such advances for overcoming underdevelopment in many countries (primarily transfers and adaptation of technologies) is gaining in importance. Scientific and technical cooperation have become particularly important due to global problems requiring worldwide solutions, such as environmental protection, energy, raw-material and food problems, the problem of the utilisation of the World Ocean resources, etc.

It is only natural that in recent years, the UN has come to pay great attention to the questions of science and technology and scientific and technical cooperation. At present, almost all UN international measures are concerned with science and technology. Moreover, its activities reflect all the specific features and contradictions of present-day international relations. Despite any statements to the contrary, the UN's activities in the sphere of science and technology are political in nature and provoke sharp debate between socialist and capitalist countries, between newly free and imperialist countries.

Science and technology are considered in the UN primarily in relation to the problem of overcoming economic underdevelopment of developing nations, and the activities of most of its bodies and agencies in economic and social fields are focussed on these countries. At the same time, there is the matter of developing multilateral cooperation involving industrialised capitalist and socialist countries that possess a high scientific and technical potential.

The UN's activities assume such forms as big international conferences on general problems of scientific and technical advance and their use for economic and social development. Thus, in 1979, the UN held the Vienna Conference on Science and Technology for Development. In addition, international conferences are held on specified scientific and technical problems such as the UN Conference on New Sources of Energy (August 1981) as well as international seminars, symposiums, colloquiums, expert groups and workshops to discuss specific questions. In 1983-1984, expert groups discussed the following pressing issues: expanded research and dissemination of scientific and technical knowledge in developing countries; strengthening ties between research and production; indicators of scientific and technical development; the synthesis of new and traditional technologies; and long-term prospects of science and technology for development.

Coordination of scientific programmes in various scientific and technical fields within the framework of specialised intergovernmental committees set up by the UN General Assembly, and implementing comprehensive research programmes are important forms of the UN's activities. The latter include the IAEA Nuclear Safety and Environmental Protection Programmes, the UNESCO Programme on Man and Biosphere, the FAO Review of the State of World Fishery Resources, and others. The research activities of the United Nations Institute for Training and Research (UNITAR) and the International

Centre for Theoretical Physics and laboratories of the IAEA are concerned with specific tasks apart from information. Moreover, the UNESCO has a special United Nations Information System for Science and Technology (UNISIST).

Of paramount importance is the scientific and technical assistance to developing nations. Expert consultants are sent to these countries to advise on the organisation of research centres and colleges, elaboration of scientific and technical programmes, transfers of technology and training of local personnel (by establishing training centres, courses, seminars, and granting of stipends for training abroad, including UN schools).

The Soviet Union is actively engaged in all UN scientific and technical activities. It attaches great importance to scientific and technical cooperation on a bilateral and multilateral basis.

Scientific and technical cooperation between the Soviet Union and other countries, and also within the UN, is characterised by its planned, large-scale and long-term nature, extensive use of intergovernmental and interdepartmental agreements, and long-term programmes with clearly defined objectives. Experience shows that a solid foundation for stable development is laid down by these factors that are determined by socialism.

The Soviet Union advocates international assistance to the developing nations in establishing their national and regional scientific centres with long-term programmes for comprehensive research on economic and natural resources. Its assistance to the developing nations, which is also rendered through the UN, is wholly aimed at establishing their own industrial and scientific and technical infrastructure, and training of national personnel.

Expansion of UN activities in the field of science and technology, the growing number of problems that require cooperation have necessitated the development of general guidelines of a scientific and technical policy and establishment of an appropriate institutional mechanism. This confirms the UN's mounting attention to the need of the developing nations and, in particular, to the use of science and technology for speeding up their economic growth.

The first major event in scientific and technical cooperation was directly related to the developing countries. That was the UN Conference on Science and Technology for Development in the less developed regions of the world (Geneva, 1963). It revealed an enormous gap between the capitalist and developing countries and facilitated formal recognition of the role of science and technology in the solution of socio-economic problems of development, in particular the role of engineers and scientific community.

Its findings were very important for streamlining the institutional scientific and technical mechanism within the UN. Thus, one of its practical results was the establishment of the UN Advisory Committee on the Application of Science and Technology for Development (ACAST) which held its first session in 1964.

In addition to ACAST, a special intergovernmental body was established in 1972—the Scientific and Technological Committee of the ECOSOC called upon to examine relevant development questions.

Thus, by the mid-1970s the UN boasted a system of bodies that managed and coordinated its activities in science and technology. Since 1964 they have been controlled by the UN Secretariat's Science and Technology Division (as part of the Department of Economic and Social Questions) in New York.

A special role is played by the Advisory Committee on the Application of Science and Technology for Development which up to 1979 consisted of 24 members appointed by the ECOSOC on the recommendation of the UN Secretary-General with regard to the principle of just geographical distribution, and after consultations with governments of the UN member states. Members of the ACAST acted in their personal capacity, they were either noted scientists or science managers.

The ACAST's main functions were to work out recommendations for the ECOSOC on practical application of science and technology for the benefit of the less developed countries and to consider and improve UN scientific and technical programmes, to exclude overlapping, and establishment of priorities. In addition, the committee focused on specific questions of scientific organisation passed to it by the ECOSOC or the Secretary-General, and on research and consultations concerning better application of scientific and technical advances for the benefit of the Third World.

Besides, the UN General Assembly charged the ACAST with considering problems of interest for the UN as a whole, for example, the possibility of developing a programme for international scientific and technical cooperation under which scientists and technicians from the industrialised countries would assist the developing nations in solving their pressing problems.

In the light of its functions and objectives, the committee distributed among its members the tasks that required special attention and certain questions of cooperation with other UN agencies. When necessary the ACAST could set up special workshops on separate questions, for example, scientific training or natural resources.

The committee organises international symposiums and colloquiums devoted to a variety of problems of scientific and technical cooperation such as the International Symposium on Trends and Perspectives in Development of Science and Technology and Their Impact on the Solution of Contemporary Global Problems held on the initiative of the Soviet Union in Tallinn in 1979. The proceedings contributed substantially to the preparation of the Vienna Conference on Science and Technology for Development.

Parallel with the ACAST the ECOSOC Scientific and Technological Committee participated in the UN's scientific and technical activity. Under its mandate the committee was called upon to develop the UN's policy in science and technology, to make recommendations on applying science and technology for development and to submit reports to the General Assembly through the ECOSOC.

From the outset the committee became the scene of an acute political struggle. Its first session highlighted the differences between the developing and the developed capitalist countries. Representatives of socialist countries raised crucial questions of socio-economic development of developing countries, problems related to capitalist monopoly activities and the role of science and technology in development.

The sessions evinced some progress in the UN's approach to the use of science and technology and cooperation for development. The committee documents encouraged the developing countries to accelerate the creation of their own scientific and technical basis, to enhance the role of the state in the sphere of science and technology, and to establish international cooperation in these fields.

The Soviet Union has contributed greatly to the work of the ECOSOC Committee and other scientific and technical bodies of the UN. Its representatives have always insisted that the world community's scientific and technical activities should promote peace and peaceful coexistence of states with different socio-economic systems, the development of equal and mutually beneficial scientific and technical cooperation based on respect of the sovereign rights of peoples, should help solve important scientific and technical problems facing mankind, and render effective assistance to the developing countries.

"The World Plan of Action to Apply Science and Technology for Development" report, prepared on the recommendation of the ACAST, contained a list of major urgent scientific and technical problems, and recommendations on accelerating scientific and technical progress and extending assistance to the developing countries.

However, the main provisions of the World Plan of Action were never implemented. Unfortunately, the first stage of the UN's activities in science and technology which started with the 1963 Conference did not produce the expected practical results. A number of negative factors became evident in the work of the UN. Thus, despite the significant expansion and complication of the mechanism responsible for implementing and coordinating scientific and technical activities, there was a lack of coordination among programmes of

the UN system. There was virtually no communication between different agencies that prepared and realised many of the programmes. This resulted in duplication and mismanagement of human and material resources.

The Soviet Union and other socialist countries participating in the work of the Second Committee, in sessions of the ECOSOC and other UN bodies dealing with science and technology repeatedly pointed out the need for effective coordination of numerous scientific and technical programmes carried out by one or another organisation, and insisted on coordinating scientific and technical cooperation within the UN with the tasks of socio-economic development in all countries.

After a discussion of very modest results of the activities of the main UN bodies dealing with science and technology, the 8th Special Session of the UN General Assembly (1975) decided to hold another conference on science and technology. Furthermore, the General Assembly indicated the direct relation between the conference and the task of establishing a new international economic order (Resolution 21 of December 21, 1976).

The Vienna Conference of 1979 marked a new stage in the UN's scientific and technical activities. Its aims were formulated by the ECOSOC and the General Assembly: to adopt concrete decisions on ways and means of applying scientific and technical achievements for the establishment of a new international economic order; to strengthen the technical potential of the developing countries; to adopt effective measures of applying scientific and technical potential for solving economic development problems, of national, regional and global importance; to provide the developing nations with instruments of cooperation in order to use science and technology for solving pressing socio-economic problems.

The conference was conducted in a trying atmosphere. The developing countries' position was that the UN's scientific and technical activities should be increasingly oriented to their needs and that the UN should maintain an obligatory financial assistance scheme, which would include a fixed percentage of the active balance of developed countries' trade in manufactures with the developing nations. Furthermore, they demanded that a new UN intergovernmental body on science and technology be set up to distribute the above-mentioned financial resources.

The developing nations, however, failed to submit a comprehensive, long-term and coherent programme for socio-economic development. Their demands made no distinctions between socialist and imperialist states, thus weakening their own positions. The industrialised Western countries engaged in undisguised attempts to squeich

any criticism from the developing nations. Discussions confirmed the presence of irreconcilable differences between the developing and the leading capitalist countries in such matters as technology transfer, control of TNC activities, and giving the developing countries access to information on the latest technological advances. In an attempt to deflect justified criticism, the Western powers resorted to manoeuvring and flirting with some developing countries. A number of delegations (Byelorussia, Mongolia, Bulgaria, Hungary, the GDR, Poland, the Soviet Union, the Ukraine and Czechoslovakia) reflected in their statements the most important problems facing the conference, and indicated ways and means to solve them. Attention focused on the statement by the head of the Soviet delegation that validated the need to link problems of scientific and technical cooperation to priority world development problems such as averting the nuclear war threat, curbing the arms race and strengthening international scientific and technical cooperation on the basis of peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems. A considerable portion of the statement was devoted to the Soviet Union's experience in creating its own scientific and technical potential.

In their joint statement distributed at the conference, the socialist countries stressed the need for the developing nations to be more active and purposeful in creating their own scientific and technical potential, and pointed out that they would continue rendering them every possible assistance in more effective application of science and technology, both on a bilateral basis and through active participation in multilateral programmes, primarily within the framework of the UN. Despite the resistance of some Western delegations, the socialist countries succeded in having some of their key provisions included in the Programme of Action approved by the conference. Some of these recommendations were aimed against unscrupulous practices of the TNCs in developing nations. The Soviet delegation suggested developing a set of measures to prevent brain drain from the developing countries, to increase their opportunities of obtaining scientific and technical information and creating an international system of technology transfers within the framework of cooperation between interested countries.

The main outcome of the conference is a document entitled the Vienna Programme of Action in Science and Technology for Development. Its main recommendations are aimed at strengthening the developing nations' scientific and technical potential, changing the existing character of international relations in this sphere (in particular, condemning the practices of the TNCs), allocating more financial resources for the development of science and technology in the developing nations.

The conference adopted a number of practical decisions to implement the Programme of Action, including the establishment of a full-scale Intergovernmental Committee on Science and Technology

for Development. A voluntary Interim Fund for Science and Technology amounting to 250 million dollars was set up to finance assistance to the developing countries. On the whole, the Vienna Conference was significant stage in the UN activities in this sphere. On the other hand, it must be noted that despite the intensive work of its bodies, no agreement was reached on certain provisions of the Vienna Programme of Action and they were transferred for consideration to the UN General Assembly.

Like a number of other socialist countries, the Soviet Union did not object to the conference's decisions on institutional and financial questions adopted by consensus but issued a statement confirming the need for strict observance of the principle of the voluntary nature of all funds in the UN system and for increasing the effectiveness of the existing bodies (instead of creating new ones). In the Soviet Union's opinion, institutional questions should be resolved in full compliance with the UN Charter and with due regard paid to the role of the ECOSOC in the system, since scientific and technical progress is an organic part of socio-economic development. It is necessary to analyse carefully existing methods and sources of financing in order to make them more effective.

The 34th and subsequent sessions of the UN General Assembly were of great importance for improving the work of the central UN bodies concerned with science and technology. Thus, in its resolution of January 25, 1980, the General Assembly approved the Vienna Programme of Action and a number of its decisions on organisational and financial aspects of its implementation.²

The disbanded ECOSOC Scientific and Technological Committee was replaced by the above-mentioned Intergovernmental Committee which had broader powers and was open to all states for full-fledged membership. It is called upon to assist the General Assembly in performing the following functions:

- to develop prospective principles for harmonising policies and improving communication between bodies, organisations and departments of the UN as regards scientific and technical activities on the basis of the Vienna Programme and for promoting the establishment of a new international economic order;
- to identify priorities of efficient planning on national, sub-regional, regional, inter-regional and global levels; to monitor the activities and programmes of UN agencies in the sphere of science and technology; to facilitate optimal mobilisation of resources; to adopt measures for identifying and assessing scientific and technical advances which could affect in one way or another the scientific and technical potential of the developing countries; to administer the system of financing science and technology within the UN.

By the early 1985 the Committee had held six sessions discussing, inter alia, the following important issues: adoption of an operational plan for the implementation of the Vienna Programme of Action, including financing science and technology for development, raising the effectiveness of the UN activities in this field; establishment of a global scientific and technical information system and an advance technology alert system; establishment of a consultative mechanism within the UN for the adoption of expert recommendations on the application of science and technology for development.

The most important institutional decision was the Intergovernmental Committee's recommendation to the ECOSOC to disband the ACAST and set up a new body—Advisory Committee for Science and Technology for Development (ACSTD). The reason for this decision was the need to fit the advisory body into the organisational structure of the UN in this sphere.

In accordance with the Intergovernmental Committee's document of December 9, 1980, the ACSTD is an auxiliary body of the committee and provides on its request such expert consultative services in science and technology as necessary for the execution of the committee's mandate. The ACSTD renders similar services to the ECOSOC and other intergovernmental organs of the UN system as well as the UN Secretary-General.

In turn, the ACSTD is entitled to use consultative services rendered by expert groups of the various UN agencies and other national scientific, technical and other organisations or special groups.

It should be noted that unlike the ACAST the new advisory body consists of 28 members appointed by the Intergovernmental Committee at the suggestion of the UN Secretary-General after consultations with governments of UN member countries. Nominations can be proposed by scientific and technical societies, production and consumer organisations through the governments of their countries. Any appointment should take into account the need for a balance between representatives of various disciplines and the principles of just geographical distribution.

In accordance with the decisions of the Intergovernmental Committee, ACSTD members are appointed for a three-year term and are ineligible for re-appointment after two consecutive terms. To ensure an orderly rotation of the membership, half of the initial members are appointed for two years. Guided by this provision ACSTD membership for 1985-1987 is as follows: out of its 28 members 8 experts represent Africa, 7—Western Europe, and other capitalist countries; 5—Asia; 5—Latin America, 3—socialist countries of Europe (1 expert from the USSR, 1 from Poland and 1 from Rumania).

In addition to the Intergovernmental Committee and the ACSTD, another organisational element of the UN system is the Centre for

Science and Technology for Development. It has been established as a structural element of the UN Secretariat in place of the disbanded Science and Technology Division. The centre is headed by an Assistant Secretary-General who works under the guidance of the General Director of the Department of Development and International Economic Cooperation. Its main function is to assist the Department in fulfilling its obligations under the Vienna Programme of Action, including the provision of necessary operational services to the Intergovernmental Committee, as well as coordinating activities at the level of Secretariat. The centre closely cooperates with such bodies of the UN as the UN Development Programme, the Department of International Economic and Social Affairs, and the Department of Technical Cooperation for Development.

A qualitatively new element of the UN structure is the Interim Fund for Science and Technology for Development established by the General Assembly in 1980 for a period of two years, i.e., until the creation of the UN Financing System for Science and Technology for Development. The fund was financed by voluntary contributions which in 1980-1981 amounted to about 50 million dollars. It functioned in close cooperation with the UN Development Programme.

During the discussion of the main principles of activities of the UN Financing System for Science and Technology for Development which took place in 1981 the Soviet delegation stressed that the new system should be based primarily on the principles of universality and voluntary contributions from member countries.

In 1981, the General Assembly approved only the main organisational principles of the System after considering at its 36th Session the recommendations of the Intergovernmental Committee, the main one being its voluntary and universal character.³ In 1982-1984, matters related to the functioning of the Financing System were considered at Intergovernmental Committee and General Assembly sessions. It was observed that the System still lacked the necessary amount of contributions. Accordingly, at its 39th Session the General Assembly decided to set up an intergovernmental workshop to discuss financial and organisational aspects of the Financing System's activities in time for the 7th Session of the Intergovernmental Committee (May-June 1985).⁴

Summarising the activities of the UN concerning the organisation of scientific and technical cooperation, it should be noted that by the mid-1980s certain qualitative changes had occurred in the work of the central UN bodies on science and technology that had been initiated by serious organisational changes in the very UN mechanism for science and technology carried out after the Vienna Conference.

In our view, these qualitative changes can be seen in the fact that concrete and vital questions came to be discussed by the Intergovernmental Committee, the Advisory Committee for Science and Technology for Development and the Centre for Science and Technology for Development due to an active search for ways and means to increase their effectiveness. Thus, apart from organisational matters, starting with its 7th Session the Intergovernmental Committee discusses at each session one or two concrete subjects relating to science and technology, for example, transfer of technology, application of advances in biotechnology and microelectronics for socioeconomic development, etc. The Advisory Committee, which in 1983-1984 held a number of useful expert meetings on subjects vital to many states, is now called upon to select as a central question for discussion at its sessions one of concrete scientific and technical subjects in order to elaborate scientific recommendations for subsequent discussion of these subjects in the Intergovernmental Committee.

One should also not lose sight of the practical significance of certain measures taken by the UN Centre for Science and Technology. For example, the seminar on planning and managing science and technology organised by the centre together with the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology, the USSR State Planning Committee and the USSR State Committee for Foreign Economic Relations, aroused worldwide interest. The seminar, held in Moscow on October 8-27, 1984, was attended by representatives from 21 countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. Another seminar sponsored by the centre, and scheduled for the autumn of 1985 in Moscow, will be devoted to the role of information in accelerating scientific and technical progress in developing countries and to problems of establishing a global scientific and technical information network.

At present, the centre is cooperating with other international organisations in implementing such a complex and vital task as the creation of an Advance Technology Alert System (ATAS) with the following three main elements: publication of the ATAS bulletin; creation of a network of specialised research institutes; and assistance to governments in obtaining necessary scientific and technical information.

Vigorously participating in scientific and technical cooperation within the UN, the Soviet Union supports all efforts aimed at heightening the effectiveness of UN scientific and technical activities. It must be noted as well that success of scientific and technical programmes for the development of the newly free countries largely depends on the degree in which the UN's efforts are backed up in the developing nations by adequate programmes for internal socio-economic changes necessary for the attainment of technological independence. The Soviet Union is convinced that success in bridging

the existing gap between the developing and the developed countries, including that in the sphere of science and technology, can be achieved either through the establishment, in the developing countries, of the state sector responsible for scientific and technical policy or through its strengthening and introduction of planning for this policy, i.e., the creation of their own scientific and technical potential.

Some developing countries do not always take a critical attitude to the prescriptions written out by the USA and its Western partners which boil down to calls for throwing the door wide open to operations by the transnationals. A comprehensive analysis of the latter's activities shows that the TNCs deepen the technological and economic dependence of the developing countries on imperialism and create serious obstacles to their socio-economic development by ignoring their national interests, extensively resorting to restrictive practices in transferring technology, pumping superprofits out of them, and disregarding priorities of the still weak economies of the young states. By defending and playing down the negative consequences of TNC activities, the US and a number of other Western countries hinder UN efforts to organise scientific and technical cooperation for development.

The Soviet Union attaches vast importance to international cooperation in science and technology, being fully aware of the complexity of the problems whose solution is necessary for continued progress of mankind. The enormous potential and volume of knowledge accumulated by mankind, as manifested in scientific and technical advances, is a truly unique wealth which must be used for the benefit of all the peoples of the world. The United Nations can undoubtedly play a vital role in the process.

NOTES

- ¹ Report of the UN Conference on Science and Technology for Development, A/Conf. 81/16, UN, New York, 1980, pp. 56-147.
- ² Resolutions and Decisions Adopted by the General Assembly During Its Thirty-Fourth Session, 18 September 1979—7 January 1980, Resolution A/Res./34/218, pp. 272-286.
- ³ Resolutions and Decisions Adopted by the General Assembly During Its Thirty-Sixth Session, 29 September 1981—15 January 1982, Resolution A/C. 2/36/L. 144, pp. 290-291.
- ⁴ Resolutions and Decisions Adopted by the General Assembly During Its Thirty-Ninth Session, A/C. 2/39/L. 108, 4 December 1984.

The Dumbarton Oaks Conference: the USSR for the Unity of the Great Powers

VALENTIN BEREZHKOV

The Dumbarton Oaks Conference in Washington, held from August 21 to September 28, 1944, between the USSR, the USA and the United Kingdom was an important event in the diplomatic history of the Second World War. Its work was summed up in the "foundations document", as it was then called. That document was the first practical step towards a postwar world security organisation.

The task that faced the diplomats gathered in Dumbarton Oaks was not an easy one. The bloodiest of all wars mankind had ever known was in its fifth year. Although the tide had turned in favour of the anti-Hitler coalition by August 1944, there was still bitter fighting ahead, hundreds of thousands of soldiers would sacrifice their lives in the name of victory, and many nations were still suffering under the nazi yoke. The horrors and destruction brought by the war and the enormous sacrifice in human lives made the peoples of the world hope fervently that such a catastrophe should never be repeated. Millions embraced the idea that a system of international relations was necessary to ensure a stable and lasting peace. At the same time all kinds of difficulties arose from the fact that the anti-Hitler coalition included states with different social systems. All of this made the working out of the principles of the new organisation a particularly responsible task.

At the time, the sad memory of the League of Nations was still fresh. That organisation had proved utterly incapable of curbing the nazi aggression and had ceased its existence by the beginning of the Second World War.

Bearing in mind the League of Nations' impotence and its voluntary oversight of the fascist countries' outrageous aggression, it

was necessary to work out an entirely new approach to the postwar settlement.

The Soviet Government insisted on an organisation capable of effectively maintaining international security and curbing aggression. As early as December 4, 1941, when the nazi hordes were poised, ready to attack Moscow, this idea was formulated in the first inter-governmental document adopted during the war—the Declaration of the Government of the Soviet Union and the Government of the Polish Republic on Friendship and Mutual Assistance. It pointed out that a just and lasting peace "could be achieved only through a new organisation of international relations based on a firm union of democratic countries".1

The next step in that direction was the January 1, 1942, Declaration of 26 States which came to be known as "The United Nations". The war was still in full swing when study of the postwar settlement began in the USSR, the USA and the United Kingdom. In September 1943, a commission of prominent Party and government leaders was set up in the Soviet Union to deal with peace treaties and the postwar settlement. The commission was assigned the task of working out definite proposals.²

As regards the USA and Great Britain, their conception of the new security organisation, at the beginning, was a faithful copy of the League of Nations. In a conversation with Maxim Litvinov, the Soviet Ambassador to the USA, the British Foreign Secretary Anthony Eden, who came to Washington for consultations with American leaders, said that Washington and London agreed on the need for a postwar organisation similar to the former Council of the League of Nations.³

At the Moscow Conference of Foreign Ministers of the USSR, the USA and the United Kingdom in October 1943, the Soviet delegation proposed forming a commission of representatives of the United Kingdom, the United States of America and the Soviet Union for preliminary work on questions involved in the setting up of a General International Organisation.⁴ The proposal was adopted, and that marked the beginning of intensified work on the basic document of the new international organisation.

The postwar settlement was discussed in detail at the Moscow Conference. The Declaration of Four Nations on General Security was signed, with China joining the three participants in the Moscow Conference. The declaration pointed out the need for united actions of the great powers as a condition both for a speedy defeat of the aggressors and for a rapid and orderly transition from war to peace. The task was set of ensuring peace with the least diversion of the world's human and economic resources for armaments. The signatories declared their determination to collaborate in the organisation and maintenance of peace and security after the enemy's defeat. They went on to pledge "that after the termination of hostilities they

will not employ their military forces within the territories of other states except for the purposes envisaged in this declaration and after joint consultation". The necessity was also recognised of "establishing at the earliest practicable date a general international organisation, based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all peace-loving states, and open to membership by all such states, large and small".⁵

During the conference, there were two conversations between Joseph Stalin, head of the Soviet Government, and US State Secretary Cordell Hull. One of them took place in Stalin's study in the Kremlin, the other in the Kremlin's Catherine Hall during a dinner to mark the closing of the conference. I acted as interpreter during these conversations, and I well remember with what conviction the State Secretary spoke of the importance of reaching an agreement on a postwar settlement. Stalin replied that he was fully in favour of a broad programme of international cooperation (military, political and economic) in the interests of peace.

The Roosevelt Administration was confronted by forces at home which regarded the military alliance with Moscow as a forced measure and would not hear of any cooperation with the Soviet Union in the postwar period. Those groups were so influential that the White House could not ignore them. The pressure from these elements made itself felt from the moment of Germany's attack on the USSR throughout the existence of the anti-Hitler coalition. The need to reckon with those powerful groups often compelled President Roosevelt to execute contradictory, ambiguous manoeuvres. K. Umansky, Soviet Ambassador to the USA, pointed to this fact as early as June 22, 1941.

Zigzags and compromises were characteristic of the subsequent policy of the Roosevelt Administration. At the same time Roosevelt was one of those Western leaders who were inclined towards a realistic view of the world situation. He accepted the fact that the United States would have to reckon with the Soviet Union both during and after the war.

In his book Shattered Peace, dealing with Washington's policy of that period Daniel Yergin wrote that "one of Roosevelt's fundamental assumptions was that it was vitally important that the United States have a realistic estimate of Soviet power and the sphere of influence it was carving out...".⁷

Roosevelt understood, better than many other American politicians, the limitations of what the United States could do, and the Soviet Union's capacity to defend its interests. And yet in his conception of cooperation with the Soviet Union he took for granted the predominance of the United States in a system of Soviet-American relations. Washington's approach to working out the postwar programme, just as its conception of the role and nature of the new organisation for international security, should be considered in this context.

The Western powers sought to formulate the statutes of the future organisation in such a way as to safeguard the interests of the imperialist powers at the expense of the other member states, primarily the Soviet Union.

On the other hand, it is noteworthy that many prominent American leaders emphasised at that time the importance of Soviet-American postwar cooperation. On July 2, 1943, Andrei Gromyko, the Soviet chargé d'affaires in the USA, reported on his meeting with Sol Bloom, Chairman of the House of Representatives' Committee on Foreign Affairs, who dwelt on the community of interests of the United Kingdom, the USSR and the USA, their role in the postwar world, and the need for increasing cooperation between the USA and the Soviet Union.8

There was a rather intense exchange of opinions on the postwar settlement during the Tehran Conference of the three great power leaders—Stalin, Roosevelt, and Churchill. In a talk with the head of the Soviet Government President Roosevelt formulated a number of ideas on the structure and tasks of the future international organisation. Such an organisation, he explained, would be based on the principles of the United Nations, and it would not concern itself with military questions. It would not be like the League of Nations. It would consist of 35 and possibly 50 United Nations, and it would work out recommendations. The organisation should have no other authority than to give recommendations.

In answering questions, the President explained that, apart from an executive committee, the organisation would have a police committee, so to speak, i.e., a committee of countries whose purpose would be to keep the peace.⁹

Roosevelt came back to the idea of "four policemen" on many occasions. It was based, at first sight, on the equality of the big four—the USSR, the United States, the United Kingdom, and China. In reality, however, things were quite different. At that time, work on the so-called Manhattan Project (building the atom bomb) was in full swing, and Washington intended to use the bomb not only for speeding up the end of the war but also for ensuring US domination in the postwar world. Leslie R. Groves, appointed commanding officer of the Manhattan Engineering District in 1942, thus expressed his views: "There was never from about 2 weeks from the time I took charge of this project any illusion on my part but that Russia was our enemy and that the project was conducted on that basis. I didn't go along with the attitude of the country as a whole that Russia was a gallant ally. ...Of course, that was so reported to the President." 10 This seems clear enough, yet there is no evidence whatever that the White House in any way censured General Groves: he held his job until the project was finished.

Let us recall the events of 1942. The nazis had reached the Volga and the foothills of the Caucasus, threatening the Grozny oilfields. At the price of incredible effort and sacrifices the Soviet people and their Red Army stopped the enemy and drove him back to the borders, creating the premises for liberating the nations of Europe from the nazi yoke and for the victory of the anti-Hitler coalition. Nevertheless, some high-ranking Americans, including General Leslie R. Groves, considered the enemy to be the Soviet Union!

As work on the atom bomb forged ahead, various political leaders and scientists engaged in the Manhattan Project repeatedly pointed out that keeping it secret from the Soviet ally would complicate relations in the anti-Hitler coalition, especially regarding a postwar settlement. Roosevelt and Churchill discussed the issue again and again during their meetings and in correspondence. At first, Roosevelt did not want to be bound by any definite decisions, but by the time of the Quebec Conference in August 1943, the President gave in to Churchill, and they signed an undertaking not to pass on any information on the bomb to any third party.¹¹

(Soon after, they both made an even more definite stand. On September 19, 1944, that is to say, while the Dumbarton Oaks Conference was in session, at the President's Hyde Park home, Roosevelt and Churchill signed a secret document expressing their distrust of the world-famous physicist Niels Bohr who insisted that the United States and Great Britain share information on the atom bomb with Moscow. The memorandum outlined measures for investigating Professor Bohr's activities and for preventing information leaks, particularly to the Russians. This highly classified document, published only recently, went on to say that announcing the atom bomb to the world to achieve an international agreement on its control and use was objectionable: the project was to be kept top secret 12)

Actually, it was using nuclear monopoly for political purposes, primarily as a means of exerting pressure on the Soviet Union. In this context, Roosevelt's comments on the "four policemen" definitely implied that only two of them were to have access to the deadly weapon. The Soviet Union and China would take second place.

Nevertheless, it was accepted at the Tehran Conference that a stable peace could be achieved only on the basis of the existing concord between the three great powers—the USSR, the USA and the United Kingdom. The Tehran Declaration stated: "...as to peace—we are sure that our concord will win an enduring peace".¹³

The parties soon agreed that preliminary, unofficial talks between the three powers would begin on August 21 in Washington. At the first stage, there would be conversations between the USSR, the USA and the United Kingdom, and at the second, between the USA, the United Kingdom and China. This was in order because the Soviet Union had not yet joined the Allies' war against Japan.

By the beginning of the Dumbarton Oaks Conference, all the participants had prepared definite proposals. The USA presented its

memorandum to the governments of the USSR and the United Kingdom on July 18, 1944. It embraced a number of issues. The first section dealt with the organisation's general nature and stressed that it should be based on the principle of voluntary cooperation agreed upon by the sovereign and peaceloving nations. It was also indicated that its purposes would be to maintain international security and peace, as well as to facilitate the stability and well-being necessary for peaceful and friendly relations among nations.

The American project went to discuss in considerable detail the Organisation's functions, rights and roles of various organs: a General Assembly, an Executive Council, an International Court of Justice, etc. There were special sections on peaceful adjustment of disputes, definition of threats to peace or breaches of peace, regulation of armaments and armed forces, measures for economic and social cooperation, territorial mandates, as well as the procedure for the establishment and setting in motion of the new organisation.¹⁴

The British Government submitted its proposals on July 22, 1944. They were formulated in five separate memoranda, which also set out in great detail the sphere of the new organisation's activities and their nature, measures for the peaceful settlement of disputes and maintaining peace, military aspects and coordination of the political and economic international machinery, methods and procedures for establishing the world organisation. The essence of the British Proposals was that the four powers (the USSR, the USA, the United Kingdom and China) would occupy a special position within the organisation, by bearing primary responsibility for maintaining peace. ¹⁵

The Soviet memorandum, submitted to the governments of the USA and the United Kingdom on August 12, 1944, proposed that the purposes of the organisation should be:

(1) to maintain universal peace and security and take to that end collective measures for the prevention of aggression and suppression of aggression in progress; (2) to settle and remove by peaceful means international conflicts endangering peace; (3) to take any other measures pertaining to consolidating universal peace and facilitating peaceful relations between nations. It was proposed that the responsibility for ensuring universal peace and security should devolve on a Council, the permanent members of which would be the USSR. the USA, the United Kindom, China and France, and to which a certain number of representatives of other member countries would be elected by the General Assembly for a term stipulated by the Charter. According to the Soviet project, the Council's decisions to prevent or suppress aggression had to be carried by a majority vote, including the concurrence of all its permanent representatives, and decisions on procedural matters, by a simple majority.

The memorandum stressed that the first stage of the negotiations on the establishment of an international security organisation should be restricted to a discussion of the most important issues and principles.¹⁶

The Soviet delegation, headed by Andrei Gromyko, the then Soviet Ambassador to the USA, comprised diplomats, historians, lawyers, and military men. I was the delegation's secretary and interpreter. We were met at the airport in Washington by Edward R. Stettinius Jr., Undersecretary of State (head of the American delegation), and Alexander Cadogan, Permanent Undersecretary of the British Foreign Office and head of the British delegation.

On the 21st of August, all the conference delegates gathered in the morning in the main hall of the three-storey building at Dumbarton Oaks. The first plenary session was opened by the US State Secretary Cordell Hull. He declared that maintaining peace and security in the future was the principal purpose of international cooperation. In the Moscow Declaration, Hull stressed, each government had assumed partial responsibility for leadership in establishing an international organisation which would pursue that purpose through joint action of all the peaceloving countries.¹⁷

Next to speak was the head of the Soviet delegation, who pointed out that, to maintain peace, it was not enough merely to want to curb an aggressor and use force against him. It was imperative, Gromyko stressed, to have the resources with which to prevent or suppress aggression and maintain international order. The Soviet representative stated that the Allies' unity in their fight against the common enemy and their desire to maintain future peace were a guarantee of the positive results of the exploratory talks.¹⁸

Alexander Cadogan pointed out that the documents prepared by each side contained many common elements. In fact, the British representative said, there is a common resolve of the three most powerful nations to establish a world organisation in the nearest future. Cadogan also expressed gratitude to the Soviet Government on whose initiative the talks were held.¹⁹

The statements of the three powers' representatives established a unity of approach to a number of basic issues. At the same time, as mentioned before, states with different social systems were represented at Dumbarton Oaks, and their interests and political aspirations in the matter of postwar settlement differed deeply.

Soviet diplomacy strove for a world settlement free from armed conflicts and aggression, in which the peoples of the Soviet Union and all the other states could live and work in peace. In the Soviet view, the new international organisation had to be based on the principle of the sovereign equality of its members.

However, the monopoly circles of the USA and Great Britain aimed at ensuring a hegemony of American and British imperialism in the postwar world. Hence the interest displayed by Washington

and London for an international organisation that would impose no checks on their designs. The Korean war, unleashed in 1950 by the United States under cover of the United Nations flag, is a fitting illustration of these designs.

After the opening ceremony there was a break, and at three o'clock an unofficial meeting of the delegation heads was held at which the principal procedural aspects of the conference were agreed upon. English and Russian were accepted as the official languages; Stettinius was elected Permanent Chairman, and it was agreed that all press releases would be approved by the three heads. No official records would be kept. Instead, short memoranda would be compiled that would be valid upon approval by the delegation heads. The Soviet memorandum was chosen as the basis for discussion. A steering committee was set up, which included the heads and those participants in the conference which they deemed necessary to consult in each particular case.

During the Dumbarton Oaks Conference, there were several clashes between the USA and Great Britain, on the one hand, and the Soviet Union, on the other, on matters of principle involving the character and powers of the new security organisation.

At the very beginning of the discussion on the Soviet memorandum, the American side expressed the view that the term "aggression" was objectionable. Stettinius declared that the whole of the first paragraph in which it was used, needed to be reviewed separately. Cadogan, too, objected to the term "aggression", insisting that its application might raise difficulties. He said that there were numerous occasions when two countries found themselves at war and it was impossible to determine which was the aggressor. Therefore, the use of the word "aggression" would only weaken the purpose which we all wish to achieve, said Cadogan.

The Soviet delegate objected to this approach, insisting that one of the functions of a security organisation was to determine in each given situation which of the countries was the aggressor. "That is the sacred duty of a future international security organisation," Andrei Gromyko stressed. "If we do not state this unequivocally, we shall make it easier for the potential aggressor to commit his black deed." 20

Insisting on the exclusion of the term "aggression" from the charter of the future international organisation, American and British representatives resorted to various formal and technical considerations. Cadogan said, for instance, that it was more important for the organisation to be able to put an end to a conflict than to define aggression. The organisation would, in his view, merely be wasting time if it went into lengthy discussions over which country was the aggressor. American delegate James Dunn referred to the fact that the term "aggression" was debated for years at the League of Nations and no decision was ever reached. The Soviet

representative refuted these arguments, pointing out that it was precisely the absence of any clearcut definition of aggression that had prevented taking measures against breaches of the peace in the past. He called attention to the fact that the League of Nations had failed to reach agreement on this term because of opposition from influential political circles in the West. Thus a loophole was left, said Gromyko, which allowed a potential aggressor not only to commit aggression but also to go unpunished.

The following version of Article 1 of the Chapter on the purposes of the organisation was adopted on a preliminary basis: "The purposes of the Organisation should be: 1. To maintain international peace and security; and to that end to take effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace...." Through the efforts of the Soviet delegation, that article was amplified, and the Charter of the United Nations now reads: "To maintain international peace and security, and to that end: to take effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace, and for the suppression of acts of aggression or other breaches of the peace...."

The mention of "acts of aggression" in the Charter of the United Nations is of fundamental significance.

The unity of the great powers as the basis for the new organisation was stressed during the discussion of plans for such an organisation at the Moscow conference of the three foreign ministers, during the Tehran meeting of the leaders of the great powers, and in subsequent correspondence between Moscow, London, and Washington. But it was this question which caused fierce debate at the Dumbarton Oaks Conference. The issue was the voting procedure in the Security Council—the leading organ of the new organisation. Judging by the American memorandum, the Soviet and American positions originally coincided, but later the American delegation supported the British demand for making exceptions to the general rule of unanimity in cases where a permanent member of the Council was involved. The Soviet delegation rejected that proposal, pointing out that such a decision might undermine the unity of the great power, which was the cornerstone of the whole security system.

The debate on this point continued throughout the Dumbarton Oaks Conference. On September 7, 1944, Andrei Gromyko reported to the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs: "Both the British and the American delegations categorically insist on the proposal that parties to a dispute, including those permanently represented on the Council, should not vote on Council decisions on such conflicts. Cadogan declared that he had again received instructions from his government to adhere to his previous positions. I stated that we still held the view that the great powers, bearing the main burden of responsibility for maintaining peace and security, had grounds to

expect special treatment in the Council's decisions on conflicts involving these powers.... The debate shows that it is doubtful whether we shall find a common language with the British and the Americans on this issue, at least at the present conference." ²³

The Western delegations continued to exert pressure on the Soviet side. Stettinius declared that the US Senate would never ratify a document in which a party to a conflict would have voting rights. He said that because of the Soviet Union's uncompromising stand the United Nations Organisation might never be established, for the smaller nations would never accept the procedure proposed by the Soviet Union.

President Roosevelt, who invited the Soviet Ambassador for a conversation dealing with voting in the Council, also used the argument concerning the smaller nations. In reporting that conversation to Moscow, Andrei Gromyko gave a detailed account of Roosevelt's arguments; their gist was that "if the great powers placed themselves in a privileged position relative to the other nations, the smaller nations would undoubtedly object to that and probably would not agree to take part in the organisation.... Touching on the core of the issue [the Soviet Ambassador continued in his telegram], I said that we also attached great importance to the question of voting, and that adopting the latest USA proposal would signify a substantial deviation from the principle of unanimity of the Council's permanent members in taking decisions. I also remarked that the original American proposal contained in their memorandum coincided with our proposals, and that the differences on that issue between the delegations emerged after the American delegation abandoned its original proposal".24

Although diplomatic decorum was preserved at the meeting with Roosevelt, the very fact of interference with the conference at such a high level spoke volumes. In addition, the President sent a special message to the head of the Soviet Government, expressing his concern with the state of the Dumbarton Oaks talks: "One issue of importance only apparently remains on which we have not yet reached agreement. This is the question of voting in the Council. We and the British both feel strongly that in the decisions of the Council parties to a dispute should not vote even if one of the parties is a permanent member of the Council, whereas I gather from your Ambassador that your Government holds a contrary view." Invoking again the position of the smaller nations, Roosevelt continued: "I hope for these reasons that you will find it possible to instruct your Delegation to agree to our suggestion on voting. The talks at Dumbarton Oaks can be speedily concluded with complete and outstanding success if this can be done." 25

Roosevelt's intervention did not, however, lead to a solution. In his reply, Stalin reminded Roosevelt of the original American proposal and emphasised that it was the only correct one, in his view. "Otherwise," he wrote, "the agreement we reached at the Tehran Conference, where we were guided by the desire to ensure above all the four-Power unity of action so vital to preventing future aggression, will be reduced to nought. The unity implies, naturally, that there must be no suspicions among the Powers. As to the Soviet Union, it cannot very well ignore the existence of certain absurd prejudices which often hamper a genuinely objective attitude to the USSR. Furthermore, other countries should likewise weigh the likely consequences of lack of unity among the leading Powers." ²⁶

The warning about the possible consequences of confrontation between the great powers befitted the occasion. Many political leaders in the West had expressed doubts about the Anglo-American formula. There were differences within the American group itself at the Dumbarton Oaks Conference. Some of the US delegates believed that, unless agreement on voting in the Council was reached, there might be negative consequences not only for promoting military operations in Europe but also for the prospects of the Soviet Union joining the war against Japan. It was also doubtful whether Congress would agree to restrictions on the US right to vote in a conflict involving its interests. Charles Bohlen, an American diplomat who took part in the Dumbarton Oaks Conference, writes: "There was also a good deal of sentiment in the United States against joining an organisation which under certain circumstances would be able to force its will on us." 27

But the US Government stuck to its positions. Why was that? Because Washington believed its interests in the new international organisation quite secure. In putting forward the proposal "not to vote", the American delegation was neither impartial nor objective, despite all sorts of idealistic conceptions. Since the Soviet Union was the only socialist power in the world at the time, Washington and London were confident that they would wield an absolute majority in the Council and the Assembly under any conditions. It was easy for them to pose as countries ready to submit to a procedure of their own proposal. They assumed that none of the Council's members. with the exception of the USSR, would dare vote against them, being linked with them by numerous economic, political, ideological and military ties. As for the USSR, they wanted to deprive it of the right to vote in situations where its interests would be directly involved. Naturally, the Soviet Union could not agree to a situation in which the capitalist states would dictate their will to a socialist state undercover of the United Nations.

Later, in the course of the negotiations at the Yalta Conference of the leaders of the three powers and subsequent correspondence between Stalin and Roosevelt, the American side modified its positions, bringing them closer to the Soviet viewpoint. A mutually acceptable agreement was reached that was reflected in the final formulations of the United Nations Charter. The latter includes an

unequivocal statement on the need to observe the principle of unanimity of the great powers—the permanent members of the Security Council. During a long period in the history of the United Nations Organisation, that principle has been an obstacle in the way of designs by reactionary forces that have on numerous occasions tried to use the authority of that international organisation as a cover for various ventures and acts of imperialist interference in the affairs of other countries.

At the concluding stage in the establishment of the United Nations and even during the San Francisco Conference, at which the United Nations Organisation was formally established in June 1945, some influential American leaders nursed the idea of barring the USSR from that organisation. President Truman, who moved into the White House after Roosevelt's death and drastically changed the course of US policy towards confrontation with the Soviet Union, declared late in April 1945 that he would go ahead with the plans for the new international organisation under any circumstances, "and if the Russians did not care to join, they could 'go to hell'".28 Washington hoped to set up an obedient United Nations Organisation without the Soviet Union and, in actual fact, against the Soviet Union. Senator Arthur Vandenberg, one of the foremost legislators of that time, noted in his diary: "Russia may withdraw. If it does, the conference [in San Francisco.— V. B.] will proceed without Russia. ... We must stand by our guns... this is the point at which to line up our votes... and win and end this appearement of the Reds now before it is too late. "29

These warlike plans were, of course, encouraged by the knowledge that work on the atom bomb was drawing to a close.

Analysing the situation in the early summer of 1945, Senator J. William Fulbright pointed out that the successors of the late President did not at all intend to continue Roosevelt's policy towards the postwar security organisation. "Whereas Woodrow Wilson's great creation [the League of Nations.— V. B.] was abandoned to skeptical Europeans, Franklin Roosevelt's project was consigned to the care of unsympathetic men of his own country." ³⁰

Today, the United Nations and its institutions are again under attack from Washington. Now that the situation in the world has changed radically, and 159 states are represented in the United Nations instead of the 35 or 50 planned by Roosevelt forty years ago, the United States more and more often resorts to vetoing the decisions of the Security Council. Moreover, whenever Washington is faced with unpalatable decisions, it even stoops to blackmail, as is the case with the relations between the United States and the UNESCO and other United Nations institutions.

Washington adopted the same attitude to the International Court of Justice, which passed a resolution on measures in the suit brought by Nicaragua against the USA in connection with the unceasing acts of sabotage, subversive activities and direct aggression committed by counter-revolutionary gangs with active support and direct participation of the United States. One would do well to recall here the phrases about the "smaller countries" and about submitting to majority decisions which American delegates mouthed at Dumbarton Oaks.

The Soviet Union, together with all the peaceloving countries, has always supported the goals and principles of the United Nations Charter. Its position is clearly discernible from the materials of the Dumbarton Oaks Conference, which was one of the most significant events in the history of diplomacy during the Second World War. Its decisions, taken under far from easy circumstances, are fresh confirmation of the possibility of mutually acceptable agreements between states with different social systems. The Proposals for the Establishment of a General International Organisation worked out at Dumbarton Oaks laid the foundations of the United Nations Charter, which has enabled the United Nations to play an important positive role on the world scene for four decades.

NOTES

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- ²⁰ Ibid., p. 117.
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Language in the Framework of Ethnolinguistics

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The problem of relations between language and ethnos is just as old as linguistics itself. Language is regarded as the principal, most striking and most stable feature of an ethnos, accompanied by other historically less stable traits: unity of territory and culture, ethnic (national) self-awareness, statehood, economic area, social organism and, finally, anthropological type.

In some traditions (primarily, Old Slavic and Old Russian), the notions of language and ethnos were covered by a single word—yazyk ("language" or rather "tongue"). The destinies of language and ethnos were always closely linked, therefore an extralinguistic study of specific languages is inconceivable without resorting to the ethnic history of language carriers. The structure of an ethnos, however, is historically more variable than the structure of its language, and it is connected with socio-economic and political processes affecting the language-ethnos correlation.

Despite the fact that linguists, ethnographers and historians have long been aware of all this, there has not been a single written history of a language which included the ethnic history of its carriers, although quite a good deal of preparatory work has been done, in particular by Russian scholars such as A. Sobolevsky, A. Shakhmatov, E. Budde, D. Zelenin, and more recently by M. Vitov, G. Khaburgayev, V. Toporov and others. We believe that an ethnolinguistic approach to the problem may help to solve this task. Such an approach requires a parallel or, more precisely, simultaneous consideration of the development of a language and of the ethnic development of its carriers, of divergence and convergence in the development of language and ethnos, of problems in the dialectal

division of the language and geographical (and social) division in the ethnos; a consideration that would take into account the community and differences in the historical destinies of peoples, tribes and ethnic groups which are carriers of an ensemble of linguistic and ethnic features.

The term "ethnolinguistics" and the ethnolinguistic approach to language are nothing new. Historians of linguistics find certain ethnolinguistic ideas in the writings of Johann Gottfried Herder (18th century) and Wilhelm von Humboldt (early 19th century). However, ethnolinguistics as a direction in linguistics and a certain approach to language in the framework of its cultural ambience emerged in the first third of the 20th century through the efforts of the ethnographer Franz Boas and the linguist and ethnographer Edward Sapir, who studied the culture of the American Indians and their languages, which had no written tradition. "Speech," insisted Sapir, "is a purely historical heritage of the group, the product of long-continued social usage. It varies as all creative effort varies—not as consciously, perhaps, but none the less as truly as do the religions, the beliefs, the customs and the arts of different peoples." It followed from this that a language could not be regarded as a purely conventional system of sound symbols, and that it "varies without assignable limit as we pass from social group to social group". These conclusions are valid for beliefs, customs, art, etc., to which the concepts of dialect and others listed below could be applied.

Two decades after Sapir and Boas, their ideas were developed by another American, Benjamin Whorf. He added "habitual behaviour" to the series "language-literature", stressing the importance of this new link.

In solving our problem we are more interested in the extended homogeneous series "language-religion-beliefs-customs-art". It is this series that is of the greatest importance for ethnolinguistic studies on the historical or diachronic plane, for the reconstruction of ancient relations between language and ethnos, language and folk culture, since folk culture is just as dialectal and just as striking a feature of ethnos and ethnic structures as language.

Ethnolinguistics may be defined and perceived in two frameworks, a broader and narrower one, more concrete and specialised. On the broader plane, ethnolinguistics includes dialectology, the language of folklore, and part of the history of language connected with historical dialectology, the cultural and ethnic history of a people, and finally nearly all aspects of the study of language as a social phenomenon.

This conception of the concrete subject-matter of the science may seem vague at first sight—but it is not. Essentially, it helps to unify a number of disciplines that are often regarded as unconnected, and to make the new branch of science interdisciplinary, planned, and many-sided. With this approach, the character of the internal

delimitation in the entire totality of linguistic and philological sciences is changed: the boundaries may be drawn across certain disciplines and will not coincide with the customary limits. To take an example: descriptive dialectology with its experimental phonetic analysis and structural approach to phonology and grammar or the purely lexicographical approach to the vocabulary will prove to be outside ethnolinguistics, gravitating towards the descriptive grammar or phonology of the literary language in general, whereas historical and areal dialectology will share the methodological basis and scientific goals with historical and areal ethnology, folklore studies and sociolinguistics.

The concern of ethnolinguistics with historical and historicogenetic problems, with the diachronic plane, may raise it to the status of an integral, internally consistent and at the same time multidimensional discipline that can have an impact on the development of comparative-historical studies in many areas, including Indo-European and Balto-Slavic studies.

At that stage, it will be possible to proceed from isolated essays to a planned series of studies according to a unified methodological plan. In the 19th century, Indo-European comparative-historical linguistics emerged and began to develop side by side with comparative mythology, which was fruitful both on the methodological and factological planes. Later, this unity was disrupted, and a gap developed, which can be bridged now only on a fundamentally new basis.

This basis was clearly defined only in the mid-20th century, when linguogeography and areal studies in linguistics and ethnology became established not only as disciplines that superbly systematised the facts (not to mention the planned amassing of those facts) but also as a scientific direction capable of providing factological, methodological and theoretical resources for the researchers in comparative history and historical genesis. The concept of linguistic landscape was developed, and the possibility arose of giving a historical interpretation of maps, areals, interrelations of areals, types of areals, types of dialect zones, and also of archaic, innovative, and contact zones, etc. Such a "historical interpretation" often yields more information on the history of a phenomenon, system or areal (and subsequently of a dialect, language, etc.) than facts recorded in historical or language monuments. It proves to be the only source of information when there are no written monuments or when they are insufficient.

This high "historical information content" of the linguistic dialect landscape (as well as of mythological and ethnocultural landscapes) is due, in the first place, to unequal development of separate systems and their elements. Unequal development is observed in all systems and, above all, in closely related ones, i.e., going back to a common primordial system—a common proto-language or proto-dialect. This

unequality is observed not only within systems but also in different landscape/dialect zones and microzones.

All of this creates an extreme wealth of types and variants within major linguistic and ethnic zones, let us say, on the territory of modern Slavonia, Romania, Finno-Ugria, i.e., the territories where Slavic, Romance, and Finno-Ugric languages are spoken.

All this has a direct bearing on the problem of reconstruction, which will here-be considered in the framework of Slavic spiritual culture, although the general propositions and methods of studying this problem are applicable to other languages and ethnoses. Reconstruction of the Proto-Slavic and, going deeper, of the Proto-Indo-European state is a necessary stage in the comparative and genetic study of the Slavic and Indo-European spiritual culture. The most ancient forms of that culture, reconstructed even in the most general outline, may play the same role in the study of Slavic (Indo-European) ancient elements and spiritual culture as a whole as was played by the reconstruction of the Proto-Slavic and Indo-European languages in the history of Slavic and Indo-European linguistics. Each reconstructed proto-system, first, acts as a system of correlations between the later ethnocultural phenomena that developed on its basis, and second, provides an approximate picture of the real proto-state. In reconstructing an "abstract type", the task is reduced to restoring the historical invariant from the numerous variants and its subsequent typological and historical assessment as an eventual proto-linguistic (proto-cultural) model.

The task of reconstruction lies not only in the restoration of the proto-state but also in the establishment of the evolutionary lines, of the lines of convergence and divergence, and of the intermediate stages of development. In this case, proto-culture, just as proto-language, is interpreted as an abstract retrospective of development, and each fact is not necessarily localised on the system plane but in any intermediate point of the space separating the proto-system from the final cultural or linguistic idioms.

What has been said here about proto-systems also applies to the intermediate stages, which may be interpreted as a system of correlations for definite genetically related cultural types, or as real systems of spiritual culture.

The intermediate stages need not be postulated beforehand, we believe, but must result from comparative studies of spiritual culture taking into account various transformations of its common basis (combinations of common elements or even units of spiritual culture); alien cultural influences (Proto-Balkan cultures in the case of Southern Slavs, Baltic and Finnic cultures, in the case of Eastern Slavs, and Germanic, in the case of Western Slavs); and finally, various forms of Slavic "bookish" (religious) culture during the Middle Ages.

In our view, the role of cultural influences and contacts must not be overestimated. For instance, some ethnographers reject the existence of the Slavic ethnocultural type on the grounds that each of the individual features that may be defined as typically Slavic has a continuation or may be recorded outside the Slavic territory, so that not a single feature can be isolated, it is alleged, which would be entirely Slavic. It is well known from linguistics, however, that a type may be, and most commonly is, defined on the basis of a complex of features, not just one feature; it is defined in a feature space in which each phenomenon is localised. As regards Slavic spiritual culture, no typologically significant features have been singled out that could form a basis for classifying Slavic ethnocultural traditions and features; no complex of features constituting Slavic spiritual culture as a whole against the background of other Indo-European and non-Indo-European traditions. There are, however, necessary premises for solving this task.

One of the principal methodological problems in the reconstruction of spiritual culture is the problem of correlations between internal reconstruction and external comparison. A number of recent essays in reconstruction of Slavic cultural antiquities omit, as it were, the stage of internal reconstruction of Slavic materials, and the facts of the "modern" stage, i.e., of the late 19th-early 20th century, are directly compared with Indo-European and other traditions. In some cases, the archaic quality of the traditional Slavic cultural forms justifies this kind of "skipping" of intermediate links or stages, yet on the whole the latter is hardly acceptable as a methodological device. The Proto-Slavic state must first be reconstructed and then the external comparison conducted—at the level of the reconstructed proto-state and not of later forms. Until recently, when linguists turned to the reconstruction of proto-languages of separate families of so-called Nostratic languages (Indo-European, Semitic-Hamitic, Uralic, Altaic, Kartvelian, Dravidian), the kinship of these families was confirmed only by accidental correspondences, while now it appears quite feasible to many scholars. The situation in mythology is much the same. The Russian scholar A. Afanasyev discovered in the 19th century quite a number of individual similarities in the mythology of Slavs and Germans, in Slavic and Old Indian traditions, etc., but only a systematic comparison of these traditions at the level of reconstructed proto-systems will yield a true picture of their affinity and the specific features of each separate tradition.

The methods of reconstructing the proto-Slavic language are based on a system of criteria for characterising each real or reconstructed language fact as belonging to the primordial Proto-Slavic stratum, or one of the dialect branches of Proto-Slavic, or to innovations of some period (beginning with the Proto-Slavic), or finally to borrowings or new formations of later times. These criteria are either formal (whether a given phenomenon satisfies the system

of phonological correspondences between Slavic languages) or areal—internal or external (whether the given phenomenon occurs in all three groups of Slavic languages, in the zones of contact with other languages, in peripheral zones, in central ones, etc.). The same kind of criteria are in principle applicable to cultural phenomena. However, researchers in the Slavic spiritual culture do not at present have a system of formal correspondences between separate ethnocultural traditions. As for areal criteria, they are quite applicable to phenomena of spiritual culture with the proviso (essential for linguistics as well) that one should operate not only with major areals corresponding to separate Slavic ethnoses and languages but also with more fragmented areal division of the Slavic world, singling out certain compact dialectal zones, ethnocultural and linguistic.

A propos of the "broad" and "narrow" interpretations of ethnolinguistics, it is appropriate to recall the controversy among students of folklore some fifty years ago. Some scholars believed folklore studies to be the science of peoples, their past, their life and outlook; others equated folklore studies and anthropology, the latter being interpreted very broadly, as the science of mankind in general; still others came close to identifying folklore studies with ethnography or the study of peoples and their traditions. These differences of opinion were reflected in the terminology, the names for folklore and for folklore studies in the European languages: cf. R. narodnoye tvorchestvo, folklor, ustnoye narodnoye tvorchestvo, narodnoya slovesnost, narodnaya poeziya; Germ. Volkskunde, Volkstumskunde, Volkslehre, Folklore; Fr. traditions populaires, démologie, démopsychologie, folklore; It. tradizioni populari, letteratura popolare, il folklore, demopsicologia, demologia, scienza demica, etnografia; Sp. tradiciones populares, demosofia, demotecnografia, el folklore, saber popular demologia, (vulgar).

There were scholars who saw folklore as a special discipline with its own orientation. Yu. Sokolov called folklore "a segment of ethnography" and at the same time insisted that folklore studies could not be divorced from literary history any more than they could be isolated from ethnography.³ E. Kagarov pointed to two axes, philology and sociology, round which "folklore studies would invariably have to revolve".⁴

In the last five decades, scholars in many countries, including Slavic ones, came to interpret folklore as works of folk art expressed in verbal form. This view helped folklore students to realise clearly the subject-matter of their research, its boundaries and tasks, but at the same time it sometimes isolated them within those boundaries or inclined them towards purely literary analysis. Only in recent times has there been a positive tendency towards extending the framework of folklore studies through research in the ritual and mythological aspects of folklore texts, in their origin and functioning in ritual and other contexts. This trend was encouraged by a semiotic interpretation

of rituals as texts. This does not call in doubt, however, the fact that folklore studies are based on inquiry into verbal texts.

In the narrow and special interpretation, ethnolinguistics is a branch of linguistics concerned with problems of language and ethnos, language and culture, language and the people's mentality, language and mythology, etc. This branch of linguistics is essentially concerned not so much with reflection of folk culture, psychology and mythological concepts in language (which is characteristic of all aspects of human activity, including the sphere of material production and consumption), as with the constructive role of language and its *impact* on the formation and functioning of folk culture, psychology and creativity.

Language and culture are bound by multiform and stable correlative links. Language may be regarded as an instrument of culture and in this capacity may be described through features common to all cultural phenomena. On the other hand, language and culture may be compared as independent and autonomous semiotic systems, structurally isomorphic and mutually reflexive. Concepts applied to language and culture may be identical because both these phenomena are regarded as semiotic phenomena described by one and the same logical apparatus. These are the concepts of system and text (paradigmatics and syntagmatics) in language and culture, of form and content (signifiant and signifié), of system function, system pressure, open system, multi-level system, etc. All this was very well outlined by Ferdinand de Saussure already at the beginning of this century: "To me the language problem is mainly semiological, and all developments derive their significance from that important fact. If we are to discover the true nature of language we must learn what it has in common with all other semiological systems; linguistic forces that seem very important at first glance (e.g., the role of the vocal apparatus) will receive only secondary consideration if they serve only to set language apart from the other systems. This procedure will do more than to clarify the linguistic problem. By studying rites, customs, etc., as signs, I believe that we shall throw new light on the facts and point up the need for including them in a science of semiology and explaining them by its laws."5

However, apart from the general concepts which follow from the unity of the nature of language and culture and a common semiotic approach to them, ethnolinguistics is capable of singling out a number of linguocultural phenomena, concepts and structural constants which are diversely manifested in language and culture but which have in principle the same essence or meaning. These include norm, style and genre in language and culture, the differentiation between bookish (codified) and folk (non-codified) elements and systems in language and culture, the concept of territorial and social dialects in language and folk culture with all the phenomena and

concepts that follow from the existence of dialects. Here belong such concepts as cultural-dialectal landscape, dialect mixing and fragmentation, idiolects, supra-dialectal phenomena, cultural koinē, etc. To these should be added the concept of biligualism ("biculturalism") or polyglottism (linguistic or cultural), of homogeneity and heterogeneity of bilingualism ("biculturalism"); the concept of a separate language and correspondingly of a folk national culture as a certain separate unit, a macrosystem with a number of distinctive features; and finally the concepts of language family and cultural groups (or families), proto-language and proto-culture, language union and cultural union, language and cultural substratum, adstratum, superstratum, etc.

The concepts of cultural substratum and the like are closely linked with cultural areal studies, which, like areal linguistics, cannot develop and function without an elaborate and hierarchically organised system of culturological terms (such as cultural zone, microareal, macroareal, isodox and isopragm) corresponding to the same term (plus isogloss) in linguistic geography. The territorial cultural dialect concept has not been widely used in Slavic ethnography and still less in culturology, but it is very essential for diachronic studies, and is a key concept in attempts to reconstruct Proto-Slavic spiritual culture and the vocabulary of the Proto-Slavic language.

The importance of extralinguistic facts in the study and reconstruction of word semantics is obvious. Already the Wörter-und-Sachen school showed their primary importance in many cases quite convincingly. Semantic analysis, sufficiently rigorous and thoroughly worked-out, holds considerable, as yet untapped potential. It is this analysis that determines in many cases the choice of the etymon, and judgements on Proto-Slavic homonymy/non-homonymy of words, reference, motivation of semantic connections, etc. Finally, the role of the semantic approach to reconstruction is even greater in the case of idioms, verbal clichés, rites and ritual texts and other components of ancient spiritual culture.

It is a well-known fact that dialect materials are much more important in the reconstruction of language facts than literary materials, although the latter must not be underestimated, of course. Similar facts are observed in the reconstruction of ritual elements of spiritual folk culture, the more so that that culture always existed in the form of dialects, primarily of territorial dialects (and only through that fact also as social dialects, i.e., as the dialects of peasants), with their characteristic elements of dialect fragmentation, heterogeneity of their microsystems, their isogloss (isodox) distribution, etc.

Old Slavic written sources offer very little information on Slavic paganism—a few disjointed fragments, often distorted. Compared with the corpus of Slavic written monuments, their number is

insignificant. In writing the history of language, A. Shakhmatov and other scholars focused mainly on dialect data, and evidence of written monuments came second. In the study of the history of Slavic spiritual culture, dialect materials also prove the most important and, in an absolute majority of cases, the only source. Its heterogeneity is a striking reflection of the processes of historical development of Slavic pagan rites and customs. The system of folk world outlook of preceding epochs is reconstructed from dialect data and scanty historical evidence. In the case of the Proto-Slavic language, a pre-written state is reconstructed (i.e., before the 9th century), while in the case of Slavic spiritual culture, facts (and/or structures) of later epochs have to be reconstructed. There is a complete analogy between the uneven development of language, with different archaisms surviving in different language and dialect zones, and the uneven development (or disintegration) of rites or various forms of culture. It is this aspect that demands that close attention should be paid to dialect materials and their geographical interpretation The dialect variety of reflexes of Proto-Slavic forms permits a more complete reconstruction of the processes and the intermediate links in the development of phonetic and other systems of concrete languages and dialects. In other words, the greater the number of reflexes or different variants of a form or semantic unit (symbolic unit), the more complete and less schematic is the reconstruction of a certain phenomenon or its fragment (rite, ritual or act). If follows that a successive reconstruction of the ancient Slavic spiritual culture is impossible without dialectology, Slavic mythology, ritual and folklore studies.

In reconstruction experiments, a great role is played by the retrospection method, to which D. Zelenin referred in 1916 as the method of "backing into remote history... from the new to the old that has disappeared". The method of retrospection can be based on gradual replacement of the modern dialect landscape by a number of assumed and reconstructed previous landscapes—linguistic (lexical, toponymic, hydronymic, etc.) and cultural-ethnic (in the sphere of spiritual and material culture, folklore, etc.). The principle of studying landscape changes is also characteristic of archaeology, for which the concept of area always remains basic, just as the task of defining a succession of cultures in specific zones.

The element of continuity of such change is essential in all the disciplines—linguistics, culturology, and archaeology. Without going into the details of reconstruction of the "initial state" of language and culture, let us note that there are many common features in reconstruction problems in linguistics, ethnography, culturology and even archaeology, and they can be solved by similar and in some cases identical methods. The prime task of ethnolinguistics and its sister sciences is to work out common methods and a unified approach to research and its data, which will foster their closer union and successful development.

Areal studies and mapping of cultural elements (as well as of language phenomena) has a double orientation: at the subject of study and the area under study. In the first case the researcher is interested in territorial variants in the formal, content, or functional aspects of cultural fragments under study, e.g., a certain rite or its component, some theme or subject, etc. Comparison of territorial variants on the structural and territorial plane permit certain conclusions about the structure (correlation of different features and components) and genesis of the object; on this basis, the historically invariant form, and the proto-form, can be reconstructed.

In the second case, the scholar is interested in the areal characteristic of the territory itself, i.e., the totality of boundaries, whatever the aspects of culture and language that touch on these boundaries. The task is to systematise and correlate them, and give their group interpretation on the historical, ethnogenic and ethnolinguistic plane. The areas of the greatest density of isolines of various kinds (dialectal, ethnographic, archaeological, historical, etc.) must naturally draw the greatest attention, while the bunches of such isolines themselves (isoglosses, isopragmas, etc.) must be compared for their intensity (the number of lines indicating a given boundary), compactness or scattering and other formal characteristics; that is necessary for geographical or other description of dialect zones and phenomena of language, ethnos, and folk culture.

Apart from the areal studies approach, the different scientific disciplines studying Slavic antiquities (archaeology, ethnography, mythology, linguistics, folklore) can be unified on the basis of the view that antiquities are units relating to the content of spiritual culture, units of ancient worldview, i.e., mythology in the broad sense of the word, which includes mythology proper, cosmology, folklore views on nature and the life cycle, etc., and is implemented in a system of mythological codes: cosmological, floral, zoological, meteorological, etc. Slavic materials offer countless examples of identical content embodied in different materials and genres. Thus the mythological links between chtonic animals and atmospheric phenomena in Slavic folk conceptions can appear both in the tradition that the killing of a frog is an omen of rain, or in the taboo on killing a frog (for fear of rain), and in special magic rituals of killing (and sometimes burying and lamenting) a frog during drought to invoke rain. The theme of "life and suffering of cultured plants" familiar in different parts of the Slavic world, has different genre forms, from riddles and fairytale subjects to ritual dances and magic dialogues.

Though the problem of Slavic ethnogeny is complex, and the tasks of reconstructing the primitive state have much in common with establishing correspondences between facts pertaining to different chronological and "semantic" strata (the semantic strata covering the spheres of everyday life, labour, social relations, etc.), and, according-

ly, to different scientific disciplines, these tasks may in the initial stages be solved by different concrete disciplines individually—and they are so solved. Such approach makes it important to describe various phenomena equally, and maximally, comprehensively. But equal comprehensiveness cannot be achieved, for in the study of, e.g., burial rites, the archaeologist will come across objects of material culture permitting only a partial insight into spiritual culture. Besides, serious difficulties may arise over differences in the chronology of facts obtained in different disciplines—ethnography, linguistics, archaeology.

It is also necessary to take into account fundamental differences between material and spiritual culture. The former replaces one form by another or others (types of implements, pottery, buildings, weapons, utensils, etc.), while the latter mostly retains the old in accepting the new, and establishes forms of coexistence between the old and the new, superimposing one upon the other. This feature of spiritual culture was stressed by Academician B. Rybakov. He wrote that the specificity of the pagan complex to be taken into account in analysing any stage of its development was the nature of its evolution: here the new did not oust the old but was superimposed upon it, added to it. As showed by analysis, the totality of religious concepts of later epochs is sure to contain, in one shape or another, the concepts of previous epochs. They can be weakened, moved into the background, or somewhat transformed, but they remain tangible up to the present.

This feature of the development of spiritual culture came to be known as "dualism", i.e., coexistence of Christian and pagan strata within the framework of a single cultural areal. Throughout the last millennium, Christianity in its two principal varieties, Orthodox Christianity and Catholicism, has been confronted by the ancient folk, or "traditional", Slavic culture with its own system of conceptions and ritual acts. Christianity thus held positions similar to those of the common literary language with respect to dialects and the literary language structure of the separate Slavic peoples. The "literary" or bookish (Christian) culture was supranational, and to some extent supraethnic, as was the Old Church Slavonic (Old Slavic) language for most of the Southern and all Eastern Slavs, and in the period of early Christianisation, for Western Slavs as well. The Slavs' mediaeval and "traditional" culture consisted of three genetically heterogeneous components: (a) Christianity, connected with church dogmata and introduced from without—from Greek Byzantium or Latin Rome; (b) paganism, inherited from the Proto-Slavic people and primordially characteristic of its carriers; (c) "anti-Christianity" (or "achristianity"), which was mostly pagan but penetrated into the Slavic populace along with Christianity or in some other way (through the substratum or cultural interference). The third component, however, was not as clear-cut and stable as the first two, in the past. It nearly always merged with the pagan component in the Slavic peoples and was opposed or rather correlative to the "literary", "bookish" Christian component. That was the pagan anticlerical or rather extraclerical component that came to Rus and to other Slavs, first and foremost the Southern ones, together with Christianity as its cultural antipode, as an expression of the secular principle, largely regulated, however, by Christian dogma—in particular as regards the place and time of its manifestation. This third component of folk culture could be of different origin, but mostly it was Byzantine (to a lesser extent, Thracian or Thracian-Illyrian).

The problem of the third component demands special investigation, but it cannot be bypassed in considering the "modern" (i.e., 19th- and 20th-century) Slavic traditional culture, which is the chief and richest source of facts necessary to reconstruct Proto-Slavic spiritual existence. In general, the third component presumably includes many of the features of buffoonery (skomoroshestvo), some of the winter rites, carnival cycles, and even the yurodivy institution, or the role of God's fool, which had a curious reflex in Russia, where it became a subdialect of the "literary", orthodox cultural stratum. Many features of paganism, introduced in Russia along with Christianity, formed with the latter a single but locally varied structure. A contributing factor here was the view, often expressed in the "bookish", clerical ritual-philosophical dogmas, that Slavic and non-Slavic paganism was incompatible with Christianity, paganism was deprived of the feature of universality: its proper sphere was that of the base and the demoniac, and only partially the secular. In the course of time, the third component largely merged with the second, which permitted a number of scholars, as mentioned above, to speak of Russian (and Slavic) Christian-pagan "dualism".

It should be underlined again that the creed "dualism" (and even the combination of three elements) is revealed only on a historical or diachronic approach to the traditional or archaic folk spiritual culture, or else on an Orthodox theological approach to the problem of the genetically heterogeneous composition of Slavic folk spiritual culture. On a synchronic-structural approach to this phenomenon, the religious-mythological folk conceptions form a single whole, and one can speak of a folk dialectal "unified faith", characteristic of the Slavs, a religious belief in which its diachronically heterogeneous elements formed a unified if somewhat contradictory system.

The separate strata and fragments of the Slavic folk culture incorporate elements of Christianity, non-Slavic paganism or achristianity and Slavic paganism. This situation could be observed in many spheres and genres of Slavic folklore and the Slavic calendar and family rites.

NOTES

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The Results of the Second World War and Its Lessons

From the Editors: Below is the concluding chapter of the book, The Second World War: A Concise History published in Russian in Moscow in 1984.

What are the most important results of the Second World War? What vital lessons can be derived from its history?

The utter defeat of fascist Germany and militarist Japan in which the Soviet Union took the decisive role, was the result of joint efforts by the international front of national liberation, democratic and other progressive forces.

The reasons for Victory's impact on world history are to be found in the course and character of the war itself. This is obvious because the Second World War affected the whole system of international relations and, together with these, the interests of all nations and countries far more than the First World War. Its origins, course and consequences are a reflection of the essence and contradictions of the epoch.

The main source of wars, as before, is imperialism whose inherent contradictions have become exacerbated in the ever-deepening general crisis of capitalism. War is rooted in the lengthy struggle between rival imperialist blocs, on the one hand, and in their common striving to destroy the Soviet Union and all forces of socialism and progress, on the other. The fomenters of the Second World War were the German imperialists, with the tacit approval of the ruling circles of Britain, France and the United States, who banked on exploiting the armed might of fascist Germany, and her partners in the fight against the USSR, the communist and working-class movement.

History has shown that a policy of appeasement is pernicious to its pursuers. The Soviet Union and the other peaceloving forces failed in their efforts to prevent war. It began in 1939 with a conflict within the capitalist system. When fascist Germany treacherously attacked this country in the summer of 1941, Britain, France and a

number of other countries depended for their very existence on the Soviet Union's capacity to breast the tide and win the war. That is the express reason why the fight against fascism became a pivotal political question which was to determine all subsequent world problem-solving. Meanwhile, the aggressors overran country after country and the fascist bloc's armed forces controlled vast expanses of Western Europe, Asia, Africa and the World Ocean.

The genocide, ruthless terror, raping, robbing and cruelty perpetrated by the fascists exposed the inhumanity of their ideology. The unspeakable death camps of Auschwitz, Treblinka, Buchenwald and Ravensbrück, the obliteration of Khatyn, Lidice, Oradour and other towns and villages are engraved forever on the public memory as symbols of the barbarity of fascism.

During the Second World War fundamental issues of historical development were solved—whether socialism would continue to exist or whether fascism would block the way to progress and destroy civilisation, whether the nations would be free or whether they would be under the heel of the fascist-militarist bloc.

With the fascist invasion of the USSR the conflagration spread beyond the capitalist system. The Soviet Union's war against nazi Germany and her allies was a patriotic war of liberation which enveloped the entire nation, spreading to every aspect of social life, to every sphere of state activity. On the Soviet-German Front socialism waged a bitter class battle against the most reactionary forces of capitalism. The political nature of the Second World War suffered a drastic change. The newly formed anti-fascist coalition was engaged in a just war of liberation against the fascist-militarist bloc. Its formation was a natural development in conformity with the salient tendency of the present-day era—the rallying of the working class, of broad public sections and of all freedom-loving forces to the fight against fascism and war, for peace and social progress.

The Soviet Union and other nations mobilised titanic efforts and strained to the utmost to halt the aggressors, shatter their mad plans and achieve a sweeping victory. The chief result of the war was the total rout of the fascist bloc. The first to be defeated was fascist Italy. Then Finland, Rumania, Bulgaria and Hungary, dragged into the fascist bloc by their rulers, were forced to quit the war. On the night of May 9, 1945 nazi Germany's armed forces signed the act of unconditional surrender. In a short time the capitulation of militarist Japan followed.

In the Second World War not only the armed forces of the fascist-bloc member countries were defeated. Fascism's state-political system as a form of power of monopoly capital's most reactionary circles was smashed too. The ideology of fascism and militarism collapsed. The chief culprits who unleashed the war met with just retribution. Expressing the will of the peoples the Nuremberg and Tokyo international tribunals sentenced them to death.

The Soviet Union bore the brunt of the battle against a ruthless and powerful enemy. In the historic battles fought at Moscow, Leningrad, Stalingrad, at the Kursk Bulge, on the Dnieper, in Byelorussia, in the Baltic area, in South-Eastern, Central and Northern Europe, and in the Far East the Soviet Armed Forces branded the enemy with overwhelming defeat, and in doing so performed a mission beyond the powers of the Western armies: they shattered the main forces of the Wehrmacht and destroyed three-quarters of its military equipment. The gigantic battles fought on the Soviet-German front were the key factor behind the change in the ratio of forces of the combatants and the turning point in the war. By defeating and driving the invaders from their territory, the Soviet people rendered direct aid in liberating many peoples of Europe and Asia and saved world civilisation.

The victory over the fascist bloc proved the advantages of the socialist system. The socialist state surpassed the imperialist powers in terms of the cohesion of its people and army, of endurance and the ability to make the most effective use of its material and spiritual potential for achieving victory. The Soviet people's struggle against the fascist aggressors was inspired and organised by the Communist Party.

A great contribution to the common victory over the enemy was made by the peoples and armies of the United States, Britain, France and other member countries of the anti-Hitler coalition. Victory was forged at the front and in the rear by people of diverse nationalities, political views and ideological convictions. The difference in social systems, as wartime experience proved, is not an obstacle to uniting efforts in the battle against aggression, for peace and international security. The Soviet Union successfully cooperated with many capitalist countries in order to bring the war to the speediest possible conclusion. The British, American and French troops courageously fought in Western Europe and Northern Africa, on the high seas of the Atlantic and the Pacific.

The Mongolian People's Republic rendered fraternal assistance to the Soviet people in their efforts to overcome the fascist aggressors by taking part in defeating imperialist Japan at the concluding stage of the war. The Chinese people waged a stubborn war of national liberation against the Japanese invaders.

The massive anti-fascist liberation struggle which enveloped the occupied and fascist-bloc countries contributed greatly to defeating the aggressors.

The peoples of Yugoslavia and Poland from the very outset had waged bitter battles against the invaders and their accomplices, as did the peoples of Czechoslovakia. The army formations of Polish and Czech patriots on Soviet territory, by fighting together with the Soviet troops, contributed substantially to Victory. The Greek and Albanian patriots put up a courageous fight against fascism.

A worthy role in achieving victory was played by the Resistance movement which was joined by representatives of various social forces. The Resistance fighters of France, Belgium and other countries of Western Europe fought gallantly against the nazis.

In the autumn of 1943 the patriotic forces of Italy launched large-scale actions against the fascists.

In Bulgaria, successful operations were carried out by the People's Liberation Rebel Army. In Rumania and Bulgaria, the favourable conditions created by the Soviet Army's successful advance in 1944 furthered a victory of armed uprisings, as a result of which these countries entered the war against fascist Germany. In Hungary, on the territory liberated by the Soviet Army in late 1944 the patriotic forces formed a Provisional Government which declared war on Germany. The spring of 1945 saw units of a new Hungarian army joining the fight for the freedom and independence of their country. In the dreadful conditions of Hitlerite terror the German anti-fascists waged a courageous battle against fascism and criminal aggression, for a new democratic Germany.

Important contributors to Victory were the peoples of Asia and Africa. Their soldiers fought against the Axis powers in the Allied armies. The courageous Vietnamese and Korean patriots, the guerrillas of Malaya and the Philippines and the underground fighters of Burma and Indonesia shattered the rule of the Japanese invaders and at the concluding stage of the war served actively in defeating the common enemy. The patriots of Ethiopia victoriously fought against the Italian aggressors.

The anti-invasion struggle in the colonial and dependent countries became interwoven with the fight against imperialist and colonial oppression and stimulated the subsequent upsurge of the national liberation movement and advanced the oppressed peoples' struggle against the colonial system, broken up during the Second World War.

The majority of the Latin American countries joined the anti-Hitler coalition and contributed to the defeat of the Axis powers predominantly by deliveries of raw materials and food, primarily, to the United States. These countries exhibited an intensified movement against fascism and reaction, for economic and political liberation from imperialist oppression.

The front-rank fighters against mankind's deadliest enemy were from the working class and its vanguard, the communist and workers' parties. The communists showed themselves true patriots, internationalists and steadfast fighters for freedom and independence. In that toughest of battles of all times many communist parties of the capitalist countries became an important political force.

The victory over German fascism and Japanese militarism was of colossal historic significance, and had a profound impact on subse-

quent world development, forming a turning point in the destiny of all of mankind.

As a result of the war the imperialist system emerged substantially weakened, having forfeited its former positions and much of the sphere it ruled. In contrast, socialism came out of the war markedly stronger and having won new vantage points on the world arena.

That all pointed to the reactionary forces' having lost their bid to solve the historic rivalry between socialism and capitalism by force. The plan-for destroying or decimating the USSR as a result of the Second World War failed utterly. On the contrary, it resulted in the ever increasing international standing and influence of the Land of Soviets.

The defeat of German fascism and Japanese militarism led to the fall of reactionary regimes in a number of European and Asian countries, creating a favourable situation for the working masses' struggle for a stable peace, democracy and socialism. The victory of socialist revolutions established a world system of socialism. Its formation was the next greatest event in world history after the victory of the Great October Revolution. Under the guidance of their communist and workers' parties the socialist countries have registered remarkable progress. The Soviet Union steadfastly pursues its path of planned, systematic and allround perfecting of developed socialism. Its vigorous unremitting efforts for the elimination of colonialism and its invariable support for the cause of liberation and equality clear the road to freedom and progress for other nations.

The fascist defeat caused a ground swell of national liberation which led to the collapse of the colonial system. In place of the former colonies and semi-colonies today there are over 100 independent countries, many of which constitute active anti-imperialist factors on the world arena.

The victory over fascism opened up favourable prospects for the subsequent development of the working-class and democratic movement in the capitalist countries as well as for the growth and strengthening of the communist and workers' parties—the most consistent fighters for the cause of the working class and all working people. The world communist movement has developed into the most influential force of our time.

The deep-going socio-political shifts in the world after the Second World War proved conclusively that socialism is the only road answering the demands of social progress.

The nations have made great efforts to vindicate and consolidate Victory's results. Following on its heels reactionary circles in the imperialist countries, primarily the United States and Britain, took up a positions-of-strength policy, building up world tension and spreading the cold war in a bid to revise the war's outcome and retrieve lost ground.

In the mid-1970s the Soviet Union along with the other socialist

community countries and the world's progressive forces politically and legally consolidated the results of the Second World War. The treaties and agreements concluded between the USSR and the FRG, and those between Poland, Czechoslovakia and the GDR with the FRG, recognise the inviolability of their respective postwar borders. Of vast import in consolidating the world's results were the decisions of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, which opened up new possibilities for strengthening peace and security.

Subsequent events showed that the reactionary forces refused to learn from the lessons of history. The war menace is inherent in the very nature of imperialism. Its aggressiveness is manifested in the mounting influence on foreign policy on the part of the military-industrial complex, the forces of militarism, reactionary extremism and anti-communism. NATO's military potential is soaring. New military-political alliances spearheaded against the USSR and other members of the socialist community, against all freedom-loving peoples are being hammered together. The imperialists strive to stifle progressive movements and obtain military superiority over the socialist countries, step up the arms race and create new hotbeds of military danger. In our days the aggressiveness of imperialism shows itself in the most vivid forms in the urge of the US imperialists for world rule.

Since 1945 the imperialists have unleashed and provoked over 100 local wars and armed clashes—potential seats of a global conflict—destroying millions of human lives. Under the pretext of "Soviet military threat" the Reagan Administration has declared a "crusade" against socialism as a social system placing this reckless premise at the basis of its practical policy. The Washington government has gone over to a large-scale ideological war fanning enmity towards the peoples of the socialist community and their ideas and towards the national liberation movement. It is all too clear why this Washington policy has dangerously exacerbated the international situation.

History teaches that, all this notwithstanding, another world war can be prevented and a stable peace achieved. Postwar period has bred new conditions, factors and forces capable of curbing the aggressor—the powerful socialist community, which has placed its political, economic and military power in the service of peace, the international working class and its vanguard—the communist parties—which expose and disrupt the warmongers' plans, the national liberation movement, which fights neocolonialism and strives for greater national independence and social progress, the mass peace movement, which forces the imperialists to respect the will of the hundreds of millions of people of goodwill firmly dedicated to peace.

War is not an inevitability. Real prospects for ruling it out of the life of society have developed. This conclusion, based on an analysis of a radical change in the world alignment of forces and of the

tendencies of social development in our era, bears an objective and optimistic character refuting the bourgeois conceptions concerning the inevitability and even the necessity of wars in social life.

The entire experience of history shows that war must not and cannot be a means of settling international disputes. The conclusion that war would inevitably "undermine the very foundations of human society" was derived decades ago from an analysis of the First World War by Lenin. This danger is particularly great now since nuclear war can destroy hundreds of millions of human lives having catastrophic consequences for all nations, for world civilisation. It is also clear that the sword forged by imperialism can no longer be used under the present alignment of world forces without jeopardising its own existence.

The efforts of the imperialists and their accomplices in preparation for war absorb enormous material and spiritual resources seriously braking progress and delaying the establishment of peaceful good-neighbourly cooperation between countries. The further pursuit of the arms race on a scale imposed on other countries by the US ruling military-industrial complex endangers the very existence of mankind. It puts off the solution of many global problems such as food, raw materials and energy supply to enormous numbers of people, overcoming the economic backwardness of the newly free countries engendered by colonialism, environmental protection. All these serious problems can be solved only through collective efforts of nations, through international cooperation of many countries.

The events which followed the Second World War confirm that the less imperialism's opportunities for dominating other nations the more adventurist and dangerous become the actions of some of its leaders. Such situation makes consistent peace efforts particularly necessary. "It is highly naive to think that peace can be easily attained," wrote Lenin, "and that the bourgeoisie will hand it to us on a platter as soon as we mention it." Peace can be won only by an intensive struggle.

History makes it clear that the threat of war presented by imperialism should be opposed constantly, persistently and resolutely. The success of the struggle requires the unity and cohesion of the working class, of all working people, of all democrats. Experience points at the necessity of a timely exposure of the expansionist, hegemonistic strivings of the forces of aggression, of preventing the organisers of aggression and wars from seizing key positions.

The Second World War has taught the peoples vigilance against aggressive plottings. To the Soviet Union and other socialist community countries, to the communist, working-class and national liberation movements, to all anti-war forces it is the basic condition of the efforts for peace and social progress.

The experience of socialist and communist development in the USSR and other socialist community countries shows that the

successful development of a new society and the preservation of world peace require a defence capacity which could cool the ardour of the aggressors, check their onslaught and, if necessary, give them a crushing rebuff. Herein lies the deep significance of the historical designation of the Warsaw Treaty Organisation and other elements of the defensive coalition of the socialist countries. A multilateral alliance of forces of real socialism, the Warsaw Treaty safely protects socialist gains vigilantly serving the interests of peaceful cooperation. It constitutes the most important factor of peace in Europe and the rest of the world. This accounts for the importance of its further consolidation.

Of enormous importance for averting another world war is the active foreign policy of the socialist community countries. The Extraordinary (February 1984) Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee stressed that the "success of the efforts to preserve and strengthen peace depends to a considerable degree on how great will be the influence of the socialist countries in the world arena, how vigorous, purposeful and coordinated their actions will be. Our countries have a vital stake in peace. For the sake of this goal we will strive to broaden cooperation with all the socialist countries".

History teaches that vigilance in the face of imperialist schemings requires the maximal use of the enormous potential of the modern working-class and communist movement in the interests of peace and progress. Communists all over the world work towards delivering mankind of nuclear catastrophe. They wage a consistent uncompromising struggle against revanchism, neofascism, hegemonism and reaction cooperating with all people of good will in the name of safeguarding and consolidating peace.

In our time no international task is more important for all peoples of the world than the defence of peace. Nuclear war—whether minor, major, limited or total—must be prevented. Warmongers must be stopped. This is necessitated by the vital interests of all peoples. Not preparations for war, which doom the peoples to the senseless waste of their material and spiritual wealth, but the consolidation of peace is the way to a secure future.

To curb the forces of militarism and aggression is the main task facing all forces of peace and progress—as well as a conclusion which can be drawn from the lessons and results of the Second World War. And people turn to its history in order to avert a still more dreadful tragedy which can befall mankind.

NOTES

¹ V. I. Lenin, Collected Works, Moscow, Vol. 27, p. 422.

² Ibid., Vol. 26, p. 345.

³ Materials of the Extraordinary Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee, Moscow, 1984, p. 18 (in Russian).

An Important Factor in International Security

PYOTR VLADIMIRSKY

The elimination of the nuclear war threat is both the road to the survival of mankind and the main precondition for the solution of all other global problems. The reduction and eventual elimination of the nuclear threat by means of the complete abolition of nuclear weapons would undoubtedly release enormous material, intellectual and other resources which could be diverted for creative purposes.

The struggle against the nuclear threat has its own system of coordinates. It requires effective action both vertically and horizontally. The vertical nuclear arms race means continued accumulation, qualitative improvement and deployment of nuclear weapons by countries which already possess them, and the horizontal one—potential acquisition of such weapons by states which are currently non-nuclear.

Despite conceptual distinctions between the vertical and horizontal directions of the struggle against the nuclear threat they strengthen and complement each other, forming a single whole. It would be erroneous in the extreme to make one of these objectives a precondition for the attainment of the other for in this case neither would be achieved.

To freeze nuclear weapons both vertically and horizontally, and then to advance further—towards their limitation and reduction until complete abolition—is the order of the day.

It is quite clear that the limitation of nuclear armaments and establishment of non-proliferation guarantees should be viewed as parallel objectives of the effort to maintain peace and prevent wars. Progress in the achievement of one objective will promote directly or indirectly progress in the attainment of the other. As was justly stressed in the report of the Palme Commission, "preventing the

spread of nuclear weapons is a critical element in any international effort to halt and reverse the nuclear arms race and ensure the maintenance of international peace and security. Progress in this direction demands obligations and responsibilities on the part of both nuclear-weapons states and non-nuclear-weapons states".

On the other hand, being a component of the problem of the removal of the nuclear threat, the prevention of proliferation of nuclear weapons has its specific features: the struggle against the spread of nuclear weapons across the planet proceeds on two planes—general political, scientific and technical.

Political measures are primarily designed to weaken the motivation of non-nuclear states to acquire nuclear weapons. The main task in this area is to enhance the authority of the existing non-proliferation regime centered around the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons which came into force in 1970. Efforts in this direction lead to the weakening of the motivation of non-nuclear states to acquire their own nuclear weapons. Clearly, their effectiveness, the consequent weakening and eventual complete liquidation of the motivation to acquire nuclear weapons are largely related to the general improvement of the world's political climate, the return to political and military detente, eradication of flashpoints of tension on the planet, and progress in the limitation of the arms race and disarmament.

The years since the conclusion of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons have clearly demonstrated its effectiveness as an international instrument which implements the tasks assigned to it. The key articles of the Treaty such as Articles I and II contain the so-called reciprocal obligations of nuclear and non-nuclear states. The former have undertaken not to transfer to any recipient whatsoever nuclear weapons or explosive devices; the latter—not to manufacture or acquire nuclear weapons or nuclear explosive devices. The Treaty is an important deterrent against the spread of nuclear weapons on the planet and as such an essential factor for international security. At the same time the Treaty has laid a solid foundation for cooperation in the peaceful uses of nuclear energy by promoting their development for the benefit of all countries, including the developing nations. That is why all states, big and small, nuclear and non-nuclear, developed and developing, should be interested in strengthening the Non-Proliferation Treaty and the related international regime.

Most non-nuclear countries rightly regard the non-proliferation regime as an initial stage of the system of nuclear disarmament measures. One of the most important aims of the Treaty is to promote progress in the field of nuclear disarmament. To this end, Article VI was included in the Treaty, specifying that each of the parties to the Treaty undertakes to pursue negotiations in good faith on effective measures relating to the cessation of the nuclear arms race at an early date and to nuclear disarmament, and on a treaty on general and complete disarmament under strict and effective international control. The Article's profound meaning lies in the fact that for the first time the nuclear states undertook under an international agreement to conduct talks on a broad range of issues concerning nuclear disarmament.

It is only natural, therefore, that an important place in the efforts to strengthen the international non-proliferation regime should be assigned to the attainment of real results in the limitation of the nuclear arms race and nuclear disarmament. This direction acquires particular importance in the light of the forthcoming conference to be held in Geneva in September 1985 to review how the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons is being implemented. As is known, the two previous conferences focused on the implementation by the states parties to the Treaty of their obligations under Article VI. The 1980 conference failed to adopt a final document because of a lack of agreement among the participants on the implementation of these obligations.

The implementation of Article VI of the Non-Proliferation Treaty would be facilitated by the development, adoption and step-by-step realisation of a programme for nuclear disarmament. No action was taken on the draft programme submitted by the Soviet Union at the Conference on Disarmament in Geneva exclusively through the fault of the US and its closest allies. The Soviet Union is prepared to negotiate appropriate control which would guarantee the implementation of the programme by nuclear states. The IAEA's experience in control measures, in particular, could well be used for the purposes of this control.

A successful solution of the problem of nuclear weapons tests would play an important part in both vertical and horizontal non-proliferation. The fact is specifically mentioned in the Non-Proliferation Treaty. This measure would erect material obstacles to the development of new types and systems of nuclear weapons, thereby impeding the emergence of new nuclear states. At present, some countries refuse to sign the Treaty on the grounds that while it demands that non-nuclear states renounce forever the acquisition of nuclear weapons nuclear countries carry on nuclear tests and continue to improve and build up their arsenals. In this context the non-nuclear countries—both parties and non-parties to the Treaty—rightly believe that complete prohibition of nuclear tests would be an important measure in the prevention of nuclear weapons proliferation and, consequently, the strengthening of the non-proliferation regime in general.

Another result of the conclusion of a Treaty on General and Complete Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons Tests would be the erection of considerable obstacles to nuclear weapons tests by states with a potential for their manufacture. Such a treaty would bind non-nuclear states with the obligation to recognise the limitations on the development of nuclear explosive devices (they would therefore renounce any political "benefits" whatsoever arising from tests as proof of the possession of nuclear weapons). It would therefore further common efforts to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons, and its signing by the states non-parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons could become the prelude to their joining it.

The Soviet Union has repeatedly confirmed its readiness to take the most extensive measures in the field of complete prohibition and cessation of nuclear weapons tests. It advocates the development of such an agreement at the Conference on Disarmament. In our view, the "Main Provisions of a Treaty on General and Complete Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons Tests" submitted by the Soviet Union at the 37th UN General Assembly would be a good basis for such an agreement.

The Soviet Union has proposed to declare a moratorium on all nuclear explosions before the signing of such a treaty. As a practical step in this direction it is prepared to put into effect the Soviet-American Treaties on the Limitation of Underground Nuclear Weapons Tests (1974) and on Underground Nuclear Explosions for Peaceful Purposes (1976), provided the US acts likewise.

Regrettably, the stand taken by the US on the above treaties and on the problem of complete prohibition of nuclear weapons tests demonstrates that this arms limitation measures has also been sacrificed by it to its nuclear programmes under which the Pentagon intends to develop and manufacture about 17,000 new nuclear charges by 1990. While in the past Washington tried to cover up its unconstructive approach with references to the complexities of control and with other contrived arguments, the September 1983 reply of the US Arms Control and Disarmament Agency to a Congressional Commission's inquiry dots all its i's and crosses all its t's. Nuclear tests, says the Agency, are necessary for the development and modernisation of warheads, maintenance of the reliability of the accumulated stocks and assessment of the effect of the use of nuclear weapons.

In a set of measures establishing spatial limits of the nuclear arms race, of great importance would be the solution of the problem of security guarantees for non-nuclear states that have refused to acquire nuclear weapons or do not have them on their territory. Most international experts agree that by signing the Non-Proliferation Treaty a non-nuclear country, of its own accord, denies itself a possibility of resorting to nuclear weapons in a conflict with a nuclear

state. That is why to compensate for the refusal to acquire nuclear weapons it is entitled to demand from all nuclear states guarantees that nuclear weapons will not be used against it. Such an approach to the security of non-nuclear countries would strengthen the non-proliferation regime.

An analysis of this question should take into account the fact that the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons in itself helps strengthen the security of non-nuclear states. In connection with the conclusion of the Treaty the UN Security Council adopted Resolution 255 (1968) which qualifies any aggression with the use of nuclear weapons or the threat of such aggression as calling for immediate action by the Security Council, first and foremost of its permanent members, in accordance with their obligations under the Charter of the United Nations. During the adoption of this resolution the Soviet Union, together with the USA and Great Britain, reaffirmed its intention to press for immediate action on the part of the Security Council in order to ensure support, under the UN Charter, for any non-nuclear state party to the Treaty which would fall victim of aggression or would become an object of the threat of aggression with the use of nuclear weapons.

The Soviet Union stands for the adoption of firmer security guarantees for non-nuclear countries. It stated at the First Special Session of the UN General Assembly on Disarmament (1978) that it would never use nuclear weapons against states which refused to manufacture and acquire such weapons and did not have them on their territory. The same year, at the 33rd Session of the UN General Assembly, the Soviet Union submitted a draft international convention on this question, which stipulated the obligation of nuclear states not to use nuclear weapons or to threaten to use them against non-nuclear states parties to the convention which had refused to manufacture and acquire nuclear weapons and did not have them on their territory or anywhere under their jurisdiction or control. The Soviet Union's proposal that as a first step towards the conclusion of such a convention all nuclear states make similar or basically the same statements about the non-use of nuclear weapons against non-nuclear states which do not have them on their territory was also designed to strengthen the security guarantees for non-nuclear states. It is prepared to conclude such bilateral agreements with any of these non-nuclear states.

Unlike the Soviet Union the US is obviously unwilling to bind itself with unequivocal obligations not to use nuclear weapons against non-nuclear states. It has stated that it will not use nuclear weapons against non-nuclear states that had signed the Non-Proliferation Treaty or had otherwise undertaken not to acquire nuclear explosive devices, but with one significant reservation: except when the US or its allies were attacked by a non-nuclear state which was an ally of a

nuclear state or which made that attack together or with the support of a nuclear state.

The US formula virtually reserves the right of the US to determine when nuclear weapons could be used against a non-nuclear country. Furthermore, it does not preclude the possibility that it will use nuclear weapons in an armed conflict between two non-nuclear states allied with different nuclear powers.

The establishment of nuclear-free zones in different regions of the world is particularly important in the set of measures aimed at preventing the horizontal proliferation of nuclear weapons. The establishment of such zones will undoubtedly reduce the nuclear threat while promoting regional cooperation in peaceful uses of nuclear energy.

Obviously, agreements on nuclear-free zones would be an important addition to the Non-Proliferation Treaty. It is no accident that the Treaty encourages rather than precludes the creation of such zones. Article VII in particular says that "nothing in the Treaty affects the right of any group of States to conclude regional treaties in order to assure the total absence of nuclear weapons in their respective territories". In some respects, draft agreements on nuclear-free zones go beyond the provisions of the Treaty since not only do they stipulate the refusal to acquire nuclear weapons by non-nuclear states but also preclude the presence of somebody else's nuclear weapons in any form within the limits of the zone. They also include obligations of states outside the zone not to use nuclear weapons against them.

Non-nuclear zones are a result of the non-nuclear countries' efforts, of their desire to contribute to the strengthening of regional security. Given the developing countries' growing role in world politics, such regional measures will strengthen the non-proliferation regime and become an important additional measure in the cause of nuclear disarmament in general. It is pertinent to recall in this respect that a revised concept of nuclear-free zones is being developed in the UN in active collaboration with developing states and the Soviet Union's participation.

Today one example of an existing nuclear-free zone recognised within the region and by nuclear powers is the zone in Latin America which has been duly institutionalised by international law (the Treaty of Tlatelolco). Despite some shortcomings (in particular, the non-participation of five countries of the continent, including Brazil, Argentina and Chile), it is generally recognised that it strengthens substantially the non-proliferation regime and may become an example for other non-nuclear states of the world which seek to contribute to the consolidation of their security. On the other hand, it is vital to strengthen the zone's international legal regime in every possible way, extending it to all the countries concerned, particularly countries with developed nuclear activities.

In accordance with its position of principle the Soviet Union signed and ratified Additional Protocol II to the Treaty of Tlatelolco which stipulates that all nuclear powers should undertake to respect the nuclear-free status of the zone with regard to the states parties to the Treaty. It continues to be in favour of declaring Africa and the Middle East nuclear-free zones, along with Latin America, and supports proposals on the establishment of such zones in other regions, in particular in Northern Europe and the Balkans. The Soviet Union expressed its basically positive attitude to the Swedish government's idea concerning the creation in Europe of a nuclear-weapons-free zone along the line dividing the NATO and Warsaw Treaty countries but suggested expanding its geographical limits.

Proposals on the establishment of nuclear-free zones meet with the negative attitude of Western powers, primarily the US, which are against their creation in those regions where their military and strategic interests are affected. This attitude is due to the USA's and NATO's desire to retain their political influence in key areas of the world and to ensure their long military presence there. When such proposals are discussed at international forums the Western powers tend to say that these zones can be established only when they do not disturb the balance between NATO and the Warsaw Treaty or do not grant military advantages to either party.² This appears a just demand. But the NATO leadership's interpretation implies that the establishment of nuclear-free zones might upset the "balance of forces in the world" in favour of the Soviet Union. Such arguments are most actively resorted to when the question arises of creating nuclear-free zones in Europe. Meanwhile it is Europe that has the highest concentration of nuclear weapons and conventional arms and the withdrawal of nuclear weapons from there could reduce the threat of a conflict with the use of the means of mass destruction. This would undoubtedly strengthen peace and security on the European continent.

An important factor in the limitation of the nuclear arms race which contributed to the strengthening of international security was the exclusion of the Antarctic, outer space and the sea-bed and ocean floor from the sphere of nuclear proliferation and their actual transformation into nuclear-free zones.

An agreement on the Antarctic involving 27 states (as of September 1983) was concluded on December 1, 1959. The Treaty prohibits any actions of a military nature in the Antarctic including the establishment of military bases and fortifications, military exercises, tests of any weapons, including nuclear arms, and disposal of radioactive material. All areas of the Antarctic are always open to inspection and aerial surveillance may be conducted at any time and in any area.

The Treaty on Principles Governing the Activities of States in the Exploration and Use of Outer Space, Including the Moon and Other

Celestial Bodies was open for signature on January 27, 1967, and expanded the list of the already existing international instruments on October 10 the same year. Ninety-three states were parties to the Treaty as of September 1, 1983, including four nuclear powers—the USSR, the USA, Great Britain and France. The Treaty prohibits placing in orbit around Earth any objects carrying nuclear weapons or any other kinds of weapons of mass destruction, installing such weapons on celestial bodies, or stationing such weapons in outer space in any other manner, establishing military bases, installations and fortifications on celestial bodies, testing any types of weapons and conducting military manoeuvres, and in fact declares all outer space and all celestial bodies a zone free from nuclear weapons. Implementation of the Soviet proposal to conclude a Treaty on Prohibiting the Use of Force in Outer Space and from Outer Space in Respect of the Earth submitted at the 38th UN General Assembly could be a major, tangible contribution to ensuring the use of outer space exclusively for peaceful purposes. The proposal, however, has not yet met with positive response on the part of the NATO countries, and the US is in fact trying to turn outer space into an arena of the arms race.

The Treaty on the Prohibition of the Emplacement of Nuclear Weapons and Other Weapons of Mass Destruction on the Sea-Bed and the Ocean Floor and in the Subsoil Thereof concluded on the Soviet Union's initiative on February 11, 1971 (73 states were parties to it as of September 1, 1983) was a significant step towards the limitation of the spatial proliferation of nuclear weapons. The Treaty which came into force on May 18, 1972, safeguards a vast area of our planet from the nuclear arms race.

Progress in the prevention of military uses of nuclear energy in new spheres of human activities is important not only because it impedes the arms race by preventing it from taking on new unexpected forms and dimensions, but also because it reduces the spatial limits within which nuclear states could use nuclear weapons.

The limitation of the nuclear arms race, transition to nuclear disarmament, general and complete cessation of nuclear weapons tests, strengthening of security guarantees for non-nuclear states, establishment of non-nuclear zones, strengthening of the non-nuclear status of areas developed by man—all this makes for a stronger non-proliferation regime and objectively helps to weaken the non-nuclear states' motivation to acquire nuclear weapons.

The scientific and technical aspects of non-proliferation have the following specific features.

On the one hand, the world is witnessing a rapid growth of nuclear energy applications. While the world's first atomic power station commissioned by the Soviet Union in 1954 had a capacity of 5,000 kW, by the end of 1982 there were already 293 atomic power stations in the world with a total capacity of 173 million kW supplying 8 per cent of the world's energy. It is estimated that in 1985 nuclear energy will account for 17 per cent of the total energy production.³ The rapid growth of the share of nuclear energy is due to constantly rising demands for energy, higher costs of conventional fuels and the development of highly efficient and safe nuclear reactors. The rapid development of peaceful nuclear energy is only to be welcomed, provided it occurs under appropriate international control.

On the other hand, the process is fraught with potential dangers since a by-product of peaceful nuclear energy installations is plutonium, a seed material for the manufacture of the nuclear bomb. A 20-kiloton bomb requires several kilograms of plutonium, and by 1982 non-nuclear states had already accumulated about 83 tons of this material.⁴ It is not difficult to imagine the great danger posed by uncontrolled development of nuclear energy.

Other processes had been further developed by the early 1980s considerably complicating the problem and at the same time making it more urgent. As scientific and technical progress and cooperation expand, including nuclear energy, the number of countries possessing a material potential for the manufacture of nuclear weapons continues to grow.

First of all, this facilitates the production of nuclear weapons, and information in the field of nuclear technologies becomes generally available. Although the production of uranium-235 and plutonium is still accompanied with considerable difficulties, according to some data, militarily significant quantities of plutonium will have been obtained by the mid-1980s by Argentina, Brazil, India, Israel, Pakistan, South Korea and Taiwan as a result of their nuclear research or energy programmes.⁵

Apart from nuclear weapons, a whole number of near-nuclear countries have a possibility of acquiring means of their delivery. Developed countries extensively sell the latest military aircraft and missiles in conflict-prone regions. Moreover, many developing countries successfully organise their own production of rather sophisticated weapons, including cruise missiles. Such weapons can be easily modified and turned into means of delivery of nuclear charges. Lastly, even the most primitive nuclear devices weighing several hundreds of kilograms can be delivered to the target by re-equipped civilian airplanes which today are possessed by almost all states or smuggled onto the enemy territory and then exploded by a radio signal or a time fuse.

According to L. Dunn, a US expert in nuclear non-proliferation, up to 20 countries outside Europe and North America are actively seeking to possess nuclear weapons, the nuclear ambitions of one

country immediately generating a chain reaction among its neighbours, especially in such regions as the Near and Middle East. He names Pakistan, India, Iraq, Libya, Saudi Arabia, Iran, Syria, Egypt, South Africa, Nigeria, Brazil, Argentina, Chile, Mexico, Israel, Spain, Australia, Japan, the FRG, Taiwan and South Korea as countries which may join the "nuclear club" in the 1980s. Canada, Italy, Switzerland and Sweden are able to immediately launch the production of nuclear weapons.

Dunn who considers the growing number of nuclear states a very alarming phenomenon believes that is would be impossible to expect the relative stability of the first decades of the atomic era to continue if new nuclear states emerge. He says: "We are now entering a much more dargerous stage of proliferation, in which possession of the bomb by countries in conflict-prone regions is not only possible but probable and the threat of actual use of nuclear weapons is growing."

During the International Nuclear Fuel Cycle Evaluation which involved over 60 countries experts arrived at the conclusion that on the whole the state of international relations in the field of peaceful uses of nuclear energy could be considered satisfactory. In general the world market of nuclear materials, equipment and technology copes with the demands of countries interested in developing nuclear energy and other peaceful applications of nuclear energy.

Questions of international relations in the nuclear sphere have become especially urgent in the light of preparations for the UN conference on the promotion of international cooperation in the use of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes (November 1986).

Being in favour of continued development of cooperation in this field, the Soviet Union believes consistent non-proliferation of nuclear weapons to be its most important prerequisite. Acting on this belief, the Soviet Union proposes to include in the conference's draft agenda a wide range of issues relating to the continued strengthening of the non-proliferation regime. It is also ready to examine other problems concerning the promotion of international cooperation in this sphere which are of interest to the overwhelming majority of developing countries. Of particular importance is technical assistance in such areas of the peaceful uses of nuclear energy as radioactive isotopes and radiation applications in industry, agriculture, medicine and science.

The overwhelming majority of countries rightly acknowledge that by maintaining the stability of current international relations the non-proliferation regime lays the foundation for peaceful uses of nuclear energy in non-nuclear countries and promotes international cooperation in the peaceful uses of nuclear energy.

Further strengthening of the regime will undoubtedly be facilitated by growth in the number of states parties to the Non-Proliferation Treaty. Some 50 countries, including two nuclear

powers—France and China, have not yet joined the Treaty. Particular concern is caused by the fact that about ten near-nuclear states still avoid participation in the Treaty. They include such countries as Israel, South Africa and Pakistan which do not conceal their nuclear ambitions. It should be noted that Israel's and South Africa's nuclear ambitions have been repeatedly condemned by the international community. At the 38th Session of the UN General Assembly the Soviet Union called the attention of the member countries to the dangerous prospect of Pakistan acquiring nuclear weapons.

It is the near-nuclear states which pose the main threat of further proliferation of nuclear weapons. The nuclear threat connected with the acquisition of such weapons by even one of these states will not be confined to any one region.

The extensive development of nuclear energy in the world makes it imperative to improve the system of IAEA safeguards, to strengthen its technical base and perfect the inspection mechanism. Experience of the use of IAEA safeguards accumulated during the operation of the Non-Proliferation Treaty demonstrates conclusively that the functioning of this mechanism does in no way interfere with the sovereign rights of states or impede their activities in the field of the peaceful uses of the atom. In recent years, the IAEA has observed in all its annual reports that the nuclear material supplied under its safeguards either remained within the framework of peaceful nuclear activities or was duly recorded.

In pursuance of the task of raising further the authority of the IAEA and its system of safeguards, the Soviet Union has expressed its readiness, as an act of good will, to place under its safeguards part of its peaceful nuclear activities—several atomic power stations and research reactors.

The Soviet Union is consistently working to prevent cooperation in peaceful uses of nuclear energy from serving the aims of developing nuclear explosive devices. In 1982, our country adopted special "Regulations on Exports of Nuclear Materials, Technology, Equipment, Installations, Special Non-Nuclear Materials and Services" which govern the Soviet nuclear exports policy in full accordance with its international obligations concerning non-proliferation.

Within the framework of the non-proliferation regime much attention is paid to physical protection of nuclear materials from terrorist organisations, groups of malefactors, and individuals who could steal these materials and use them for political blackmail, terrorist acts, extortion, etc. To this end, the IAEA worked out the Convention on the Physical Protection of Nuclear Materials. The Soviet Union which has ratified this Convention advocates its earliest coming into force considering it an important international-legal

instrument for the prevention of the so-called sub-regional proliferation of nuclear weapons.

The measures to strengthen the non-proliferation regime help expand mutually beneficial international cooperation between states in harnessing peaceful atomic energy which in its turn objectively results in a stronger non-proliferation regime.

The alarming international situation in the 1980s makes the task of preventing the spread of nuclear weapons across the planet especially topical. Many noted scientists, including those of the US—H. York, H. Scoville, T. Greenwood, H. Feiveson, Th. Taylor and others—acknowledge that further spread of nuclear weapons might lead to the most dangerous consequences. The well-known Canadian scientist and diplomat W. Epstein arrived at the conclusion in his book The Last Chance that the continued spread of nuclear weapons all over the world increases the danger of the complete annihilation of mankind. According to the former director of the US Arms Control and Disarmament Agency F. Ikle, any increase in the number of nuclear states will make disarmament talks between the Soviet Union and the US impossible since for them reduction of their arsenals may be risky because of the growth of the nuclear potential of third countries.

In recent years there has been a growing concern in the US that the Administration's statements often do not match its practical activities in the field of non-proliferation. On numerous occasions prominent statesmen drew attention to the many mistakes made by the US leadership in its past nuclear policy because they had not exerted enough efforts to strengthen the non-proliferation regime from the very outset. Furthermore, the US press has observed that the US bears the main responsibility for the spread of nuclear weapons becoming possible.

Nowadays the policy of the US Administration with regard to non-proliferation is increasingly subjected to sharp criticism by sober-minded politicians, including in the US Congress. On the other hand, as was pointed out with alarm in the above mentioned book by L. Dunn, there is a growing tendency within the Reagan Administration, the US State Department and among governmental experts from among authoritative scientists to question the importance of nuclear non-proliferation for the security of the US and, therefore, the correctness of their previous non-proliferation policy.

There are different reasons for this sceptical attitude towards this policy. Some maintain that the US can do little to slow down the spread of nuclear weapons and it is therefore necessary to accept the inevitable transformation of the world into a world of nuclear powers. Others, including such experts as P. Jabber, S. Rosen and

S. Feldman, insist that there are no special reasons to be afraid of continued proliferation of nuclear weapons because, as they say, the destructive might of these weapons will make their new masters reasonable and will reduce the possibility of their using even conventional weapons for fear of escalating the conflict, which may result in the use of nuclear weapons. At the same time they believe that such a situation will create between the formerly hostile countries relations of "stable mutual deterrence". Finally, there is a widespread opinion in the US that the emergence of new nuclear powers will be far more dangerous for the Soviet Union than for the US.

The above-mentioned arguments, writes Dunn, are based on the experience of the first three decades of the atomic era and the false premise that this experience is still completely valid today. It would be a grave mistake to underestimate both the possibility of slowing down the spread of nuclear weapons and its catastrophic consequences.

In stressing the danger of underestimating the proliferation of nuclear weapons, Dunn notes that with the emergence of new nuclear states any interventionist action by the US may from the very beginning evolve into a nuclear conflict. Proliferation of nuclear weapons in conflict-prone regions will pose a threat to international security and the well-being of the allies and friends of the US, will considerably increase the risk of a confrontation between the Soviet Union and the US and make nuclear weapons more readily available to terrorists. He recommends lowering the role of nuclear weapons in world politics through a massive reduction of US and Soviet nuclear forces, completely prohibiting nuclear weapons tests, and the US undertaking not to be the first to use these weapons.

Not so long ago the Reagan Administration pressured the Congress into abrogating the Symington amendment (1976) to the military aid act. The amendment prohibited supplies of arms to countries engaged in covert nuclear activities. Nevertheless Washington pledged 3,200 million dollars in military and economic aid to Pakistan for a period of five years and decided to sell 40 F-16 fighter-bombers to that country which could be used as an effective means of delivery of nuclear weapons. Even in the US these actions are regarded as encouraging Pakistan's nuclear ambitions.

Washington regularly supplies large consignments of modern arms and renders military and economic aid to Israel, although the CIA itself has made it clear that Israel is rapidly progressing towards the manufacture of missiles carrying nuclear weapons.

Nor has South Africa ever concealed its plans to acquire nuclear, weapons but it is no secret that the US ruling quarters openly advocate more extensive political and military cooperation with it.

The US policy with regard to non-proliferation is criticised not only inside the country but also by many non-nuclear states parties to

the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons. In their view, Washington's unprecedented build-up of its nuclear potential cannot but attest to the hypocrisy of the US that calls upon others not to manufacture nuclear weapons while itself continuing to bank on them as an instrument of its foreign policy.

In this situation, states need to intensify further their efforts to strengthen the international non-proliferation regime, without repeating the mistake made by representatives of some states that belittled the Treaty and attached too much importance to various technical problems. The core of the non-proliferation regime is the Treaty which should be protected above all. A great responsibility for this 'rests with the countries-depositaries of the Treaty. At the same time, non-proliferation of nuclear weapons is everybody's concern, being directly linked to the prevention of nuclear catastrophe.

Non-proliferation of nuclear weapons as one of the measures facilitating the reduction of the danger of nuclear war, and the strengthening, through an appropriate international agreement, of a regime governing the behaviour of the overwhelming majority of states with regard to nuclear weapons are an important instrument in safeguarding peace and the peaceful uses of atomic energy for the benefit of all peoples. That is why non-proliferation of nuclear weapons is a serious and responsible cause admitting of no double standards. Here, like in any other questions relating to nuclear energy, words of states, both big and small, nuclear and non-nuclear, should match their deeds.

Being convinced that nuclear energy which is becoming the property of all mankind should promote the well-being of peoples and their social progress, the Soviet Union does everything in its power to strengthen the non-proliferation regime—this important direction of the struggle against the nuclear threat.

NOTES

- ¹ Doc. UN A/CN.10/38, p. 157.
- ² UN Doc. A/10027/Add. I, p. 22.
- ⁵ The Annual Report for 1982, International Atomic Energy Agency, Vienna, 1983.
- ⁴ Ibidem.
- ⁵ L. Dunn, Controlling the Bombs. Nuclear Proliferation in the 1980s. A Twentieth Century Fund Report, New York, 1982, p. 25.
- ⁶ Ibid., p. I.
- ⁷ T. Greenwood, H. Feiveson, Th. Taylor, Nuclear Proliferation: Motives, Capabilities and Strategies for Control, New York, 1977, p. 28.
- 8 W. Epstein, The Last Chance, New York, 1976, p. 331.
- 9 Nuclear Proliferation. Future US Foreign Policy Implications. Hearings before the Subcommittee on International Security and Scientific Affairs of the Committee on International Relations. House of Representatives, October-November 1979, p. 238.
- 10 L. Dunn, op. cit., p. 176.



American Militarism and Neocolonialism

ANATOLI KUTSENKOV

The deployment of the American medium-range missiles in Europe and the attempts to station them in other countries, the development of new types of strategic arms and combat field weapons, the plans to militarise outer space, the Pentagon's undisguised adherence to the doctrines of "disarming", "decapitating" strikes demonstrate the intentions of the present US Administration to implement the reactionary and very dangerous idea of a crusade against world communism. This is resulting in the speeding up of the arms race, first of all nuclear, the growth of international tension and the nuclear war threat.

Soviet scholars have done much to study US imperialism unprecedented in its scale to unmask its aggressive nature. The focus of Soviet research is on the main problems of Soviet-US relations: the problems of war and peace, disarmament, consequences of the arms race for the developing countries. Recently published monographs investigate the effect of the arms race on the economic and social development of the newly free countries, the interconnection and interdependence of the arms race on the regional and global levels. They examine the significance of the Soviet peace initiatives to secure more favourable conditions for the social and economic development of the Third World, and also the contribution of developing countries to the struggle for peace and disarmament. The article analyses the role of the American war machine in achieving the neocolonialist aims of the US imperialist circles.

AGGRESSIVE AIMS OF THE US MILITARY PRESENCE IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

Contemporary militarism is the attempt of the imperialism of the epoch of the general crisis of capitalism to answer the challenge of

history, to delay by force the progressive development of mankind and to solve its antagonistic contradictions.

US militarism is of a complicated structure and is manifested in different forms. First of all it is the arms race, global military presence, the involvement of ever new states in the system of its world military establishment, the cult of force in international relations, the flouting of generally accepted norms of international law, ideology of violence that justifies the devouring of the weak by the strong, repudiation of the basic principles of humanism. Though militarism attempts to exploit the advanced achievements of science and technology as a material basis, its moral and ethical principles hurl mankind many centuries back into the epoch of barbarism.

American militarism is spearheaded primarily against the USSR and the countries of the socialist community. Its immediate goal is to gain military superiority over the USSR and other Warsaw Treaty countries, to force them to make political concessions and then to ensure the United States world supremacy. At the same time American militarism is deeply hostile to the national liberation movement.

Being quite different phenomena militarism and neocolonialism have much in common. The aim of American militarism—to gain world supremacy—presupposes the subordination also of the developing countries which constitute two thirds of mankind and have enormous mineral resources. The Pentagon regards many regions of the developing world as spheres of the USA's vital interests which it is ready to defend by armed force. Regimes, governments, organisations, parties and ideologies opposing militarism and imperialism are qualified as "world communism" or "international terrorism". American imperialism considers militarism to be the most effective means to achieve its neocolonialist aims. Militarism and neocolonialism act together and the US military and big business closely cooperate against the national liberation movement. Behind the actions of the Pentagon and CIA against the developing countries one can often see the interests of certain groups of the American monopolies.

The structure and stationing of the US Armed Forces reflect the neocolonialist functions of the American war machine.² In addition to the normal structure accepted in many countries (Army, Navy, Air Force) the US Armed Forces have large operational units characteristic only of them. Large commands have been set up that have personnel and armament of all combat arms. Four out of five such commands are stationed outside the USA.

The largest of such groups is in Europe. It is more than 355,000 men strong, has 150 medium-range missile launchers, more than 750 combat aircraft and 1,000 helicopters, 3,400 tanks and a great number of pieces of artillery. The Sixth and Second Fleets of the US Navy are in the same zone and have their bases in the

Mediterranean and the Atlantic. They consist of 170 combat ships, including 6 aircraft carriers, up to 50 nuclear powered submarines, 800-odd combat aircraft, many of which are capable of carrying out nuclear strikes within the range of several thousand kilometres on the objectives situated on the territory not only of the USSR and European socialist states, but of the Middle East and African countries. The shelling of Beirut and the positions of the Lebanese patriotic forces by the American ships of the Sixth Fleet shows the readiness of the American military to use force against the young states without any hesitation. The deployment of the American Pershings and cruise missiles on the territories of some of the European countries creates "new terrible dangers for the Middle East countries, for many African states that are within the range of these nuclear weapons".³

Considerable US forces are concentrated in the Indian Ocean in the region of East Africa, the Arabian Peninsula, Iran, Pakistan, India, etc. They consist of 2 special navy task forces that include aircraft carriers, nuclear powered submarines and other warships, 180 aircraft, 80 of which are nuclear capable.

The second largest general purpose group, 474,000 men strong, is deployed in the Pacific near the borders of the USSR, China, Korean People's Democratic Republic, Vietnam, Kampuchea and other states of this region. The USA has deployed in this zone 1,125 combat aircraft and 140 combat ships. The Third and Seventh Fleets of 5 aircraft carriers, more than 100 other warships, 35 submarines and a lot of other equipment are attached to the Pacific grouping.

Besides, to conduct combat operations outside NATO's zone of responsibility, in the Middle East first of all, a special task force—the Rapid Deployment Force—has been created. Its total strength stands at 300,000 men and officers, equipped with more than 700 tactical planes, 28 strategic bombers, etc.

Military bases play an important role in the system of the American military presence. At present the USA has more than 1,500 military bases and installations in the territory of 32 countries. More than half a million servicemen are stationed there. The biggest are 340 army, naval and air bases in 21 countries. Moreover, 21 of such bases are situated in European countries which are in the immediate proximity of North Africa (Portugal, Spain, Italy and Greece). The USA has 25 military bases and strongpoints in Africa (South Africa, Liberia, Morocco). They also use the military bases, airfields and seaports in Egypt (5 air bases), Somalia (2 air and 1 naval bases), and Kenya (3 airfields and a seaport). Sixty US military installations, including 7 large bases, are located in Turkey which is situated between the USSR and the Middle East. In the Persian Gulf region the USA makes use of four national air bases in Oman, a base in Saudi Arabia, an airfield and a seaport in Bahrein. Diego Garcia, which belongs to Great Britain, is becoming one of the main

bases of the US naval and air force groups in the Indian Ocean. According to press reports the United States is constructing 5 electronic tracker stations and 2 bases for rapid deployment forces in Pakistan. The network of US advanced bases in the Far East and South-East Asia consists of more than 300 military installations including 32 large bases in Japan (15 army, 14 naval, 3 air bases), 40 in South Korea (36 army, and 4 air bases) and 11 in the Philippines (8 naval and 3 air bases).

Washington asserts that this huge and ramified war machine allegedly has the purpose of containing "Soviet expansionism". The anti-Soviet and anti-socialist nature of the American global military presence is obvious. But the practical actions of the US military leave no doubt that the allegations about the "Soviet threat" serve as a cover for aggression against the peoples of the developing countries. According to the press the USA has more than 200 times in the postwar years used armed force to achieve its foreign-policy aims. In most cases the victims of the American military actions were Asian, African and Latin American states. The list given below is far from being complete.

In 1945-1949 the USA intervened in China to prevent the victory of the people's revolution (113,000 servicemen, 600 planes and 150 ships took part in the intervention).

In 1948-1953 the US Armed Forces helped the Philippines government to suppress the uprising of patriots.

In 1950-1953 the USA intervened in Korea (up to 350,000 men and officers, 1,000 tanks, 1,600 planes and 300 ships took part).

In 1958 the forces of the US Sixth Fleet suppressed mass actions of the Lebanese people.

In 1964 the USA, Great Britain and Belgium undertook military actions to overthrow the lawful government in the Congo.

In 1964-1973—the US aggression in Vietnam.

In 1964-1973—the US aggression in Laos (more than 50,000 men, 1,500 planes and 40 ships took part).

In 1965—the armed intervention of the USA in the Dominican Republic (40,000 men, 275 planes and 50 ships).

In 1970-1975—the attempt to suppress the liberation struggle in Kampuchea (70,000 US men and officers, 500 planes, 40 ships).

In 1982—the landing of the US Marines in Lebanon.

In 1983—the occupation of Grenada.

The picture of the US military neocolonialist actions will not be complete without exposing the role of the CIA which usually prepares the ground for American armed intervention. It collects information, maps and carries out actions to destabilise the internal political situation, trains rebel forces and supplies them with arms, carries out terrorist acts against progressive governments and left-wing democratic leaders. The coups d'etat in Iran in 1953 and in Guatemala in 1954, Pinochet's military putch in Chile in September

1973, the conspiracies and provocations against Cuba and Nicaragua are rightly traced to the CIA's operations. It infiltrates mercenaries into El Salvador, tries to create a counter-revolutionary underground in Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea, secretly supports the forces in Angola and Chad friendly to the USA.

According to American press reports, the US embassies have a "black list" of states that should be isolated or stirred up against each other. India is among them because the USA considers its foreign policy to be an obstacle to the implementation of Washington's plans in South Asia.⁵

The USA is interested in isolating these countries or in rousing the hostility of their neighbours because tension or conflict is an opportunity for interference by American armed forces on the pretext of defending the life and property of the American citizens. According to the estimates of the Hungarian political scientist I. Kende, over the period 1945-1976 US troops participated 27 times in local wars, the duration of combat actions totalling 96.6 years. In 1967-1976 such interference became more frequent (11 times, total duration—46,3 years). Kende connects this fact with the increased aggressiveness of US imperialism.

ALLIES AND "CLIENTS"

To achieve its military, political and neocolonialist aims the USA leans not only on its own war machine but attempts to adapt for this purpose the armed forces of other states bound to it by different allied obligations. And these forces are considerable. The combined military might of the NATO countries (without the USA) comprise two million men, five aircraft carriers, 151 submarines, 1,555 other types of warships, a great number of combat aircraft and helicopters, tanks, artillery pieces, etc. Together with the NATO countries the USA took part in suppressing democratic forces in a number of African states. Beginning with the autumn of 1982 the multinational force, consisting of American, French, Italian and later British troops, in fact acted in Lebanon together with Israel. In expanding the zone of its operations the USA intended to involve the troops of its allies in combat actions against the Lebanese patriotic forces, to increase the number of the interventionist forces by involving also the troops of the FRG.

The United States organises and supports the military alliances in the Pacific region—ANZUS (Australia, New Zealand, USA) and ANZUK (Australia, New Zealand, United Kingdom, Malaysia and Singapore). US diplomats work for drawing the ASEAN into military cooperation. The USA maintains military contacts with several ASEAN states, and in the first place with the Philippines on whose territory are situated the largest in the Pacific American naval and air

bases (on Luzon Island). These bases are the strongpoints of the Pacific Fleet and Rapid Deployment Force of the USA. By taking advantage of the tense situation on the Thai-Kampuchean border for which the Thai authorities are responsible, the USA involves Thailand in its military preparations. Thai troops participate in raids on the Kampuchean territory, shell and bomb it.

In the Far East the USA seeks to create a triple military strategic alliance of the USA, Japan and South Korea that in future should become a Pacific community with Canada, Australia, New Zealand and the ASEAN countries as members. Japan is already involved in the USA system of strategic interests. There are 120 US military bases in its territory. The Japanese armed forces are growing and closely cooperate with the Pentagon. Since 1980 Japan together with the NATO and ANZUS countries participates in multinational navy exercises. The Japanese armed forces are assigned to patrol sea lanes within a 1,000-mile radius off Japanese shores and if necessary to block the straits through which ships of many countries pass.

More than 600 nuclear warheads and 42,000 US servicemen are deployed in South Korea. The Chung Doo Hwan military regime is apparently assigned the function of preparing cannon fodder for the Pacific theatre of operations. The South Korean Army's strength (600,000 men) is far in excess that required for self-defence. Joint American-South Korean exercises regularly take place in South Korea. Japan also takes part in them. From its territory the American troops are transferred to the south of the Korean Peninsula.

The USA cooperates in the military field with some countries on a bilateral basis. One of them is Israel with which the United States concluded a treaty on strategic cooperation. The USA keeps the Israeli army excessively inflated and supplies it with military equipment. During the past 10 years US credits for Israel exceeded 18,000 million dollars. Actually Israel has become the main tool of American imperialism in suppressing the liberation struggle of the peoples of the Middle East. In future the USA intends to use Israel to strengthen the positions of imperialism in Tropical Africa. Israeli top brass have become frequent visitors to Liberia, the Ivory Coast, Malawi, Gabon and Zaire. In January 1983 Israel and Zaire, which have a common border with the People's Republic of Angola, signed a military agreement according to which Israel will man and arm the units of Zaire's army.

Another important ally of the USA is South Africa scheduled to attack the forces of the African liberation movement from the south. Ignoring world public opinion, the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council of the United Nations, the USA maintains relations of "constructive cooperation" with South Africa, i.e., has actually concluded a military and political alliance with it. Forty per cent of the South African Air Force's aircraft are of American production. American experts helped Pretoria to start the

production of some types of modern weapons. The USA plays an essential role in the development of the nuclear industry in South Africa which is to provide the army of the racist regime with nuclear weapons.

The alliances of the USA with Israel and South Africa are strengthened by the cooperation between Tel Aviv and Pretoria. It is based on the mutual interweaving of capitals in which the US monopolies also take part. This is considered by both sides as an important condition of their survival. During the Arab-Israeli wars South Africa rendered aid to Tel Aviv in the form of voluntary donations and reinforced the Israeli army with its own troops. The South African and Israeli staffs exchange intelligence information. Both countries carry out joint research in the nuclear field. Israel participates in working out plans of invasion in Angola by sending to South Africa experts in fighting "terrorists".

After the American positions in Iran weakened the Pentagon mainly relies on Pakistan among the states of South-West Asia. American military support of Pakistan amounts to 3,200 million dollars. Pakistan is declared a frontline state and its army is supplied with modern arms. Islamabad has agreed to the US Central Command (Centcom) being quartered on the territory of the country. Its competence extends to 19 states of Asia and Africa. The USA is trying to get Pakistan to agree to the deployment of Pershing-2 missiles on its territory which would be trained on the USSR's Central Asian republics and on the oil regions of the Middle East, Afghanistan, India and other countries. Pakistan has become the main base of aggression against Afghanistan. A network of camps has been created in Peshawar, Quetta, Parachinar and Chitral where counter-revolutionaries are trained under the guidance of American instructors. The Pentagon plans to use the armed forces of Pakistan for direct aggression against Afghanistan.⁷

US high ranking officials speak openly about the benefits of using the armed forces of allied states. In a speech written for President John Kennedy (which was not made in Dallas for obvious reasons) it was said: "Our assistance makes possible the stationing of 3.5 million allied troops along the Communist frontier at one-tenth the cost of maintaining a comparable number of American soldiers. A successful Communist breakthrough in these areas, necessitating direct [military—A. K.] United States intervention, would cost us several times as much as our entire foreign aid programme and might cost us heavily in American lives as well."

ROLE OF MILITARY SUPPLIES. COST OF MILITARISM

As was demonstrated above, the US war machine is a global phenomenon. It consists of both the American armed forces and of the armies of many other states. Those states differ in their

geographical position, natural and economic resources, manpower and in their military potential. Their role in the world arena is also different. So are the reasons for their cooperation with the US military. For the developed capitalist states the motives for such cooperation are their common imperialist interests, their efforts to hold their positions in the unstable developing world with the aid of a stronger partner or to recover the ones lost in national liberation revolutions. The relations with allies are far from simple because in dealing with the USA they count on their share of the loot. Often the imperialist contradictions between the USA and its allies become very acute. Besides, the ruling circles of those countries have to take into account the highly developed democratic movement in their states.

It is easier to deal with the junior partners of US imperialism in the developing world. Such partners are usually called "clients". They are military anti-democratic regimes under the diktat of the USA. Their existence depends entirely upon American aid. They are the most preferable type of an ally for the American ruling circles and US diplomacy is sparing no effort to enlarge its clientelle in strategically important explosive regions of the world.

During the period of the breakup of the colonial empires the mother countries created such states by handing over power to the local military elite trained in the West and faithful to Western values. Such reactionary regimes which existed for quite a long time, needed external support. Ultimately they found themselves in the orbit of US militarism as the most powerful and generous. This way presupposes as a pre-condition the relatively developed military infrastructure created in colonial times. The other way—the natural evolution of a conservative civilian administration. In the struggle against their own people the reactionary ruling circles of former colonies, by strengthening the police and the army, had to ally themselves with them and often to yield power to them. Other motives for strengthening the armed forces and for raising the military in such states may be the ruling circles' fear of the revolutionary processes in neighbouring countries, expansionist or prestigious ambitions.

At present the most widespread way to securing clients is through reactionary military coups. In the developing world many of them are carried out with the aid and participation of the Pentagon and the US special services. "Often, but not invariably, militarised regimes of the kind I have been describing [reactionary regimes—A.K.] come into being with the blessing of the United States government," writes Professor R. Falk of Princeton University (USA). "The precise relationship is difficult to demonstrate in most situations, although recent revelations and investigations often disclose a pattern of CIA support for the transition to militarised rule and its subsequent stabilisation."

A big role in the preparation of military coups and in strengthening militarised regimes is played by the supplies of

American arms for armies and the police. The arms are supplied within the framework of the Military Assistance Program, Foreign Military Sales Program, Excess Defence Articles Program, International Military Education and Training Program, and the Economic Support Fund. Each of these programmes pursues its own goals, but in combination they become a flexible mechanism that permits the US Administration quickly to take into account the situation both in the client country and in the USA. There are also secret channels, which the CIA and other similar services are responsible for. The information about the arms supplies along these channels is rarely published though they are considerable. The well-known international relations expert Barnet attests that in the period between July and December 1975 the USA secretly sent to Angola 50 million dollars' worth of military equipment for the detachments of the proteges of imperialism Roberto and Savimbi. 10

Weapons are insidious goods. Like no other they always become a political factor. By selling weapons or supplying them as gratuitous aid to a developing country the USA thus demonstrates its loyalty to its regime and its antipathy to the said country's internal and external enemies. But this is not all. Arms supplies are an effective means of making a developing (peripheral) country dependent upon the imperialist centre. They pave the way for massive neocolonial expansion. General Th. Milton, former US representative to the NATO Military Committee, wrote that the supplies of arms to a developing country create a basis "for mutual cooperation where only our own interests are involved". They help station the US military bases in the territory of that country, making it a part of the American defence system. "And if we have sense enough, as we have had in the past, to behave responsibly and efficiently in the countries that buy our arms and seek our technical help, we will have created the basis for reliable [military—A. K.] alliance," writes Milton. 11 The Swedish political scientist Oberg who studied this problem came to the conclusion that arms supplies in any form permit the exporting countries to achieve several goals:

First—to support the local military elite or to create it, to help form the political regime that meets the interests of the "centre".

Second—to open up or maintain civil markets, to secure supplies of raw materials and energy to the "centre".

Third—to promote the formation in the peripheral country of a socio-economic system that makes the given society receptive to investments and trade and profitable for example for transnational corporations.¹² In short, these goals contain the detailed programme of modern neocolonialism.

The receiving of American arms is only one of the stages of the loss by a developing country of its independence and becoming a junior partner of US militarism. Arms supplies are followed by the construction of maintenance facilities: workshops and factories which

in future the importing country will use for the assembly of ready-made parts coming from abroad. Then comes the local production of spares made of the imported materials according to foreign licences and finally the local production of raw materials and semi-finished products. Theoretically this process results in the independent licenced production of arms. But this is the case only with the simplest types. The production of more or less sophisticated weapons, for example planes, will depend upon imports for a very long time. The war industry develops at high rates and a developing country with a limited scientific and technical potential is not able to keep up with it. "The rapidly growing sophistication of modern weapons is an obstacle to the minimisation of dependency," writes the American scientist M. D. Wolpin. 13

It is the people first of all who have to pay for the reactionary policies of the militarised regimes in developing countries connected with American militarism. In 1982 the Commission of Foreign Relations of the World Council of Churches published a booklet on the results of consultations of clericals that took place in Manila, September-October 1981.¹⁴ Much space is devoted, in particular, to the Philippines. Neocolonialism, note the authors of one of the reports, penetrates into all spheres of life in this state which has a long tradition of military cooperation with the United States. The Philippines' economy is controlled by foreign monopolies: 415 of the leading transnational corporations control 40 per cent of all joint stock capital of the country including banks. An even more eloquent indication of the country's dependency is the practically unlimited right of foreign companies to transfer profits abroad. It has been calculated that every dollar invested in the economy of the country by transnationals brings them three dollars in profit. 15

The Filipino workers are brutally exploited. In labour productivity they rank third in Asia but on the wage scale of the continent are the last but one. The Filipino peasants are oppressed by feudal landlords. As a result of the peasants being driven off the land by feudal landlords and capitalists with a view to organising the cultivation of commercial crops the landlessness of the rural population is growing. The standard of living of the intelligentsia is decreasing. The salaries of teachers, clerks, and medical workers are being cut. Many specialists are trying to find employment abroad. Thus, 9.5 thousand Filipino doctors (68 per cent of total number) live and work in the USA and other developed countries. Women and youth are in a difficult position. The rising cost of education, the growth of unemployment lead to an increase of crime. In the vicinity of the American bases prostitution flourishes. 16

The people of a militarised client country live in conditions of constant war hysteria. "In such countries—Israel, South Korea and Taiwan are perhaps the outstanding examples—preparations for war often become a permanent way of life, and any demands for

relaxation of military authority and martial law are viewed as tantamount to treason," writes the American political scientist M. Klare.¹⁷ The elementary needs of the common people are sacrificed to the interests of national security. Such moral values as justice, peace, unity and truth are trampled under foot.¹⁸ And if the dissatisfaction of the people driven to despair by poverty and lawlessness breaks out, the reactionary militarised regime brings down upon them the full might of the police and army. To suppress the people's aprising in Gwangju in May 1980, the South Korean dictator Chung Doo Hwan used regular troops, including two divisions with tanks and artillery under the command of the American general Wickham. About three thousand people were killed.

The ruling circles of imperialist states, and first of all the USA which has declared itself an ardent champion of human rights, look calmly at the crimes of their partners and clients. Countermeasures against the communist threat in South Korea were more important than the restoration of democracy, commented the then US President James Carter, the prime mover of the human rights campaign, on the Gwangju slaughter.¹⁹

The reality of the present is that in the end all its major problems turn out to be closely connected with the main task, that of preserving and strengthening peace. The same goes for the problem of neocolonialism. The nature of neocolonialism is complicated. Its roots and mechanisms are not attributable solely to the policy of American militarism. But there is no doubt that today the American war machine has become one of the sources and means of neocolonial expansion in the developing world. That is why the struggle for strengthening the independence and sovereignty of the newly free countries, for the creation of more favourable conditions for their economic, social and cultural development urgently demand the curbing of militarism, and American imperialism in the first place. The coincidence of interests of the anti-war and national liberation movements is the real basis for an alliance of all progressive, democratic and liberating forces led by world socialism. The growing contribution of the independent states of Asia, Africa and Latin America, of the non-aligned movement to the cause of arms limitation, disarmament and the strengthening of peace, their joint actions in the world arena with the Soviet Union and the other socialist states in favour of peace demonstrate increasing understanding of this fact by the peoples and governments of the developing countries.

- ¹ Problems of Disarmament and Developing Countries, Moscow, 1983; E. S. Nukhovich, Arms Race and Newly Free Countries, Moscow, 1983 (both in Russian).
- ² Data on the US Armed Forces are cited from (unless specified otherwise) Whence the Threat to Peace, supplement No. 3 to Socialism: Theory and Practice, No. 5, 1982 and Whence the Threat to Peace, Moscow, 1984.
- ⁸ Kommunist, No. 2, 1984, p. 6.
- ⁴ New Times, No. 4, 1984, p. 9.
- ⁵ Krasnaya zvezda, January 24, 1984.
- ⁶ I. Kende, "Local Wars. 1945-1976", Problems of Contemporary Militarism, ed. by Asbjörn Eide and Marek Thee, London, 1980, p. 273.
- ⁷ *Pravda*, January 2, 1984.
- ⁸ I. Kende, op.cit., p. 285.
- ⁹ R. Falk, "Militarism and Human Rights in the Third World", *Problems of Contemporary Militarism*, p. 215.
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The United Nations and Ways of Increasing Its Efficiency

From the Editors: Published below is a review of the materials presented during a discussion of the UN role in the world today and ways of increasing its efficiency, which took place at *Mezhdunarodnaya ekonomika i mezhdunarodniye otnosheniya* (*MEIMO*) journal with the participation of the Institute of the World Economy and International Relations of the USSR Academy of Sciences and other scientific institutions and executive agencies concerned. For the full text of the participants' speeches see *MEIMO*, No. 6, 1984. The review was compiled by V. Novikov of our editorial staff.

Grigori Morozov, D.Sc.(Law): The extremely complicated and many-dimensional character of international relations today predetermines the objective need for a universally recognised institution for the maintenance of world peace and security. The UN is precisely such an institution. Its Charter can rightfully be considered a charter of international cooperation of all countries, of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems.

As the CPSU emphasises, "the USSR will in full measure cooperate with all states prepared with practical deeds to help lessen international tension and create an atmosphere of trust in the world. In other words, with those who will really pursue a policy leading not to preparing for war but to strengthening the foundations of peace. And we believe that to this end full use should be made of all the existing levers, including, of course, such a one as the United Nations Organisation, which was founded precisely for preserving and strengthening peace." 1

The UN is a unique organisation in the present-day system of international relations. It is distinguished by its nearly universal membership and its virtually universal competence. In appraising the UN's role and rank in world politics one should never forget that it was set up as a result of the victory of the forces of progress and democracy over fascism and militarism. This determined its chief purpose laid down in its Charter—the saving of succeeding generations from the scourge of war.

In the atmosphere of the democratic ground swell at the final stage of the Second World War, the imperialist circles in the West were forced to agree to the establishment of a world organisation on genuinely democratic principles of international law. But they had no intentions of fulfilling their obligations under the Charter. So, they embarked on a road of persistent violations of this international charter, including openly flouting its underlying principles. Everything points to the fact that today this policy has reached its climax.

The USA and its staunchest NATO allies have launched an unprecedented arms race and declared vast areas of the globe, including territories of dozens of sovereign states, zones of their imperial interests. They are also responsible for the atmosphere of bestility and conferential from the with much states.

hostility and confrontation fraught with nuclear war.

Such strategy can have nothing but a negative influence on the situation in the UN, whose forums the USA and its partners seek to use for pursuing their aggressive policies running counter to the interests of humanity. In particular, the USA seeks to cancel the valuable experience of the UN in curbing the arms race, to paralyse its activity in this sphere, and to impede the proper functioning of the organisation as a forum for settling international conflicts.

It is a well-known fact that the UN Charter makes it binding on all its members to preserve peace and avoid confrontation and the use of force in international relations. In violation of these provisions the USA pursues a policy of military build-up and resorts to interventionist actions and savage acts of aggression in the Middle East, in Central America and other regions. The UN Charter gives every ground for condemning the US Administration's policy as the gravest crime against humanity.

The USA is undermining most vigorously the very foundation of the UN, drastically reducing its chances of favourably influencing the international situation. In particular, it cynically attempted to prevent the General Assembly from fulfilling its functions as an international forum for bilateral as well as multilateral consultations. It did not stop at making it impossible for USSR Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko, head of the Soviet delegation, to participate in the 38th Session of the General Assembly, which is an unprecedented action.

It is noteworthy that such actions are accompanied by propaganda campaigns designed to discredit the UN. Unwilling to reconcile itself to the forfeiture of its dominant position in the General Assembly of cold war times, the USA now attempts to picture it as an arena of meaningless disputes and as a tyranny of an irresponsible majority. Simultaneously it is increasing pressure on all the organisations of the UN system. The latest development in this campaign is its withdrawal from UNESCO and its threats levelled at FAO, WHO, and other organisations.

The position of the USSR is fundamentally different. In today's extremely complicated situation it continues to uphold the principles,

and keep to the letter and spirit of the UN Charter and to work for ensuring the maximum efficiency of the UN in improving the political climate, preventing a thermonuclear catastrophe, settling international disputes, and maintaining and expanding cooperation.

Many Soviet initiatives on these vitally important issues have been supported by a vast majority of the UN members and are embodied in UN resolutions, declarations, and draft conventions.

The results of the 39th Session of the General Assembly are conclusive evidence of this. It adopted more than 60 decisions urging states, primarily the nuclear powers, to contribute by concrete actions to reducing the burden of the arms build-up, particularly of space-borne and nuclear weapons. The decisions were supported by an overwhelming majority. Only the USA and certain of its allies voted against 26 of them, while ten decisions were opposed by the USA in virtual isolation.

The Soviet proposal aimed at preventing militarisation of outer space met with unanimous support. For the first time the General Assembly formulated its demand concerning the renunciation of the use of force in space activities. A number of resolutions reflected the Soviet Union's idea of establishing certain norms of relations between nuclear powers. NATO's doctrines of "deterrence" and "limited nuclear warfare" were condemned. The session urged, once again, that the USA and its allies having nuclear weapons follow the example of the USSR and pledge not to put them to first use.

The great majority of the delegations supported the Soviet proposal to outlaw state terrorism policy and any other actions by states designed to undermine the socio-political systems of other sovereign states.

In its practical activities the Soviet Union is guided by its understanding of the UN's role as a centre for ensuring the nations' concerted efforts to consolidate peace, primarily by lessening the nuclear threat, and solve other pressing problems.

In just the last few years, the USSR has come out in the General Assembly with such large-scale initiatives as the pledge not to use nuclear weapons first, a draft Declaration on the Prevention of Nuclear Catastrophe, draft agreements on the most pressing problems involved in disarmament and in curbing the arms race, and still other proposals. However, the reaction of the USA and its NATO allies to these moves was one of undisguised hostility.

In assessing the role of the UN it is also important to consider its approach to the global problems of our day, to questions of consolidating the economic independence of the newly free countries, boosting their development and the restructuring of international economic relations on a just and democratic basis. "There is an important reciprocal connection between a restructuring of international economic relations and the problems of limiting the arms race, those of disarmament and of strengthening security—any further

advance in the matter of political and military detente, which is of paramount importance for the consolidation of world peace, will at the same time contribute towards normalising the world economic situation," stressed the Statement of the Soviet Government of October 4, 1976. "On the other hand, progress in the restructuring of international economic relations will contribute towards deepening and extending the relaxation of tensions." This assessment remains relevant today, as evidenced by the Declaration on the Maintenance of Peace and International Economic Cooperation adopted at the Summit Meeting of the CMEA Member Countries (Moscow, June 1984). The solution of global problems and success in UN activities in the socio-economic sphere hinge on the attainment of the principal objective which underlay the establishment of the Organisation—that of eliminating the war threat.

The UN's record shows that positive results are obtained whenever its members act in concert using the possibilities provided for by the Charter. The UN as a multilateral diplomacy forum contributes significantly to a wide-scale discussion and settling of some most important international problems. It has also become a major law-maker: instruments contributing to the progressive development of international law have been evolved by its agencies or sponsored by it. Examples include documents adopted by the General Assembly, such as the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, the Declaration on the Principles of International Law Concerning Friendly Relations and Cooperation Between States in accordance with the UN Charter, the Definition of Aggression, the Declaration on the Deepening and Strengthening of Detente, and also the UN-sponsored conventions regulating marine and space activities of states.

The adoption of meaningful resolutions does not, however, signify a practical solution of problems, as can be seen from the UN discussion on the Middle East conflict and many disarmament issues. In this connection, of paramount importance is compliance with the resolutions consonant with the aims and principles of the UN Charter.

In assessing objectively the role played by the UN in international life, it can be stated that, despite all the challenges and obstacles created by the reactionary imperialist forces, the Organisation is making a sizable constructive contribution to the cause of preserving peace.

Ivan Ivanov, D.Sc.(Econ.): A specific feature of the UN is the unique form its foreign policy activities have taken, namely multilateral diplomacy. The latter is increasingly adding a new dimension to, and in some cases replacing, traditional bilateral relations among states.

A basis for this process is objectively provided by the advancing internationalisation of economic and political life; democratisation of international relations, in particular the emergence of more than a hundred newly free countries on the world scene; the growing number of inter-state problems defying settlement on a bilateral basis; and a substantial increase in the number of international organisations.

Multilateral diplomacy is primarily marked by its pronounced complexity, and also by its greater potential as compared with bilateral diplomacy, to which it adds many elements of parliamentarism. The process of negotiations also acquires a new dimension: it is characterised by the clashing collective positions of groups of countries and by its multi-stage character, and includes the coordination of the positions of groups before the negotiations start. Finally, the diplomatic staff carry out their duties in a different set-up: instead of dealing with one partner-country, a diplomat has more than 150. While the position of one partner can be foreseen to a certain extent, the diversity of views held by participating countries and even groups of countries complicates markedly their assessment and hence the assessment of the overall balance of forces during negotiations, which makes the eventual outcome increasingly unpredictable. The voting procedure also affects the negotiations as countries avoid being outvoted, to say nothing of being left in isolation. It is extremely difficult to suspend or postpone such negotiations individually, a thing possible in bilateral contacts. Moreover, in the UN any country can make itself a partner-innegotiations of another country and intervene in the negotiations.

In recent years negotiations in the UN are conducted on the basis of their collective positions, by three groups of countries: Group B (member countries of the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development), Group D (socialist countries of Eastern Europe, including the USSR), and Group of 77 (developing countries). As mentioned above, inter-group negotiations are preceded by intragroup negotiations whose object is to formulate a group's collective position. The Group B and the Group of 77 face manifest difficulties in the process caused by inter-imperialist contradictions in the first case and the heterogeneity and growing differentiation of the developing world, in the second. Therefore their group positions reflect a compromise reached within a group through merely coordinating the positions of individual countries in terms of their acceptability within the common frame of reference.

At the same time, there are more and more cases where, in negotiations on specific issues, the traditional UN group profile is either broken or supplemented with new coalitions of states having specific common interests outside their group affiliation. More often than not, a group position represents the interests of merely a

fraction of its members, while for others the problem discussed is of secondary importance.

Hence the importance of UN lobbying, of informal contacts and of identifying the anatomy of group positions and the interests of separate groups of countries behind their common "façade". It should be noted that lobbying is by no means a diplomatic prerogative. Non-governmental organisations having the status of associated members with certain UN bodies, business circles and representatives of the academic community also take part in it.

Multilateral diplomacy within the UN framework also opens up other prospects for invigorating foreign policy activities: using this forum a diplomat can address the world at large, something he cannot do within the framework of bilateral relations. Moreover, multilateral diplomacy implies the combining of interests, possibilities of influencing a partner via third countries, and group diplomacy which is far more effective than individual policies. And last but not least, UN practice offers a wide choice of decisions ranging from resolutions and recommendations, that are morally binding on the countries voting for them, to the harmonisation of international conventions under the Organisation's aegis, which are legally binding on the signatory states and call for amendments to and supplementary clauses in national legislation.

Alexander Kalyadin, D.Sc.(Hist.): Following its Charter the UN is a centre for harmonising the actions of nations to prevent war and conflicts. It is noteworthy that the community of nations cooperating within its framework is becoming ever more aware of its responsibility for solving the crying issue of our time, that of eliminating the threat of a world war.

The Soviet Union is doing its utmost to save humanity from the nuclear threat pursuing in the UN a policy of active cooperation with other nations ready to work for peace, for enhancing the Organisation's role and taking full advantage of its possibilities and implementing its decisions.

In the 1980s, the USSR submitted to the UN a considerable number of vitally important proposals aimed at averting and eliminating the nuclear threat and strengthening the political, legal and material guarantees of security for all states. Together with measures designed to halt the nuclear arms race and reverse its course (a nuclear arms freeze, reduction and liquidation), it submitted for discussion a draft treaty on the universal prohibition of the use of force in international relations.

To date the UN has adopted a number of important documents spearheaded against the nuclear menace. The implementation by all countries of the recommendations incorporated in the General Assembly's Declaration on the Prevention of Nuclear Catastrophe

(1981) and Declaration Condemning Nuclear War (1983) would be a substantial contribution to the cause of peace.

The former solemnly proclaims that there shall be no justification of or forgiveness for those government leaders who are first to use nuclear weapons. The Declaration is a major step forward towards a treaty-based ban on nuclear weapons, providing as it does the required international-legal framework for it. Further progress along these lines is a must.

In its second declaration the General Assembly condemned nuclear war—resolutely, unconditionally and for all time—as running counter to human conscience and reason, as the most appalling crime against humanity violating the primordial human right, the right to life. Both declarations condemn the elaboration, dissemination and popularisation of military and political doctrines and concepts seeking to prove the "legitimacy" of first use of nuclear weapons and, by the same token, the "permissibility" of launching a nuclear war.

Of immediate import likewise are the documents adopted by the General Assembly charting the best possible ways for solving the most challenging problems of nuclear prevention. They include the resolutions on nuclear non-proliferation, test banning and freezing, the pledge not to use nuclear weapons first, on reinforcing the security guarantees for non-nuclear states, on establishing nuclear-free zones in various regions of the world, banning of the neutron weapon, and on the use of outer space exclusively for peaceful purposes, etc.

In the context of mounting international tensions and the spiralling arms race the UN is called upon to give top priority to establishing cooperation among states in the field of disarmament. Evidently, of major significance are internal processes in member countries which are responsible for the presence, inadequacy or lack of political will to reach appropriate agreements on problems of concern. Experience has shown, however, that the UN is capable, up to a point, of influencing public opinion in this or that country, of bringing the positions of countries closer together and of surmounting the resistance of circles not interested in detente and disarmament.

The adoption of the Soviet proposals relating to the norms of relations between nuclear powers and aimed at strengthening peace and promoting nuclear disarmament would be of special importance. In particular, all states could pass legislative acts condemning nuclear war and all forms of propaganda of nuclear war. All nuclear powers that have not yet done so would have to assume the obligation not to use nuclear weapons first.

The international situation spells out the need for pooling efforts of all states and nations, in particular under the aegis of the UN, to save mankind and civilisation on Earth from the growing threat of a

nuclear holocaust and to end the mad arms build-up. The UN is called upon to enlarge its contribution to the common cause as a matter of prime importance. The prospects for its greater positive influence on world politics and its future are largely related to this aspect of its activities.

Yuri Tomilin, Cand.Sc. (Hist.): Preventing the militarisation of space and reducing nuclear armaments, including their complete liquidation, are a cardinal way of positively removing the threat of a global nuclear catastrophe. Today the issue of space weapons assumes special importance. At the same time, we deem it necessary to take, without any further delay, a number of specific measures with regard to those aspects of nuclear prevention which can be managed independently.

Freezing nuclear arms both in quantity and quality could be a most effective, comparatively easily implemented step helping to reinforce strategic stability and to improve the world's general political climate.

In the summer of 1983, the Soviet Union made such a proposal to the other nuclear powers, and in the autumn, the 38th General Assembly Session, on the Soviet initiative, actively supported a nuclear freeze, under appropriate control, with the understanding that the USA and the USA having the biggest stockpiles would be the first to freeze them on a bilateral basis, as an example to be followed by the other nuclear states. The 39th Session reiterated the appeal.

Other countries in the UN, such as India, Mexico and Sweden, have also advanced the idea of a freeze; its realisation, however, is being blocked by the USA and other Western countries. Their representatives assert demagogically that a freeze would allegedly perpetuate the present "imbalance" in nuclear weapons in the USSR's favour and that they should be reduced and not frozen. They also tried to drown the idea in what they called the difficulties of control. Such arguments are fresh proof of the Washington Administration's plans not to brook any interference in its unrestrained stockpiling.

Many countries levelled criticism at the alleged "nuclear imbalance" in favour of the USSR. The General Assembly's resolutions adopted at its 37th to 39th sessions especially stressed that the USSR and the USA have an equal nuclear capacity and approximate general parity.

Neither the Soviet Union nor other sponsors of the proposals ever claimed that a freeze was an end in itself inasmuch as the nuclear threat also exists at the present-day level of military confrontation. We regard the freeze as a step forward towards a subsequent substantial limitation and drastic reduction of nuclear arms. The hypocrisy of Western officials is all the more obvious if we

recall that the Soviet proposals for the nuclear disarmament programme were put before the Committee on Disarmament many years ago and nothing but the negative position of the USA and its allies prevented those proposals from becoming the subject of agreements.

It is frequently maintained that a freeze cannot be checked, therefore it is unacceptable. Such assertions are easily disproved. The USSR holds that a freeze can be checked. A number of high-ranking US officials and top experts (Clark Clifford, William Colby, P. Warnke, Averel Harriman, and others) have voiced a similar view on more than one occasion.

A treaty on general and complete prohibition of nuclear weapons tests would help to end the perfecting of nuclear weapons and the development of new ones, especially of the destabilising first-strike type. For many years now, the question of banning such tests has ranked high on the agenda of the UN General Assembly and the Committee on Disarmament. A sound basis for reaching agreement is provided by the Main Provisions of the Treaty on General and Complete Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons Tests which the USSR put to the 37th Session of the General Assembly. It reflects the extent to which agreement had been reached during the previous discussion. In order to create more favourable conditions for drafting such a treaty, the Soviet Union suggested that all the nuclear states announce a moratorium on nuclear explosions of any kind, effective as of an agreed date and until the treaty is concluded. The US-Soviet Treaties on the Limitation of Underground Nuclear Weapons Tests (1974) and on Underground Nuclear Explosions for Peaceful Purposes (1976) must be put into effect.

However, the USA has created many obstacles along these lines too. It suspended the trilateral negotiations (USSR-USA-United Kingdom), it refused to ratify the 1974 and 1976 treaties and would not consent to a moratorium. Moreover, it has sabotaged in every possible way the opening of multilateral talks in the Committee on Disarmament on a draft treaty on general and complete prohibition of nuclear weapons tests.

Commitment by all nuclear states following the example of the USSR not to use nuclear weapons first could also become an effective single measure in preventing nuclear war. Each nuclear state that has not yet done so could assume such a commitment unilaterally. This approach, requiring no special talks on agreement procedures, would promote confidence-building and lessen the nuclear threat. Also, the above commitments could be recorded in a single international-legal instrument, for example, in a general convention which would, in practical terms, be tantamount to a legal ban on nuclear weapons.

Gennadi Stashevsky: In recent years, the UN has centred attention on preventing the militarisation of space. The US Administ-

ration's plan to spread the arms race into space represents another deadly menace to humanity. Work is under way to develop various types of American space-borne weapons, primarily a space antimissile defence system and anti-satellites. Unless prevented, space militarisation will boost both the offensive and defensive arms race.

In order to prevent the arms race from spreading into space the USSR has made a number of significant moves in the UN. In 1981 and then two years later it submitted to sessions of the General Assembly draft treaties on banning the launching of any space-borne weapon, the non-testing of any anti-satellite systems, the banning of the development of new and liquidation of the existing systems of this kind, and outlawing the use of force in space and from space to Earth. To facilitate agreement the Soviet Union declared a unilateral moratorium on anti-satellite test launchings for as long as other states, including the USA, followed suit.

Despite the recommendations of several General Assembly sessions the USA blocked the drafting of an agreement in the Disarmament Committee on preventing the arms race in space (Conference on Disarmament as of 1984). Considering the situation the USSR placed before the 39th Session (1984) the question of using outer space exclusively for peaceful purposes, for the common good. It proposed that members agree on the non-use of any strike space-borne weapons, including anti-satellite and anti-missile weapons, whether land-, sea-, or space-based so that there would be no military threat to Earth from space, and to space from Earth or from space itself. The resolution, voted in by an overwhelming majority with the USA the sole abstainer, urged the Conference on Disarmament to negotiate an agreement on preventing space militarisation in any form.

In the world's military and political situation at present preventing space militarisation is closely linked with ending the arms race in other fields, and is the key to a drastic curbing and reduction of nuclear arms. Hence, the UN was highly satisfied with the Soviet-American agreement reached on USSR initiative concerning bilateral talks to cover the entire range of space-borne and nuclear weapons and their linkage. In hailing the agreement UN Secretary-General Pérez de Cuéllar pointed out that preventing space militarisation was consonant with the interests of all states, of all of humanity.

The UN also plays a vital role in the drive to eliminate chemical, bacteriological and radiological weapons and prevent the development of new types of mass destruction weapons.

At the General Assembly's 24th Session (1969) the socialist countries moved that the issue of chemical and bacteriological weapons be solved radically and simultaneously by totally destroying them and halting their manufacture. Seeing that the USA and some of its NATO allies obstructed such a comprehensive solution, in 1971

the USSR and other socialist countries put before the Disarmament Committee a draft convention banning the development, production and stockpiling of bacteriological (biological) and toxin weapons and stipulating their destruction. The document provided the basis for negotiations which resulted in a draft convention recommended by the General Assembly for signing by all states. The convention, effective as of 1975, was the first real postwar disarmament measure which did away with a whole class of mass destruction weapons.

Since 1972 the Disarmament Committee has had before it the draft convention submitted by the socialist countries providing for the total prohibition and liquidation of all types of chemical weapons. In 1982 the USSR submitted to the General Assembly's Second Special Disarmament Session "The Main Provisions of the Convention on Banning the Development, Production and Stockpiling of Chemical Weapons and on Their Destruction". This document, together with additional Soviet proposals made in 1983-1984 and taking into account the many participating states' positions in the negotiations, provided a framework for speedily reaching agreement on all aspects of the problem, including control, which the USA and certain Western countries used to justify their negative stand.

In recent years the General Assembly has repeatedly recommended to the Disarmament Committee that it speed up the preparation of a draft convention on the prohibition and liquidation of chemical weapons. Moreover, the 39th Session urged all states to discontinue the production and deployment of binary and other types of chemical weapons, the deployment of chemical weapons on the territory of other countries, and it supported the idea of establishing chemical-free zones.

Preventing the emergence of new types and systems of mass destruction weapons, far more lethal than those existing today, ranks high in the UN activities for disarmament. In 1975 the Soviet Union submitted to the General Assembly a relevant draft treaty, later referred to the Disarmament Committee. Subsequent sessions of the General Assembly repeatedly endorsed the radical and comprehensive solution advocated by the Soviet Union. However, the USA and other NATO countries fight shy of drafting an agreement which could prevent the use of advanced technology to the detriment of humanity.

In 1977 the Soviet Union supplemented its draft with provisions which, together with a complete ban on new types and systems of mass destruction weapons, envisaged the possibility of concluding separate agreements on banning specific types of such weapons upon their appearance. Moreover, the USSR proposed that the Security Council permanent members and other major military powers make a statement on abandoning the development of new types and systems of mass destruction weapons as a first step towards signing a comprehensive agreement. Even though the General Assembly

supported this Soviet initiative, the NATO countries turned a deaf ear to its appeal and refused to negotiate on the issue.

Recent years have witnessed a growing concern for a ban on the development, production, stockpiling and use of radiological weapons. The main provisions of such an agreement were drafted at the US-USSR negotiations in Geneva in 1977-1979. Very little progress has been made, however, by the Conference on Disarmament in discussing the problem. That is why the resolution of the General Assembly's 39th Session requested once again that the Conference continue negotiations with a view to completing its work with the útmost speed.

Vladimir Fedorov, D.Sc.(Law): The UN Charter contains an article stating that all members shall settle their international disputes by peaceful means in such a manner that international peace, security and justice are not endangered.

This principle does not prejudice the Security Council's application of the enforcement measures under Chapter VII of the Charter. This in no way impairs the inherent right of states to individual or collective self-defence laid down in Article 51 or the right of the peoples still under colonial or racist yoke to fight for freedom and independence using every means at their disposal. The above principle does not question the legitimacy of the struggle of states and nations to stamp out the consequences of aggression and retrieve lands seized by the invader should the latter oppose a fair political settlement or seek to benefit from its aggression.

The principle of peaceful settlement was further elaborated and concretised in the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe and in such important UN documents as the Declaration on the Principles of International Law Concerning Friendly Relations and Cooperation Between States in accordance with the UN Charter, the Definition of Aggression, Declaration on the Peaceful Settlement of International Disputes, etc.

In analysing prevention of conflicts and peaceful settlement of disputes, Western analysts and politicians generally describe the UN policy in this sphere as "ineffective" and focus on a variety of far-fetched plans for preventing conflicts, ways of checking them and establishing mechanisms running counter to the UN Charter. Not infrequently they exaggerate the importance of procedure. The aforementioned problem cannot be reduced to mere institutional and procedural aspects, though these cannot be overlooked either. However, it is absolutely impermissible, in our opinion, to seek a solution through revision of the Charter. The problem can be settled only through the joint efforts of states within the UN framework on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence.

Chapter VI of the Charter specifies ways and means of peaceful settlement of international disputes. The parties to any dispute shall,

first of all, seek a solution by negotiation, inquiry, mediation, conciliation, arbitration, judicial settlement, resort to regional agencies or arrangements, or other peaceful means of their own choice.

In addition to traditional methods the Charter provides for specific ways of settling disputes by the Security Council, emphasising its determining role in this process.

A specific feature of peaceful settlement is the strict differentiation of the authority vested in the Council and the General Assembly. Although any dispute or conflict situation can be brought to the attention of the General Assembly, a question on which action is necessary is referred to the Security Council by the General Assembly before or after discussion. The Assembly shall not make any recommendations with regard to that dispute or situation while the Council is exercising the functions assigned to it in the Charter, unless the Security Council so requests. Provided the same conditions are met, the Assembly may recommend measures for peaceful settlement of any situation regardless of its origin.

At the same time, nothing in the Charter precludes peaceful settlement of local disputes through regional arrangements or agencies before referring them to the Security Council. The Charter authorises the Council to encourage the development of peaceful settlement.

Thus, the Charter provides for a fairly flexible procedure based on a list of peaceful means for adjusting disputes, without giving preference to any one of them. The choice of any procedure is left with the interested parties and depends on the nature of the dispute. The system worked out in the Charter can be used with great effect by the parties concerned and need not be modified nor revised. That is the high-principled stand the Soviet Union and other socialist countries have consistently taken during the drafting of the Declaration on the Peaceful Settlement of International Disputes and when various disputes were being investigated in UN bodies.

The USSR resolutely upholds peaceful settlement of all disputes, without blackmail or threats. It is firmly convinced that, given good will and a sober, constructive approach, any global or regional problem can be settled successfully.

Valentin Login: A number of disputes and crisis situations, under UN consideration, have remained outstanding for years. Yet the Security Council was granted specific powers to take prompt and effective action with respect to threats to the peace or breaches of the peace and, for this purpose, it has a large arsenal of means, including armed forces. Had the member states of the UN, primarily the permanent members of the Council, applied those means as prescribed by the Charter, neither big nor "small" wars would have been known to humanity during the last four decades.

The policy of the USA and its closest allies, who soon after the Second World War rejected cooperation with the USSR and opted for undisguised hostility and military build-up, resulted in the mechanism for the maintenance of international peace and security never being put into action. The Western powers, having opposed the Soviet Union's legitimate demand concerning equal participation of all the Council permanent members in creating the UN armed forces, set out to provide such forces, bypassing the Council, on the basis of General Assembly resolutions. The Charter contains an unambiguous provision to the effect that it is the prerogative of the Security Council to take preventive or enforcement measures and hence all decisions relating to the establishment and employment of the UN forces may be taken only by the Council with consent of all its permanent members. This provision is a guarantee that the mechanism for the maintenance of peace and security will not be controlled by any state or group of states and is not used to suit the narrow interests of one party, contrariwise to the purposes and principles of the UN.

Regrettably, this is exactly what happened when, through the efforts of the USA and its NATO allies, the guidance of what they called the UN Congo Operation was withdrawn from the competence of the Council and made the responsibility of the officers of the UN Secretariat, nationals of Western countries.

The decisions concerning the aforementioned operation and the "UN Middle East Task Force" (1956) ran counter to the Charter both in fact and in form. They caused a serious political crisis in the UN in 1964-1965, which was overcome solely because there prevailed a sense of responsibility for its future and realisation of the need to follow its Charter to the letter.

The Committee of 33 set up in 1965 to examine UN peace-keeping operations did much work to reach agreement on the principles governing the aforementioned Security Council operations according to the Charter. The Committee established procedures for Council decisions on such operations and their duration, on balanced geographical representation, mandates, and other questions. The established procedure denies unilateral advantages in using the UN armed forces.

As regards the employment by the Security Council of other measures designed to maintain world peace and not relating to the use of the armed forces, it must be stated that this element of the UN mechanism is, to all intents and purposes, inactive. Throughout the Organisation's existence, only on one occasion were the provisions of Article 41 fully used: in 1968 the Council adopted Resolution 253 calling on all members to interrupt trade and all other relations with the racist regime of Southern Rhodesia. The effectiveness of the resolution was diminished by South Africa through whose offices Southern Rhodesia conducted its import and

export operations. When the African and other peace-abiding nations demanded that South Africa too be subjected to all-out sanctions, the USA, the United Kingdom and France took it under their wing and repeatedly vetoed relevant resolutions. It was only in 1977 that the Security Council endorsed Resolution 418 imposing an embargo on arms and military deliveries to South Africa. In practice, however, even this limited measure was not enforced by the Western countries.

The USA shows the same concern for the Israeli aggressor. Frequently using its right of veto, the USA blocks the adoption of any resolution merely mentioning the need for applying Charter provisions to Israel.

With the USA repeatedly abusing its veto power, ideas have been advanced lately concerning limiting and even doing away with the principle of unanimity among the Security Council permanent members which, it is claimed, would increase UN efficiency. Such an approach must be described as illusory and even dangerous. UN experience is graphic proof that the consensus principle is a necessary safeguard against possible abuses of the Council's vast powers by Western states in using the armed forces, economic sanctions and other effective measures, in contravention of the Charter's purposes and principles.

It should also be acknowledged that when the UN was established, the principle of consensus actually reinforced the equality of states with different socio-economic systems, while at the present stage it reflects the military-strategic balance of forces. Should that principle be abandoned and should peace-keeping measures be adopted by a majority of votes, attempts of some permanent Council members to use armed force, contrary to the position and interests of others, could lead to war with all the ensuing consequences.

That is why UN efficiency as an instrument for the maintenance of world peace and security can be increased only by following faithfully the provisions of its Charter, and not by trampling on its basic principles. Increased activity of the peaceloving nations and the international community in exerting pressure on those who violate the Charter principles, in our opinion, is the most effective way of enhancing the role of the UN in safeguarding peace on Earth.

Rem Novikov, Cand.Sc.(Econ.): Finding solutions to global problems (ecological, energy, raw-materials and food problems, stamping out the most dangerous diseases, and using the World Ocean resources and outer space for peaceful purposes) calls for choosing the correct options and ensuring optimal political, social and international conditions for the "man-society-nature" system to function, as well as cooperation among states and the extensive international division of labour. Hence the soaring role of multilateral-type international relations and, in particular, of multilateral stable and institutionalised forms of these relations.

Without underrating the importance of other channels of cooperation in tackling global problems it must be acknowledged that in the field under review only international organisations are in a position to work out major research and operational projects and to implement them on a planned basis through coordination of efforts and joint management. The UN, the most representative intergovernmental organisation, meets the challenge optimally. Its unique potentialities are determined by its sphere of competence and the wide range of its objectives and activities, fully in line with the comprehensive and interdisciplinary nature of the global problems. These specific UN features enable it to ensure complex approach to them.

Since the early 1970s, in a favourable world political climate, brought about by detente, the UN system has been energetically involved in discussing and working out global problems, with its institutional machinery being expanded and perfected. The general process followed two lines—differentiation of institutions and of their spheres of competence (establishment of specialised agencies and programmes) and their integration (greater coordination of efforts in tackling global problems, concentration of basic research on globalistics within one centre—UNESCO). In a number of cases the agencies were given, in addition to their coordination functions, what was called "catalyst" functions, something new in UN practice. For instance, the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) was authorised to initiate certain projects and to entrust their execution to other UN agencies with an appropriate specialisation.

The spreading of the UN system's activities can also be seen in the implementation of certain UN working programmes which, apart from traditional activities such as information exchange and research, include ever more new, sophisticated methods of cooperation on an international level. The World Health Organisation's efforts to stamp out smallpox is a telling example of meeting the challenge through successful international cooperation.

In the field of globalistics, the UN is encountering certain difficulties and obstacles, which can conditionally be broken down into two groups. The first is governed by objective factors such as the unique, large-scale nature of cooperation projects, the vast scope in assessing ways and means of resolving global problems, and dovetailing national interests with those of humanity as a whole. The other group is connected with the foreign policy of those states which, in treating international affairs in general and global problems in particular, pursue certain class and selfish interests and favour diplomacy from a position of strength to the detriment of fair and equitable cooperation beneficial to all. The USA and certain other NATO countries which have been pursuing of late the policy of anti-detente, have embarked on the road of sabotaging the collective efforts of the UN community to further the common goal. Their

moves are designed to undermine UN authority and prestige, including its effort to resolve global problems.

In realistically assessing the existing difficulties the socialist states base their practical foreign policy activities on the postulate of scientific socialism according to which these difficulties can, in principle, be overcome. Of course, in present-day conditions this possibility cannot be taken advantage of automatically. A number of conditions must be met. The principal prerequisites are the improvement of the general political climate in the world, strengthening international security, halting the arms race and switching over to disarmament, and a fundamental restructuring of international economic relations on a just and democratic basis. As to multilateral diplomacy in the field of globalistics, the top priority is the rallying of all the progressive forces in the UN favouring a democratic solution of global problems. The pooling of efforts to enhance the authority and influence of this forum and to actively counteract the destructive policy of the NATO countries should become the major contributing factor.

Gennadi Zhukov, D.Sc.(Law): It is common knowledge that the peoples of Namibia and the many small island territories in the Pacific, Atlantic and Indian Oceans and the Caribbean Sea are still under the colonial yoke and have not yet had the opportunity to exercise their inalienable right to self-determination and independence. Such a state of affairs is conducive to mounting tensions and crisis developments in the world. A case in point is the Falkland (Malvinas) conflict.

The UN Charter and the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples (referred to hereinafter as the Declaration on Decolonisation) provide the necessary international-legal framework for eliminating the vestiges of colonialism.

Today all the colonial and other non-self-governing territories are under administration by five countries: the United Kingdom, the United States, France, Australia, and New Zealand. The list should also include South Africa which illegally took over control of Namibia.

Namibia and its future are an outstanding issue on the agenda of the Special Committee on Decolonisation and of special sessions of the Security Council and the General Assembly (which decided in 1966 to terminate South Africa's mandate over Namibia). The General Assembly resolutions repeatedly reaffirmed the inalienable right of the Namibians to self-determination, freedom and national independence, and the legitimacy of their struggle using all available means, and resolutely condemned South Africa for refusing to put an end to its occupation.

A matter of grave concern is the fate of the people of Micronesia to which the USA seeks to deny the right to statehood. It is a well-known fact that in 1947 Micronesia, then known as the Pacific Islands, was transferred, by the Security Council's decision, under temporary US administration as a "strategic trust territory". Having been granted its mandate, the USA had no intention of fulfilling its obligations to the Micronesians and the international community as provided for by Article 76 of the UN Charter. From the very outset it began using the territory for nuclear tests and, later, for intercontinental ballistic missiles tests (in particular, MX missiles).

Having realised the military-strategic value of Micronesia, Washington, as early as the 1960s, steered towards its de facto annexation. The USA set out to divide the territory under its trusteeship into four parts: the Northern Marianas, the Marshall Islands, the Federative States of Micronesia, and the Palau Republic. The first was forced to accept in 1975 the agreement on a "Commonwealth Political Union" with the USA, while the remaining three were forced to sign a common agreement on a "free association" status with the USA. Today the USA hastens to legally terminate its trusteeship over the Pacific Islands in order to have free rein in using them as an "unsinkable aircraft-carrier". It was in pursuit of this goal that in these pseudostate formations referendums were held on their future in a climate of threats, blackmail and promises of economic aid.

In terms of international law the unilateral actions of the USA designed to partition Micronesia bypassing the Security Council are illegal. They run counter to the UN Charter which has a special provision to the effect that no change in the status of a "strategic area" may be permitted unless sanctioned by the Council; to the trusteeship agreement between the Security Council and the USA; and to the Declaration on Decolonisation which condemned all attempts to undermine, partially or fully, the national unity and territorial integrity of colonial territories.

Over the last few years the USA has been making efforts to prevent a General Assembly discussion of the Micronesian issue under the pretext that it is exclusively within the competence of the Security Council. In so doing it deliberately obscures the fact that it is a problem relating to decolonisation which the Assembly has been considering for a long time in accordance with Article 10 of the Charter and the Declaration on Decolonisation.

US attempts to prove that the Declaration does not cover Micronesia in view of its special status and that the Special Committee on Decolonisation is incompetent to discuss the question are utterly groundless. It should be borne in mind that a supplement to one of the earliest documents adopted by this Committee in 1963 contains a tentative list of territories covered by the Declaration, which includes the Pacific Islands.

The future of the Micronesians is an integral part of the decolonisation issue and it is the responsibility of the UN not to allow the United States to legalise in any form whatever its actual annexation of the Pacific Islands. As envisaged by repeated General Assembly decisions, the responsibility for this territory pending its attainment of genuine independence rests with the UN.

The UN is called upon to speed up the liberation of all small colonial territories and facilitate the overcoming of all obstacles in the way of colonial peoples' advance to freedom and independence.

Ippolit Domulen, D.Sc.(Econ.): Over the last decades, particularly since the mid-1960s, the UN has been placing stronger emphasis on socio-economic problems. A comprehensive restructuring of international economic relations on a just and democratic basis is one of such central issues. It involves the interests of all countries and covers commerce and political aspects and principles of economic relations, being a subject of discussion by regular and special sessions of the UN General Assembly, Economic and Social Council, and UNCTAD. Its various aspects are discussed by UNIDO, UNESCO, FAO, ILO, and other specialised bodies and agencies of the UN.

The essence of the problem, as pointed out in the Soviet Government Statement of October 4, 1976, is that the nature of present-day international economic relations, which took shape on the background of an entirely different alignment of forces in the world and which suited the mercenary interests of imperialist monopolies, is at variance with the vital interests of the vast majority of countries and the general trend of international development.

Today the UN is the scene of intense political struggle as regards restructuring international economic relations, with the socialist countries advocating the establishment of a stable and democratic foundation for international economic relations along lines of equality. This is also one of the most crucial areas in the struggle waged today by the newly free countries against neocolonialism. In the UN this campaign has been conducted since the early 1970s under the slogan of the establishment of a New International Economic Order (NIEO). The concept of NIEO stems, directly or indirectly, from the need to eliminate the vestiges of colonial domination and remove the barriers in the way of accelerated socio-economic advance of the developing countries which were ruthlessly robbed and plundered in the past.

"Restructuring international economic relations on a democratic foundation, along lines of equality," noted the 26th CPSU Congress, "is natural from the point of view of history. Much can and must be done in this respect... We are prepared to contribute, and are indeed contributing, to the establishment of equitable international economic relations." The Soviet Union has followed this line of principle through many complicated negotiations in the 1970s and 1980s.

However, the implementation of the ideas of the NIEO, of economic decolonisation, met with overt and covert counteraction on the part of the TNCs and with the stubborn opposition of the advanced capitalist countries, primarily the USA which launched a counter-offensive against the developing countries and obstructed the development and adoption of the latter's proposals and implementation of the decisions taken. By aggravating the international situation the US imperialist circles in the 1980s created new serious obstacles in this process. As a result, minor progress has been made only in implementing certain concrete items of the programme.

In examining the prospects for the restructuring of international economic relations one should consider the inseparable connection between progress in this field and the global political climate. As the historical record shows, it is detente that creates the most favourable conditions for the establishment of the NIEO.

Yuri Kashlev, D.Sc.(Hist.): Information issues are an important area in UN activities. In 1948 the General Assembly adopted, on the Soviet initiative, Resolution 110 (III) which condemned all forms of propaganda which were either designed or likely to provoke or encourage any threats to the peace, breaches of the peace, or acts of aggression. That same year, in accordance with the UN decision, an international conference on the freedom of information was held in Geneva.

Later on relevant problems were covered by numerous documents endorsed by the Organisation. Particular mention should be made of the Covenant Pact on Civil and Political Rights (1966) which combines the concept of the freedom of information with the recognition of the sovereign rights of states in this domain. Of fundamental importance is Article 20 of the Pact stating that any war propaganda and any actions fostering national, racial or religious hatred and inciting to discrimination, hostility or violence must be forbidden by law.

The problems and principles of international information exchange are more and more often being examined by General Assembly sessions, and forums sponsored by UNESCO and other agencies. There is a wide discussion of the concept of the new international information order put forward by the developing countries.

On the Soviet initiatives supported by the developing countries UNESCO adopted in 1978 the Declaration on Fundamental Principles Concerning the Contribution of the Mass Media to Strengthening Peace and International Understanding, to the Promotion of Human Rights and to Countering Racialism, Apartheid and Incitement to War. This is the first document in UN history to emphasise in no uncertain terms the duty of states to use the mass media in the interests of furthering peace and mutual understanding. It also

formulates the task of rendering aid to the developing countries in creating their own national information systems and of building up more equitable relations in international information exchange.

The General Assembly discussed many specific problems relating to information. In particular, the 37th Session (1982) approved the resolution concerning the use of artificial Earth satellites for direct telecasting. It contains a provision to the effect that such telecasting destined for a particular country is subject to the latter's consent.

At the 39th Session, as at the preceding ones, the socialist and many developing countries again advocated more vigorous UN efforts in support of the new information order and greater assistance to Asian, African and Latin American peoples in the field of mass communication. They noted with satisfaction the activities of UNESCO and of the International Communications Development Programme and called upon the appropriate services of the Secretariat and UN information centres (set up in 64 countries) to keep the public better informed about the Organisation's efforts and decisions promoting peace, disarmament, decolonisation, etc. As regards the USA and some other Western countries, they attempted to play down the discussion, which was generally of an anti-imperialist character, and to drop from the agenda the problem of the new information order while thrusting on the UN community its own concept of a "free information flow".

In discussing information issues at all international forums, including the UN and its organs, the USSR invariably stresses the need to use the powerful potential of the mass media to promote peace, mutual understanding and 'universal progress. The objective ideological and political differences between states belonging to different social systems must not be treated as justification for a "psychological war" and subversive propaganda, and the press, radio and TV must not be used for building up tensions and justifying military preparations and the arms race. The principles laid down in the UN Charter, the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, and in the UNESCO Declaration on mass media should be applied in full measure to the information domain.

Vladimir Petrovsky, D.Sc.(Hist.): As has been pointed out, the UN is a unique forum for cooperative efforts of its 159 member countries. Its bodies and agencies discuss virtually all the major issues of our day, relating to the sea-bed and space, removing the nuclear threat and halting trade in drugs, women and children, restructuring international economic relations along more equitable lines and meeting the hunger challenge in developing countries.

The efficient and manifold activities of the UN facilitate large-scale international cooperation and, most importantly, this cooperation is not patterned after the billiard game where the angle of incidence equals the angle of reflection. Cooperation means

reciprocity within the framework of the purposes, principles and rules laid down in the UN Charter.

These UN functions are all the more relevant today when the aggressive imperialist circles, primarily the USA, seek to challenge the generally accepted norms and rules of international conduct putting into effect the doctrine of international terrorism.

The nature of interaction among member states of the UN is noteworthy. As is well known, interaction can be destructive or constructive, it can take the form of struggle and mutual repulsion or, on the contrary, the form of pooling efforts, mutual support and encouragement. All these forms can be seen in the UN today and though they do not provide a perfect reflection of the current state of international relations, they give a fairly accurate picture. And it is largely to the credit of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries that the efforts of the UN members are represented by a vector with a "plus" sign.

A distinct feature of the current period is that the threat of a war more terrible than anything known in world history, including the Second World War, looms large on the horizon. The very nature of the threat to all countries without exception dictates the need for the unity and constructive cooperation among states, as is envisaged by the UN Charter. This year when all progressive humanity marks the 40th anniversary of the victory over German fascism and Japanese militarism and the 40th anniversary of the foundation of the UN it is particularly relevant to recall that the nations decided to set up that organisation to rid the forthcoming generations of the disasters of war.

The Soviet Union, which made the decisive contribution to the victory and was one of the founders of the UN, strenuously urges all states, whatever their differences or conflicts, to pool efforts in solving this problem. This is prompted by common sense which can and must save humanity from catastrophe. Today as never before a responsible, politically realistic attitude to the world's fate is a must.

In putting forward its large-scale initiatives at the UN the USSR demonstrates its perfectly peaceful intentions consonant with the vital interests of humanity, whereas the negative attitude usually demonstrated at the UN by the USA and its partners opens people's eyes to the real source of the threat to peace and helps them unmask the true purposes of those who push the world towards nuclear madness.

It is perfectly clear that the Soviet proposals and the decisions taken on their basis by the UN are not meant to erect a Chinese wall between the two blocs, but rather are an invitation to pool efforts in safeguarding peace. The UN provides the machinery and framework for the efforts of all states aimed at implementing collective security in this nuclear and space age.

The UN Charter sets the clear-cut and explicit task of achieving disarmament. The expounding and discussion of views on the

Assembly sessions, in the First (Political) Committee. In 1978 the first special session, devoted exclusively to disarmament problems, was held. It was unprecedented for number of participants, the range and in-depth consideration of the issues discussed. Despite Western opposition, it reached agreement on a generally acceptable final document which not only emphasised the top priority given to preventing nuclear war, lessening the nuclear threat, curbing and averting the arms race, primarily nuclear, preventing it from spreading over outer space, but also formulated a comprehensive approach to resolving specific problems involved.

The special session was the first forum of its kind to be organised on a regular basis. In 1982 the second such session was held and a third is scheduled for not later than 1988. As is clear from the results of the second session, the crux of the matter is the political will of all UN members, while particular mechanisms for examining this topical problem are a matter of secondary importance. Using the consensus principle adopted at the forum, the USA and its NATO allies prevented the Second Special Session from adopting a detailed final document. Yet the very fact that it was held and that the states give top priority to this problem is highly significant, and this cannot be ignored in the Western capitals.

Since the very first days of the UN's existence, the USSR has unfailingly stood on adherence to the UN Charter and strict compliance with its provisions. It is along these lines that the USSR urges all states to increase the efficiency and authority of the UN. It is well aware that, however good the Organisation's mechanism and however well formulated its Charter, they alone cannot do what its member countries must do. The UN efficiency and realisation of its principles and potentials depend on UN members' readiness to adhere to them.

In conclusion I would like to quote the words of Andrei Gromyko addressed to UN members and expressing the essence of the Soviet approach as regards the Organisation: "Today, as never before, it is important that the UN member states should become fully conscious of themselves as united nations—united in their determination to act in order to save the present and future generations from nuclear destruction."

NOTES

¹ CPSU: The Policy of Peace and Constructive Endeavour Continues. Documents of the Extraordinary Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee. February 13, 1984, Moscow, 1984, pp. 20-21.

² Pravda, October 5, 1976.

³ Documents and Resolutions. The 26th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Moscow, 1981, p. 21.

⁴ Pravda, October 7, 1983.



The USA vs. International Law

MIRZA AVAKOV, ALEXANDER GRINBERG

Today US policy is the main threat to peace, to the freedom and independence of peoples. Washington's imperial ambitions related to its adventurist designs to achieve military superiority over the Soviet Union, are aimed at stepping up the arms race and changing the existing military-strategic balance. US imperialism is trying to interfere in the internal affairs of socialist states, to dictate its will to newly free countries in the hope of perpetuating the system of neocolonialist relations, it is increasing its political and economic pressure on its allies in order to make them serve its militarist plans.

Having declared almost the entire globe the sphere of its "vital interests", the US ruling quarters are once again seeking to establish their world domination like they did in the 1950s. It was stressed in the TASS statement of November 4, 1983: "The claims of the United States to establish American-style order in countries whose social system it does not like, its desire to place itself and its narrow interests over and above international law and universal human interests, and to make force the yardstick of justice and legality—all this can only entail grave consequences not only for others but also for the United States itself." ¹

This situation raises the question of the effectiveness of international law, its ability to withstand the nihilistic policy (in terms of international law) of a great power which seeks to establish an order advantageous only to the US military-industrial complex and contrary to the interests of the international community.

The years of detente have shown that international law, provided its norms and principles are respected, can be a solid foundation for mutually beneficial cooperation between states, for peaceful settlement of disputes. But international relations in the post-war period make it clear that the existence of general democratic international law-the law of peaceful coexistence-does not preclude its violations, attempts at breaching it. The existence and interdependence of sovereign states, including those with different social systems, objectively lay a foundation for an international law which is called upon to govern the many and varied relations between its subjects primarily on the basis of and in the interests of peaceful coexistence. The founding states of the UN Charter were aware, of course, that the conflicting interests of states would inevitably lead to disputes between them and even to violations of international law. That is why the Charter has a built-in defence system to protect international law and order. The Charter prohibits the recourse to war and requires that all disputes shall be settled exclusively by peaceful means in order not to endanger international peace and security (Art. 2). Peaceful means of settling disputes are treated in Article 33. The Charter provides for measures necessary to maintain peace and security: disarmament, a system of collective measures to maintain peace within the framework of the UN and regional organisations.

International law has all the attributes of law. Being by its very nature conciliatory and coordinating, and devoid of any supranational organs of enforcement, it contains nevertheless sufficient mandatory measures to ensure international peace and security. The main responsibility in this matter rests with the Security Council vested with appropriate powers. Its decisions are mandatory for all members of the UN. It can take measures not related to the use of military force and it can take military actions against the aggressor when it deems such measures insufficient.

An important guarantee of the maintenance of international legality is the institution of responsibility in international law for the violations (crimes) committed by its legal entities.

The development of international relations after the Second World War and especially during the period of detente has confirmed the viability and effectiveness of international law and order which functions on its basis. This is all the more important since the post-war period was also that of the hard years of the cold war and numerous military conflicts. The Brookings Institution has estimated that during 1946-1975, the US used military force or threatened to use military force 215 times. Washington considered the use of nuclear weapons 19 times, including 4 times against the Soviet Union.

The attempts by imperialism to dictate its will and interfere in the internal affairs of other states and peoples, to punish them for "misbehaviour" did not cease during the years of detente. Despite all the ups and downs of the historical process, the peaceloving forces managed to defend, strengthen and uphold the main social and

spiritual values of international law and prevent violations of international legality.

The period of detente was marked with important achievements in the progressive development of international law, laying the foundations for strengthening and raising the effectiveness of international legality and expanding cooperation between states. This logic of history is dictated by the objective needs of states. But US foreign policy does not accord with this logic, the logic of common sense.

The exceptional danger to the present situation is that the US is conducting an unheard-of conscious, open and deliberate attack against the existing international legality, banking on achieving military superiority and the use of force in international relations. The military orientation has gradually become an independent political direction of the US.² The extreme aggressiveness of US imperialism multiplied by the nuclear missile might creates a dangerous situation which has no precedents in the history of international relations. In essence, it boils down to the forcible destruction of the world historical process, of the existing peaceful general democratic order.

Patrick Moynihan, a well-known political figure of the US political scene, in his recent book *Loyalties* appeals to the US Administration to observe in its foreign policy the fundamental principles of international law, particularly the UN Charter. He believes that "the United States pays too little attention to international law." ³

The anti-popular and militarist course of the USA has its own perverted and distorted logic which we can responsibly term a crasy logic. It is fed by narrow imperialist vested interests since imperialist forces are prepared, as Lenin put it, "to go to any length of savagery, brutality and crime to up-hold dying capitalist slavery".

The deliberate aggravation of the international situation caused by US imperialism reflects its dissatisfaction with the consolidation of world socialism, the upsurge of the national liberation movement and the strengthening of the forces that stand for detente. As imperialism's chances to dominate other peoples diminish its aggressive and shortsighted representatives grow more rabid and irrational.

The current stage of the development of the imperialist state is characterised by the bourgeoisie's desire to do away with international legality which it has created and which has become intolerable to it. This desire is reflected in its nihilistic attitude to general international law and attempts at undermining international legality. It is as if international law has locked imperialism inside its own internal contradictions preventing it from resorting to the familiar language of force and diktat. Imperialist forces are unable to abolish or revise international law which is a product of the common accord of states. This crucial fact has been brought about by the existence of the Soviet Union and other states of the world socialist community. That

is why imperialism can realise its geopolitical ambitions only in violation of international rules and regulations which, of course, disorganises and destabilises international relations governed by international law.

This course is particularly dangerous since it is conducted by a great power, a permanent member of the UN Security Council which, under the Charter, bears primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security. But the whole system of international security and the Security Council's ability to take effective measures to prevent acts of aggression and violations of peace rest on the concerted will of the great powers regarding matters of war and peace. The principle of unanimity of the permanent members of the Security Council is the cornerstone of the entire United Nations Organisation. The right of veto vested in the permanent members of the Security Council can be lawfully exercised only in accordance with the UN Charter. Otherwise it would be a case of abuse of discretionary powers.⁵ Clearly, international legality is subjected to a severe test if a great power seeks a confrontation with another great power. Because the US abused its right of veto in the Security Council this important international body was often unable to take resolute measures to prevent aggression. Thus, the US vetoed the resolution condemning its aggression against Grenada and constantly blocked the adoption of resolutions containing sanctions against Israel and South Africa. On October 30, 1983 The New York Times wrote that "in his obsession with military force, Ronald Reagan has never understood that being a great power is a responsibility. It is not merely an opportunity to twist arms. It means understanding that force has its limits, that national prestige can be dissipated on unworthy causes, that not every interest is a 'vital' one".

Lately the US Administration has been making peaceable statements, trying to stem the tide of the anti-missile movement and placate those political forces in the West that do not approve of the US militarist policy. But since they are not backed by deeds these statements cannot deceive anybody.

The 38th UN General Assembly adopted by a majority vote three resolutions: On a Nuclear Arms Freeze, On Condemnation of a Nuclear War and Prevention of Militarisation of Outer Space. The results of the vote on these important resolutions adopted on the initiative of the Soviet Union and non-aligned countries testify to the real intentions of the US and its increasing isolation on the world scene: 108 against 18, 95 against 19, and 147 against 1. The US invariably voted against those resolutions. By voting against 26 out of 61 resolutions on disarmament at the 39th UN General Assembly the US 7 times found itself in complete isolation. It was the only country to abstain in the vote on the resolution on the use of outer space

exclusively for peaceful purposes, for the benefit of mankind (150 countries voted for it).

The US foreign policy is dangerous because it encroaches on the very foundations of international law. This is primarily true of its imperative principles which form the core of international legality by reflecting the fundamental moral and ethical values of progressive mankind within whose limits other legal norms are formed and operate.⁶ Let us dwell on some of them which are most significant for maintaining peace and security.

The principle of the non-use or threat of force is the main principle of the UN Charter and any violation of it leads to violations of other fundamental principles—sovereignty, non-interference, and the right of peoples to self-determination. While at the Second Special Session of the UN General Assembly on Disarmament (June 1982) the Soviet Union took a solemn pledge not to be the first to use nuclear weapons the US is carrying out a comprehensive strategic rearmament programme advancing various doctrines of a "limited" nuclear war, a preventive nuclear strike, etc. The US still stubbornly opposes the conclusion of the World Treaty on the Non-Use of Force in International Relations whose draft stipulates a non-use of any types of weapons whether nuclear or conventional. This refusal reflects imperialist logic. The US does not want to bind itself with international legal obligations which it does not intend to fulfil in its foreign policy. The wanton aggression against defenceless Grenada, the constant threats against the freedom-loving peoples of Nicaragua, El Salvador and Syria, the attempts to impose its order on Lebanon with the use of force, leave no doubts that Washington is prepared to use force every time it can count on getting away with it. These actions of the US are clearly illegal and aggressive, as the US press also notes. According to The New York Times, "both the tragedy at Beirut airport and the American invasion of Grenada offer dramatic insight into the Reagan Administration's foreign policy, one whose true objectives are often obscured by its rhetorical bows to public opinion. These events reveal a militarised Administration, obsessed with force and more than a little trigger-happy..."⁷

The principle of equality and equal security has acquired a major significance for the fate of peace. It boils down to the right of all states to equal security and the duty of all states to respect this right. It forms a foundation for the solution of all problems relating to ensuring international security and peaceful coexistence. The principle is embodied in a number of Soviet-American documents which are regarded by the parties as a necessary prerequisite for the maintenance and consolidation of peaceful coexistence between the Soviet Union and the US. The principle of equality and equal security could evolve as a political and international legal principle, and the US and its allies could recognise and accept it only in the conditions of the approximate military and strategic parity which had

appeared between the USSR and the USA, the Warsaw Treaty and NATO countries by the 1970s. This military-strategic parity is an

important prerequisite for the preservation of peace.

By deploying its nuclear missiles in the vicinity of the Soviet border and building up its strategic armaments the US has attempted to disrupt the existing parity, grossly and unilaterally violating the Soviet-American agreements which are so important to peace, jeopardising the security of socialist states as well as its own and that of its allies. It is now a generally accepted fact (which is also recognised by many politicians and prominent military experts in the West) that the stationing of American missiles in Europe is not a necessary defence measure on the part of the West but a means of achieving military superiority for purposes of armed pressure and preparation of a nuclear war against the Soviet Union. That was why the US began the deployment of its missiles in Europe even before the end of the Geneva talks of 1982-1983, that was why it disregarded the far-reaching proposals of the Soviet Union and the opinion of most of the European peoples that opposed their deployment, demonstrating that it banked on the use of force, on confrontation with the USSR on a global scale.

International law can be a good foundation of peaceful coexistence of states. But hotbeds of tensions still continue to smoulder or flare up in many regions of the world. Perhaps the existing mechanisms of international legal settlement are ineffective and the key to the solution of the problems lies in bringing them to perfection? A noted Western authority on international law, E. Jimenez de Arechaga, observes that progressive development of modern international law in the part which concerns the prohibition of the use of force was not, however, accompanied with a similar evolution in the sphere of peaceful settlement of disputes. Paradoxically, he notes, it is the presence of this prohibition which accounts for the smaller interest of states in regulating their disputes since, feeling secure from the threat of attack, they often prefer the state of tension.8 One could hardly agree with the author's opinion regarding the smaller interest of states in achieving peaceful settlement but he justly notes the need for perfecting the mechanism and procedures of peaceful settlement of disputes. The fact is also noted in Soviet literature on international law.9

Undoubtedly given the general aggravation of international tension, when the US regards every regional conflict in the context of its confrontation with the Soviet Union, resorting to diktat and interference in the internal affairs of the parties to a dispute, every opportunity must be used to reach a settlement. So far the Soviet Union and the US have managed to regulate their differences and to

stop short of a direct confrontation at times of acute international crises. This experience has given birth to certain forms of "crisis behaviour" of the two powers in order to avoid military conflicts: the Moscow-Washington hot line, a mechanism of political consultations, notifications of military exercises, etc. At the same time, according to some American authors, the 1970s have revealed the inadequacy of these forms and methods, making it necessary for the Soviet Union and the US to develop special "code of conduct" to help prevent and control crises. ¹⁰

The need for such "code of conduct" and the positive role they could play in the prevention of conflicts are also examined by Alexander George, professor of international relations at Stanford University. He believes that the general principles of crisis prevention contained in the documents signed by the Soviet Union and the US are inadequate and should be supplemented with agreements prohibiting rivalry in certain zones or matters and obligations to take measures to prevent the escalation of conflicts to the level which can entail interference. George justly stresses that in developing the technique for avoiding crises it should be borne in mind that "crisis prevention should be viewed as an objective, not as a strategy". Arthur M. Cox considers it necessary for the Soviet Union and the US to agree on a "code of conduct" in those regions where, according to him, there is "a force vacuum", and conclude a pact on the refusal of interventionism.

All these authors take a realistic position, critically assessing the White House's militaristic course which is fraught with danger to peace. On the other hand, it is clear that they attempt to divide the responsibility for the current aggravation of tension equally between the USSR and the US. As for the content of their proposals, they deserve examination and support in so far as they promote confidence in Soviet-American relations, though one should not lose sight of their insufficient and limited nature. Their authors believe that military rivalry is inevitable although they try to impose controls on it absolutising institutional measures and underestimating real material measures of disarmament. It is clear, however, that mutual information, notifications, political consultations, inspection and control that are not backed up by real disarmament measures emasculate and make meaningless the idea of confidence.

But the main thing is that not only does Washington not display any political will to advance towards expansion and consolidation of confidence-building measures but it also hinders the implementation of the means of settling international disputes and solving problems stipulated in the UN Charter, and declines the Soviet proposals aimed at preventing crisis situations and continuing confidence-building measures. This lack of political will will make ineffective any international political mechanisms for the prevention of interstate conflicts on which many Western researchers pin their hopes for a

stronger peace. It was this lack of political will on the part of Washington to resolve on a mutually acceptable basis the problem of nuclear weapons in Europe that was responsible for the wrecked Geneva talks of 1983. But direct negotiations are a time-tested and effective means of resolving international problems. This, of course, does not belittle the importance of the question of perfecting the existing means of peaceful settlement of disputes. The Soviet Union and other socialist countries make constant efforts to reaffirm, strengthen and specify obligations to resolve international conflicts by peaceful means regarding them as an effective instrument for the normalisation of international relations. But the political will of both parties is needed to make the political mechanisms work. What is more, political and contractual legal measures designed to reduce the war menace should be backed up by material measures of military detente, by measures to curb the arms race, lower the level of military confrontation, primarily nuclear confrontation.

The Soviet Union is a staunch supporter of stronger confidence-building measures as a necessary element for the normalisation of international relations, but not at the expense or instead of disarmament. It was the Soviet Union which undertook unilaterally not to be the first to use nuclear weapons. At the Geneva talks on the limitation and reduction of strategic arms the Soviet Union put forward far-reaching proposals designed to prevent crisis situations and strengthen confidence. These effective measures were, however, rejected by the US. It took the same obstructionist stand in Stockholm, at the Conference on Confidence-Building Measures, Security and Disarmament in Europe.

The important norms which should govern relations between nuclear powers in order to prevent situations fraught with widescale international conflicts can be summarised as follows 13:

- To consider prevention of a nuclear war to be a prime aim of a state's foreign policy. To preclude situations likely to lead to a nuclear conflict. And should such a danger arise, to hold consultations without delay in order to prevent a nuclear conflagration.
- To renounce propaganda of nuclear war in any of its variants, either global or limited.
- To assume an obligation not to be the first to use nuclear weapons.
- Under no circumstances to use nuclear weapons against non-nuclear countries which have no such weapons on their territories. To respect the status of the nuclear-free zone already established and to encourage the creation of new nuclear-free zones in various parts of the world.
- To prevent the proliferation of nuclear weapons in any form: not to transfer such weapons or control over them to anybody; not to deploy them on the territories of countries where there are no such

weapons; not to extend the nuclear arms race to new spheres, including outer space.

— To work step by step, on the basis of the principle of equal security, for a reduction of nuclear armaments with a view to finally destroying all types of them.

The Soviet Union made the said principles the basis of its politics a long time ago. It is prepared to agree at any time and with any state on mutual recognition of such norms and making them binding. Will the West respond with the same political will?

The US Administration's real policy regarding the implementation of its legal and political obligations in the sphere of arms limitation has so far destroyed everything achieved by its predecessors. The Soviet-American relations of recent years, when viewed in a wider context, show that the US Administration is seeking confrontation with the Soviet Union on many issues—confrontation around Afghanistan and Poland, and in connection with the alleged "Soviet threat" and violations of human rights in socialist countries. Provocations against the Soviet Union has become a norm for the US Administration, as evidenced by the South Korean spy plane incident in the Soviet Union's air space; the refusal to allow the Soviet foreign minister to participate in the 38th Session of the UN General Assembly, various "sanctions" against the Soviet Union and numerous violations of the diplomatic status of Soviet citizens in the US. In flagrant violation of the Helsinki Final Act, the US mass media are waging a real "psychological war" against the Soviet Union, crudely distorting the peaceful policy of socialism and fanning anti-Soviet and chauvinist sentiments.

It was the lack of political will for peace which frustrated the ratification of the SALT-II Treaty. The US has not yet signed the Treaty on the Limitation of Underground Nuclear Weapons Tests and the Soviet-American Treaty on Underground Nuclear Explosions for Peaceful Purposes. The US has unilaterally suspended talks on complete prohibition of nuclear weapons tests, the limitation of military activities in the Indian Ocean, on anti-satellite systems, etc.

This policy of the US goes beyond the limits of international law and creates a direct danger of its destruction.

How to make the US respect international law, observe its norms, take into account the legitimate interests of other states and abide by the principles of peaceful coexistence? It seems impossible to do this with the help of international legal means alone since what is at issue is a more profound reason—the political will on the part of a leading imperialist state which is being formed by the most conservative quarters.

This does not mean, however, that an end cannot be put to the policy of constant stoking of international tension, of armed solutions to interstate problems pursued by the US. States obey the laws of social development even when they resist them. Mankind's will for

survival is getting ever stronger. The worldwide anti-missile movements now numbers millions of participants. The Soviet Union's active peaceful policy meets with the support and approval of all peoples, the non-aligned movement and influential political forces in the West. There is a growing awareness in the US of the futility and danger of the policy of military diktat in relation to other states, of the consequences of military confrontation with the Soviet Union which are disastrous for civilisation. All these factors in their totality should lead to more normal international relations, to the resumption of the process of detente.

Even in the current complex military political situation, the Soviet Union urges peaceful solution of all international problems through serious and equitable negotiations and will in full measure cooperate with all states prepared with practical deeds to help lessen international tension and create an atmosphere of trust in the world.¹⁴

NOTES

- ¹ Pravda, November 5, 1983.
- ² R. G. Bogdanov, USA: Military Machine and Politics, Moscow, 1983, p. 9 (in Russian).
- ³ Newsweek, March 5, 1984.
- ⁴ V. I. Lenin, Collected Works, Vol. 19, p. 99.
- ⁵ A. Verdross, Völkerrecht, Vienna, 1955, p. 81.
- ⁶ L. A. Aleksidze, Some Theoretical Questions of International Law. Imperative Norms of Jus Cogens, Tbilissi, 1982, p. 308 (in Russian).
- ⁷ The New York Times, October 30, 1983.
- ⁸ Eduardo Jimenez de Arechaga, *Modern International Law*, Moscow, 1983, p. 213 (in Russian).
- ⁹ See, for example, Yu. Osintsev, E. Turbin, The Struggle of the USSR for the Perfection of the Process of Peaceful Settlement of Disputes, Moscow, 1983, p. 142 (in Russian).
- ¹⁰ See, for example, J. Gowa, N. Wessel, Grand Rules: Soviet and American Involvement in Regional Conflicts, Philadelphia, 1982, pp. 1, 15.
- 11 A. George, Managing US-Soviet Rivalry: Problems of Crisis Prevention, Baulder, 1983, p. 369.
- ¹² Arthur May Cox, Russian Roulette: The Superpowers' Game, New York, 1982, pp. 154-165.
- 13 Pravda, March 3, 1984.
- ¹⁴ Kommunist, 1984, No. 3, p. 12.

Neofascist Ideology and the Youth in Capitalist Countries

VLADIMIR KHUDAVERDYAN, ELVIRA SHUMILOVA

Deepening and aggravated social, economic, political, ideological and moral crises are a salient feature of present-day capitalist society. Although young people and their vital interests are the hardest hit in the process, capitalism remains indifferent to the needs and aspirations of the younger generation. This breeds resentment among young men and women and frequently makes them search for an alternative to capitalism.

The bourgeoisie seeks to check the growth of the progressive youth movement and, what is more, to isolate it from the political struggle of the working class. In this it relies not only on the ideological and repressive state machinery, but also on ultra-leftist groupings, and every kind of neo-nazi and right-wing radical organisations operating among the youth in the capitalist countries.

These developments call for a Marxist-Leninist critique of the ideology and political practices of right-wing reactionary forces, including neo-nazi youth groups, and an analysis of the modern fascist ideological impact on today's younger generation in the West. Having made an extensive study of neofascism and neo-nazism, Soviet scholars emphasise that the ideology and practical activities of organisations in this bloc serve the goals of preparing and staging a counter-revolution, frequently camouflaged as revolution.²

Neo-nazism as a social phenomenon is also closely related to the economic, political and intellectual crises of bourgeois society. These crises have a peculiar effect on the outlook of certain segments of the youth, who, in their attempts to independently overcome the complexities of the existing situation and owing to their immaturity, become lost in the maze of neo-nazi ideas, alien to their objective interests.

It is our view that one of the reasons for neo-nazism's resurgence is the mounting unemployment in the capitalist world, which became rampant in the early 1980s. In Italy 62 per cent of all unemployed are young men and women, in France the figure is 50 per cent, in the USA—46 per cent, and in Great Britain 42 per cent. Between 1970 and 1979 unemployment among young people in the FRG increased sixfold.³

Young people of today are the workforce of tomorrow, and their knowledge, skills and experience, normally acquired in the early stages of their careers, largely determine their countries' future economic potential and competitiveness. Inability to find a job produces a feeling of social inferiority and disgruntlement. "After leaving overcrowded schools they cannot continue their education. Having just started independent life, they find themselves already overboard. Who are they to look up to? Who will give them political guidance? Not only democratic youth organisations. Neo-nazis are also there to help, offering youngsters the sham romanticism of campfires, anti-democratic slogans, and the revived cult of the fuehrer ruling docile crowds."

The fact that capitalism cannot extricate itself from the morass of chronic crises breeds popular discontent, which neo-nazis try to use for their own ends. Which is the social stratum providing the greatest number of recruits for the neo-nazi ranks? Primarily, it is the petty bourgeoisie. Its dual status in the capitalist society is such that, faced with monopoly capital's attack on its interests, its members begin to seek radical change, fearing it at one and the same time. This social stratum's precarious position, especially that of its younger representatives, pushes its members into the arms of all sorts of irrationalist organisations, including neo-nazi.

The work of Marxist-Leninist parties and progressive youth organisations contributes to the intensification of the social and political activities of the youth in capitalist countries and their genuine revolutionary education. Marxists of the FRG are especially committed to the struggle against neofascism. Analysing the social psychology and political positions of the middle strata, whose segments are coming under the influence of monopoly bourgeoisie and neo-nazis' social demagoguery, they point to the need to counteract this process and see a possibility of their alliance with the working class. "Since the petty and middle bourgeoisie are objectively interested in a democratic renovation of society, the working class seeks union with them. This policy is not a short-term expediency. The goal of the working class and its Marxist parties is a strong durable alliance with these strata. The growing antagonism between certain segments of the bourgeoisie and the monopolies, along with the increasing overlapping of the interests of the petty and middle bourgeoisie, on the one hand, and the working class, on the other, make this alliance objectively possible." 5

Neo-nazism is also fostered by former nazis who escaped retribution. According to data of a number of democratic organisations, some 80,000 fascist war criminals are now in hiding, harboured from justice in Latin America, the USA, Canada and the FRG. For a long time many of them had top executive jobs in these countries' armed forces, courts and special services, and some are still there.

Neo-nazism's ideology is not merely a replica of the old fascist ideology. In a changed historical situation the nazi ideology underwent a transformation. However, the two still have many things in common: their salient feature is rabid anti-communism which sometimes acquires an almost mystical irrationality. Generally speaking, both the old and the new fascist ideologies represent a warped interpretation of social processes and reflect the interests of extreme reactionaries.⁶ Neo-nazism is the same old nazism which has adapted to new conditions and the new alignment of class forces both in the capitalist world and on the world scene. "Neofascism, or the modern variety of fascism, is a concept which includes fascism, actually in power in several countries, and also fascist-oriented parties and organisations existing in various countries in diverse forms."

In an interesting interpretation of the similarity between old and new fascism Professor Bertram Gross of the USA observes that although the superficial manifestations of fascism in present-day America are only remotely reminiscent of fascism in the past, the difference is only in the form. Fascism in America "would be supermodern and multiethnic," he writes. "It would be fascism with a smile. As a warning against its cosmetic façade, subtle manipulation, and velvet gloves, I call it friendly fascism. What scares me most is its subtle appeal."

Neo-nazi propaganda makes use of the mass media and a variety of brain-washing techniques to manipulate the young. Hitler's recorded speeches are freely available in the FRG and Spain. Even Stern magazine, in an article devoted to the Madrid fair of nazi regalia and mementoes, drew public attention to the nostalgia in certain quarters for Hitler's Germany and Franco's Spain.⁹

The "Hitler fad" in literature and the arts has alarmed the progressive public in the West. In the FRG "newspaper stands and bookstores display reprints of nazi magazines and Wehrmacht periodicals singing praise to 'exploits' of SS murderers, along with other war-mongering materials passed off as 'historical documents'. Second-hand markets do a brisk trade in Wehrmacht decorations, side-arms and Hitler's writings. About 150 neo-nazi groups preach the fuehrer cult and racial hatred, attack rallies of progressive organisations and conduct recruitment drives among young people. Police commissioners and public prosecutors mostly shut their exes to these developments..." Nostalgia for "the gold old days of nazi rule" is expressed in films and books which whitewash the years of National Socialist rule in Germany as a sort of purification of the German nation. At the same

time they use the myth of the "communist threat" to convince the younger generation that the only way to put an end to inflation, unemployment and crime is to rule the country with "an iron hand".

There are still many people in the FRG and Spain for whom the years of Hitlerism and Francoism are associated with their own high social status, in which they take pride to this day. For certain segments of the younger generation they are "national heroes", whose past serves as a shining example. In the FRG, for instance, neo-nazis seek to spread their influence in schools and universities, although fascist ideology is officially banned in the country. Pro-nazi teachers introduce students to fascist publications or wax enthusiastic about Hitler Germany's military might. The obvious aim of these propaganda ploys is to recruit new supporters of nazism and to "rejuvenate" fascist ranks.

However, education is not the main arena for the manoeuvrings of nazis old and new, because it is precisely in this sphere that they risk meeting powerful opposition from anti-nazi teachers, staff members and parents. Neo-nazis centre their attention on youngsters' free time, particularly that of spontaneously formed teenager groups left to their own devices after school hours. Neo-nazis readily agree to head all sorts of sports clubs, youth summer camps and interest groups, where they launch their "educational" effort, using the tried and tested techniques of Hitler's Germany.

Here is an account of recreation in a summer camp. "We saw children hidden in culverts, throwing sticks at one another in the manner of hand grenades. Others staged 'an assault on enemy trenches'. A six-year-old made no bones about it: 'We are training for war'. The atmosphere was that of the parade ground—drilling for all, including the tiny tots. The 'Viking' organisation relies on brutality to build the character of its young members. The boxing match that we watched in a tent was a disgusting sight: a big bully was pounding a patently weaker contestant to the appreciative whooping of the Vikings... 'Toughness is praise worthy!' was the camp's motto." 11

Young people get dual military training in such camps: a Bundeswehr-type course in basic training and an initiation in purely fascist martial skills. As all Bundeswehr soldiers, they must be able to swing, hand over hand, along a high-hanging rope. Both boys and girls must learn to be accurate shots, so they spend much time in shooting galleries.

"On many a night the village resounded to the thudding of Viking feet. This put fear into the villagers. ... When we saw the camp we realised that their fears were justified. At 8.30 p.m. a huge bonfire lighted at the night camp on the river Elz. The Vikings no longer felt shy of us. Having started with harmless tourist songs, they now discarded all pretense and broke into a sentimental nazi song... Warming to it, the young Vikings pledged allegiance to their

"fuehrer Adolf Hitler", who was blessing them from heaven, pledged loyalty to one another, and vowed to fight and die for the fuehrer's ideas. Soon they began to yell: "Let our knives flash, and put the Socialist pigs to flight." 12

Aware of the youngsters' need to give vent to their energy, neo-nazis talk with them and hold discussions on issues which occupy their minds. This is appreciated by the young, who crave recognition, seek self-assertion and long for the romance of adventures. It is natural that many of them have become members of all sorts of paramilitary sport clubs and take part in war games.

Neo-nazism's ideologists are equally aware of youth's mounting social and political activity and they take under their wing all those who are demoralised and do not belong to progressive democratic movements or organisations such as the working-class or communist movement. They indoctrinate in them the cult of brute force, chauvinism, nationalism and racism. The activities of pro-nazi youth groups are kept strictly secret from the public, with few accounts reaching the press.

Neo-nazi youth organisations in the FRG espouse extreme nationalist views. Ideologically and organisationally they are controlled by the country's ultra-right organisations. Among them are West Germany's Young National-Democrats, the youth branch of the NDP created in 1967; and numerous nationalist youth alliances of the Bund der Vertriebenen (Exiles' Alliance) type with its "Right to a Fatherland" motto. As a rule, their members are children of former inhabitants of Silesia and Eastern Prussia. Although born in the FRG with never a glimpse of these lands, they have become prime targets for neo-nazi propaganda, exploiting their so-called "national sentiment". Another organisation of this kind is the German Youth of the East—the German Youth of Europe, whose avowed purpose is to foster revanchism and hatred of the socialist countries among youth.

The second type of nationalist youth leagues have adopted the traditions and ideology of the nazi youth organisations of the 1930s. Its prime exponent is the Union of Youth Loyal to the Fatherland, set up in 1960. Its members pledge allegiance to the Hitlerjugend, worship its "heroes", sport brown shirts and have an equally "brown" world outlook. Although the union has proclaimed its independence of "adult" right-wing radical organisations, it is no secret that its members maintain close contacts with a number of ultra-right organisations including German Culture and the European Spirit and Workers' Circle of Alliances Loyal to the People. Their slogans of struggle for a "democratic" free socialism for the German nation have been borrowed by their young followers.

The National Socialists' Action Front, which ropes in anyone who has reached age 16, is most active in the field. Its membership consists mainly of offspring of National Socialists or young people who have switched over from the Young National Democrats and all

kinds of leftist groups. Its objective is to train a "combat elite", which "in 10-20 years will make politics" in West Germany. In 1980 it had 1,000 members. 15

These and similar organisations pose a special threat to politically immature young people, because, although they use revolutionary proletariat's phraseology they fill it with directly opposite content, while the true meaning of these terms remains unknown to those who grew up in conditions of anti-communism and anti-Sovietism.

The third, and probably the most politically dangerous, type of organisation is represented by various paramilitary youth leagues which openly pass on the fascist heritage. They have made their own not only the ideology of the Wehrmacht and nazism, but also the accoutrements of the Third Reich's paramilitary sports activities, which also feature prominently on their organisations.

Neo-nazis are actively canvassing among Bundeswehr callups. While some neofascist organisations are still debating their "Messianic role", others have swung into action, attacking progressive organisations, actively recruiting new members, desecrating Soviet war memorials, instigating mobs in Jewish cemeteries and smearing swastikas on synagogue walls.

Western propaganda claims that neonazism is not a grave danger, because its followers are divided and few in number. In reality, neo-nazi organisations have a large membership, they are close-knit and exert considerable influence on young minds.

According to the FRG Federal Ministry of Home Affairs, there are 75 neo-nazi organisations operating in the country with a combined membership of 19,800. The 25 legal neo-nazi groups have about 1,200 "activists" and 600 "lone soldiers". According to some estimates, there are about 1,000 ultra-right and pro-fascist organisations in the USA, including the John Birch Society, Ku Klux Klan and the Minutemen. These seasoned reactionaries are increasingly upstaged by the New Right, which criticises even President Reagan for being too soft.

Neo-nazis also keep in view those sections of the youth whose protest against exploitation has assumed the form of a nihilistic-anarchistic rejection of the bourgeoisie's traditional cultural and moral values. As a rule, these young people are members of all sorts of left-wing extremist groups, whose terrorist activities closely resemble those of young neo-nazis. Their tactics include terrorism, violence, arson, provocations, assassinations of progressive organisations' leaders and activists, and intimidation measures. Right-wing extremists frequently pose as "Reds" or members of "ultra-left groups", trying to incite public outrage or police retaliation against democratic forces. Under cover of the outcry to combat "left-wing" extremism, they are galvanising their own actions, creating the semblance of Western democracy's being threatened "from the left". Making political capital on leftist groups' terrorist activities, neo-nazis

frequently are not above organising joint operations with them.

West Germany's Public Opinion Institute polled 2,056 people over age 18 on how they regard the threat of neo-nazism. One of the questions asked was: "Of late there has been much talk about the activities of right-wing radical groups in the FRG. In your view, do these groups pose a danger to our democracy?" The poll was conducted in two rounds, in May and October-November 1980. In spring only 20 per cent of those polled gave a positive answer, whereas in autumn, i.e., after a series of appalling massive acts of terrorism in Munich, Paris and other West European cities, the figure jumped to 56 per cent.¹⁵

Neo-nazism has many faces, and its manifestations differ from place to place. In Great Britain right-wing groups specialise in fomenting hatred of immigrants, in the USA they preach racial intolerance, in Belgium they try to capitalise on communal strife, in the FRG they spread revanchism, and in Japan the samurai spirit. In combating right-wing extremism, it is necessary to take into account these specific features. The most important thing to remember, however, is that wherever neo-nazism rears its head, it can be successfully downed by a broad progressive front and vigorous activities of anti-fascist committees and organisations including Communists, Socialists, religious figures, representatives of trade-union, women's and youth organisations.

The struggle against neofascism is led by the Communists, to whom all democratic forces have rallied, forming a rampart blocking the spreading of the "brown plague". The 26th CPSU Congress pointed out that Social-Democrats "could do more for the defence of the vital interests of the peoples and, above all, for the consolidation of peace, for improving the international situation, repulsing fascism and racism and the offensive of reactionary forces on the political rights of the working people." 16

Struggling to establish a united anti-fascist front, the Communists stress the need to shed the illusion that in the fight between reaction and progress young people automatically side with the latter. The Communists' struggle for the vital rights and interests of the younger generation has won them a great deal of prestige among young men and women. For example, the German Communist Party demands that the FRG Government oblige large enterprises employing over one thousand workers to create additional jobs for on-the-job training of young people. Another demand is that young workers under age 20 must be protected against layoffs by special legislative acts or agreements. As all Communists in Western Europe, Communists in the FRG do a great deal of work, especially at schools and other educational establishments, to show the real face of nazism and thus keep young people from taking a road perilous for them and society. The resolutions of the Seventh Congress of the German Communist Party (January 1984) and the 25th Congress of the Austrian Communist Party (January 1984) stressed the need to step up anti-fascist activity and to take more effective measures against neofascist organisations and their propaganda.¹⁷

Britain's Communists have amassed valuable experience in opposing nazism's infiltration of youth milieu. Their effective methods of countering the "brown plague" include anti-nazi carnivals and a mass anti-US missile movement, designed to mobilise young people at large for mass demonstrations against fascism, racism and militarism. 18

In their political and ideological work Communists in capitalist countries link the struggle against the danger of neo-nazism with the struggle for peace, democracy, working people's social rights, and the struggle against the arms race.

Work with young people, as any other educational work, must constantly take into account the characteristic features of the present historical period. As the June (1983) Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee pointed out, "this historical period is marked by the confrontation—unprecedented in intensity and acuity in all the postwar period—of the two diametrically opposed world outlooks, two political courses—socialism and imperialism. A battle is being waged for the minds and hearts of billions of people on Earth. And the future of the human race largely depends on the outcome of this ideological battle." 19

NOTES

- ¹ A. Galkin, Sociology of Neofascism, Moscow, 1971; Critique of the Ideology of Neofascism, Moscow, 1976; A. Blank, Old and New Fascism, Moscow, 1982 (all in Russian).
- ² A. Galkin, op. cit., p. 68.
- ³ Le Monde, August 4, 1982; Unsere Zeit, September 21, 1979.
- ⁴ Yu. Pomorin, R. Yunge, Neo-Nazis, Moscow, 1980, p. 15 (in Russian).
- ⁵ E. Hanke, Mittelstand in der Bundesrepublik, Frankfort on the Main, 1973, p. 127.
- ⁶ Collision of Ideas in the World Today, Moscow, 1976, Vol. 2, p. 167 (in Russian).
- ⁷ Critique of the Ideology of Neofascism, p. 34.
- 8 B. Gross, Friendly Fascism. New Face of Power in America, New York, 1980, p. 3.
- ⁹ Stern, Issue 17, April 15, 1981, pp. 26-27.
- 10 Yu. Pomorin, R. Yunge, op. cit., p. 15.
- ¹¹ Ibid., pp. 49-50.
- ¹² Ibid., pp. 50-51.
- ¹³ A. Mayer, K. Rabe, Unsere Stunde, die wird kommen—Rechtsextremismus unter Jugendlichen, Bornheim-Merten, 1980, p. 57.
- 14 Vorwärts, 1981, No. 23, p. 4.
- ¹⁵ Politische Meinung, 1981, No. 194, p. 51.
- 16 The 26th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Moscow, 1981, p. 25.
- 17 Unsere Zeit, January 12, 1984, p. 11; Volksstimme, January 14, 1984, p. 4.
- 18 B. Dunn, "Carnival of Unity", Morning Star, April 20, 1978, p. 2.
- ¹⁹ Materials of the June 14-15, 1983 Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee, Moscow, 1983, p. 7 (in Russian).

GENERAL MEETING OF THE USSR ACADEMY OF SCIENCES

The General Meeting of the USSR Academy of Sciences met in December 1984 to discuss the tasks facing science in the implementation of the USSR's Food Programme and in the continuing drive to raise the Soviet people's living standards.

introductory speech, Academician A. Alexandrov, President of the USSR Academy of Sciences, said that the Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee held in October 1984 had called on scientists to improve their contribution to the major sections of the Food Programme. Many of the Academy's institutes are already actively working on fundamental problems vital to the intensification of agricultural production and the allround development of the agroindustrial complex. The President mentioned the achievements scored by some of the Academy's institutes which had made a tangible contribution to the modernisation and greater reliability of agricultural machinery. He emphasised that specialists working in the agro-industrial complex expected from scientists a more active participation in such major fields as raising the efficiency of the utilisation of improved lands and the development of more effective means of plant protection, etc.

A report on the Food Programme of the USSR and the tasks of fundamental sciences was made by Academician Yu. Ovchinnikov, VicePresident of the Academy. He noted that the broadening of the field of research and the accelerated introduction of fundamental sciences' achievements in agriculture were a most important condition for success in that important matter.

Citing the concrete results achieved with the help of new progressive methods of selection and genetics, Academician Ovchinnikov spoke about the need for qualitative improvements in the work on plant and animal genetics. He said the USSR Academy of Sciences, the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences, and the All-Union Academy of Agricultural Sciences should join their forces to work on this problem.

Academician Ovchinnikov devoted much attention to scientists' participation in the implementation of the Long-Term Programme of Land Improvement covering the 12th Five-Year Plan and the period up to the year 2000. He spoke about the current research work connected with the regulation of the country's water resources and emphasised the need to protect nature and tackle ecological problems.

Academicians A. Bayev, A. Nikonov, G. Skryabin, K. Frolov and others spoke about the on-going research work aimed at boosting agricultural production and the problems of introducing the achievements of science into production. At the Meeting, the highest award of the USSR Academy of Sciences—the Lomonosov Gold Medal—was handed to Professor Abdus Salam, a foreign member of the Academy, an outstanding scientist who for many years has been heading the Centre

of Theoretical Physics in Trieste. Professor Abdus Salam read a scientific paper at the Meeting.

Elections to the Academy were held at the General Meeting. Fiftyfive full members and 112 corresponding members were elected.

NEW MEMBERS OF THE USSR ACADEMY OF SCIENCES

At the General Meeting of the USSR Academy of Sciences held in December 1984, eight full members (academicians) and 23 corresponding members of the Academy were elected for the departments of social sciences.

The following persons were elected full members:

Department of History

V. Vinogradov (history of the USSR, history of Soviet economy), specialist in the history of the Soviet economy and socio-economic problems of the working-class revolutionary movement. Author of about 300 works, many of which have been translated into foreign languages. For his research he was awarded the N. G. Chernyshevsky Prize for 1970. He is Director of the Institute of Scientific Information for Social Sciences of the USSR Academy of Sciences.

Department of Philosophy and Law

V. Kudryavtsev (law), specialist in the theory and sociology of law, criminology and criminal law. Author of more than 250 works, some of which have been translated abroad. For the elaboration of the theoretical foundations of Soviet criminology he was awarded the State Prize for 1984. He is Director of the Institute of State and Law, USSR Academy of Sciences, Vice-President of the International Society of Social Defence and a foreign member of the Bulgarian and Hungarian academies of sciences.

Department of Economics

A. Anchishkin (Soviet economy), specialist in the theory of socilist reproduction, planning and forecasting of economic development, macroeconomic modelling, and economic problems of scientific and technical progress. Author and co-author of more than 60 scientific works. Professor of Moscow State University, Deputy Chairman of the Scientific Council on problems of scientifictechnical and socio-economic forecasting under the Presidium of the USSR Academy of Sciences and the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology.

I. Lukinov (economics of the agroindustrial complex), specialist in the economics of agriculture. Author and co-author of more than 270 works. His work is connected with the organisation of the structure of the agro-industrial complex at microand macroeconomic levels and the perfection of the economic mechanism. He is Vice-President of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, Chairman of the Department of Social Sciences of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, and Director of its Institute of Economics.

A. Nikonov (economics of the agro-industrial complex), specilist in

the economics and organisation of agriculture and the agro-industrial complex. Author and co-author of more than 200 works. Takes an active part in the elaboration of the economic problems of the Food Programme of the USSR. President of the All-Union Academy of Agricultural Sciences.

Department of Literature and Language

- T. Gamkrelidze (linguistics), specialist in general and comparative linguistics, in Ancient Eastern, Caucasian and Indo-European languages. Author of over 100 works. He has made a considerable contribution to the elaboration of linguistic typology, language universals and diachronic linguistics. He is Director of the Tsereteli Institute of Oriental Studies of the Georgian Academy of Sciences, and foreign member of several academies of sciences and scientific societies in other countries.
- D. Markov (study of literature). specialist in the history of Slavonic literatures and the theory of socialist realism. Author of over 300 works, many of which have been translated into foreign languages. He is Director of the Institute of Slavonic and Balkan Studies of the Sciences, foreign Academy of member of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences and President of the International Association for the Study and Dissemination of Slavonic Cultures.
- B. Serebrennikov (linguistics), specialist in general linguistics, in Finnish-Ugro studies and Turkology. Author of 350 works. His theoretical elaborations underlie the history of the national languages of the Ugro-Finnish and Turkic language families and were used in solving the

problems of the glottogenesis of languages of the peoples of the USSR. He is head of a department of the Institute of Linguistics of the USSR Academy of Sciences, foreign member of the Hungarian and Finnish academies of sciences and a member of the International Committee of Linguists.

New Corresponding Members of the Academy of Sciences:

Department of History

A. Novoseltsev (history of the USSR, period prior to the October Revolution of 1917), specialist in the ancient and mediaeval history of the peoples of the USSR, in historiography and source studies. Author of more than 100 works. Head of a department at the Institute of the History of the USSR, USSR Academy of Sciences.

Yu. Pisarev (history of East European socialist countries), specialist in the history of countries of South-East, East and Central Europe. Author and co-author of more than 200 works. He heads a department of the Institute of Slavonic and Balkan Studies of the USSR Academy of Sciences.

Department of Philosophy and Law

- V. Mshvenieradze (historical materialism and scientific communism), specialist in philosophy. Author and co-author of more than 110 works on the history of philosophy, modern Western philosophy, criticism of anti-communism, philosophical problems of politics and logics. He is Deputy Director of the Institute of Philosophy of the USSR Academy of Sciences.
- G. Starushenko (law), specialist in legal and social problems of the national liberation movement. Author and co-author of more than 200

works. He is Deputy Director of the Institute of African Studies, USSR Academy of Sciences, Vice-President of the International Congress of African Studies, and a member of the UN Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination.

Department of Economics

- L. Abalkin (Soviet economy), specialist in political economy. Author of more than 250 works devoted to the elaboration of the method of the political economy of socialism and comprehensive analyses of the functions of political economy. He heads a chair at the Academy of Social Sciences under the CPSU Central Committee.
- V. Volsky (world economy and international relations), specialist in socio-economic and political problems of Latin America. Author and co-author of more than 170 works, many of which have been published abroad. He is Director of the Institute of Latin American Studies of the USSR Academy of Sciences and Doctor honoris causa of two universities in Colombia and Peru.
- A. Granberg (economics), specialist in the methodology of planning, economico-mathematical modelling, regional economy and the distribution of the productive forces. Author and co-author of about 240 works. He is Deputy Director of the Institute of Economics and Organisation of Industrial Production of the Siberian Division of the USSR Academy of Sciences.
- V. Zhurkin (world economy and international relations), specialist in world affairs and foreign policy. Author of over 60 works. He is Deputy Director of the Institute of US and Canadian Studies, USSR Academy of Sciences, and member of the Bureau of the Stockholm

International Peace Research Institute.

- V. Medvedev (Soviet economy) specialist in political economy and the theory of socialist production. Author and co-author of more than 100 works, mostly on general theoretical problems of developed socialism, social consciousness, the ideological activity of the Party and the social sciences. He is head of a department at the CPSU Central Committee.
- N. Petrakov (Soviet economy), specialist in economico-mathematical modelling and methods and mechanisms of managing the national economy. Author and co-author of more than 100 works. He is Deputy Director of the Central Economico-Mathematical Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences.
- S. Sitaryan (Soviet economy), specialist in political economy, the theory of socialist reproduction and finances. Author of over 30 works. His main field of research is the general problems of the formation, distribution and use of the national income, cost accounting and the financial and credit mechanism. He is Deputy Chairman of the USSR State Planning Committee.
- A. Yakovlev (world economy and international relations), specialist in the foreign policy of the USSR, the foreign policy of the USA and in inter-imperialist contradictions, the arms race and disarmament. Author of more than 100 works. He is Director of the Institute of the World Economy and International Relations, USSR Academy of Sciences, and Chairman of the United Nations Association in the USSR.

Department of Literature and Language

N. Balashov (study of literature), specialist in West European litera-

tures and comparative study of literature. Author of more than 230 works. He is head of a department of the Gorky Institute of World Literature, USSR Academy of Sciences.

- G. Gamzatov (study of literature), specialist in the history of the literatures of the peoples of the USSR. Author of more than 120 works, including those on the literatures of the peoples of the North Caucasus. He is Director of the Tsadasa Institute of History, Language and Literature of the Daghestan Branch of the USSR Academy of Sciences.
- L. Dmitriyev (study of literature), specialist in Ancient Russian literature and culture, textology and palaeography of the 11th-17th centuries. Author of more than 200 works. Senior research associate of the Institute of Russian Literature (Pushkin's House), USSR Academy of Sciences.
- P. Nikolayev (study of literature), specialist in the theory and history of Russian literature. Author of over 300 works. He heads a chair at Moscow State University.
- V. Novikov (study of literature), specialist in Soviet literature. Author of more than 120 works, many of which have been published abroad. His monograph "Artistic Truth and the Dialectics of Creation" earned him the N. A. Dobrolyubov Prize for 1974. He is a professor at the Academy of Social Sciences under the CPSU Central Committee.

- V. Solntsev (linguistics), specialist in general linguistics, in the Chinese and Vietnamese languages. Author of about 140 works. He is Deputy Director of the Institute of Oriental Studies, USSR Academy of Sciences.
- Yu. Stepanov (linguistics), specialist in general and Romanic linguistics, Baltic and Slavonic studies and in the theory of sign systems. Author of more than 120 works. He is a senior research associate of the Institute of Linguistics, USSR Academy of Sciences.
- E. Tenishev (linguistics), specialist in Turkic languages, their dialectology and history. Author of more than 150 works. He is head of a department of the Institute of Linguistics, USSR Academy of Sciences.
- N. Tolstoi (linguistics), specialist in Slav philology. Author of more than 200 works. He is head of a sector of the Institute of Slavonic and Balkan Studies, USSR Academy of Sciences.
- N. Shvedova (linguistics), specialist in the Russian literary language. Author of more than 100 works. She is head of a department of the Institute of Russian Language, USSR Academy of Sciences.
- D. Shmelev (linguistics), specialist in general linguistics, lexicology, syntax and stylistics of the modern Russian language. Author of about 100 works. He is head of a department of the Institute of Russian Language, USSR Academy of Sci-

The Editors of the Social Sciences journal heartily congratulate the newly elected full and corresponding members of the USSR Academy of Sciences and wish them fresh successes in their creative endeavour.

UNION BETWEEN SCIENCE AND PRACTICAL ACTIVITY

On March 14, 1985, a session of the General Meeting of the USSR Academy of Sciences opened in Moscow. The opening address was made Academician A. Alexandrov, President of the Academy. The Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee of the GPSU held in March 1985, he said, demonstrated the continuity of the Party's policy and the country's undeviating course of peaceful construction. This was vividly reflected in the speech made at the Plenary Meeting by the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Mikhail Gorbachev in which he called on Soviet scientists to take a more active part in tackling the important tasks facing the economy, health service and culture. Academician Alexandrov said that the Party demands that scientific research should have a more effective impact on the acceleration of scientific and technical progress, on increasing the efficiency of social production and on improving the people's living standards. Among the numerous problems facing science, the President of the Academy singled out such primary tasks as the improvement of the mechanism of introducing new scientific and technical innovations, the creation of efficient technologies, the strengthening of the experimental and design base of the Academy and the broad utilisation of computing techniques in research and design work.

The report on the activity of the Academy in 1984 was made by the Chief Academic Secretary of the Academy's Presidium, Academician G. Skryabin. He said that the research institutions of the Academy continued to centre their efforts on fulfilling the basic task set before them, namely, the priority development of fundamental research, and

primarily, in the branches responsible for the acceleration of scientific and technical progress.

During the 11th Five-Year Plan period a great amount of work was done in the Academy on defining goal-oriented scientific and technical programmes and programmes aimed at solving major scientific and technical problems. The USSR Academy of Sciences is taking part in 112 programmes which engage about 200 academic institutes working on up to 3,000 problems. Numerous research institutes of the Academy actively participated in the drawing up of a comprehensive programme of the country's scientific and technical progress for the 1986-2005 period. Its materials are being widely used in the elaboration of the Guidelines of the economic and social development of the USSR up to the year 2000, and of the 12th Five-Year Plan.

The speaker also mentioned the most impressive results of research in various fields of science. Achievements were registered in tackling the problem connected with the software of computer techniques and the perfection of automation and control processes. Major results were scored in nuclear physics, the physics of solids and optics.

The completion of the elaboration of the long-term Energy Programme of the USSR was an important achievement. It mapped out ways for the further development of the country's energy potential.

Fresh successes were registered in space exploration. In 1984, the record-long, 237-day outer-space flight of the crew consisting of L. Kizim, V. Solovyov and O. Atkov aboard the orbital station Salyut-7 was carried out.

Social scientists considerably ex-

panded their investigations of various problems of the creation of the material and technical basis of communism, perfection of the production relations of developed socialism and the consolidation of the socialist way of life.

Assessing the contribution of scientists of the Academy to the more rapid introduction of innovations and inventions, Academician Skryabin noted that in 1984 institutes of the Academy, jointly with industrial enterprises, conducted research and experimental and design work, and comprehensive tests of technological processes and new types of industrial goods.

During the recent years cooperation between the USSR Academy of Sciences and republican academies, on the one hand, and scientific institutions in socialist countries, on the other, has expanded and strengthened. The same holds true of contacts with scientific institutions in the Federal Republic of Germany, Italy, Finland, Austria, Denmark, India and with the National Centre of Scientific Research in France. At present the USSR Academy of Sciences, its institutes and individual scientists are members of 177 international non-governmental scientific organisations and taking part in more than 50 international programmes, and projects, which reflects the growing prestige of Soviet science. This high prestige can also be seen in the active participation of our scientists in the broad movement for peace and prevention of nuclear

At its evening session on March 14 the General Meeting of the USSR Academy of Sciences elected its President. In their speeches Academicians B. Paton, A. Kursanov, Zh. Alferov, P. Fedoseyev, N. Kochetkov, and V. Kotelnikov highly praised the scientific and organisational activity

of the Academy and noted the great scientific and organisational contribution to the achievements of Soviet science made by Academician A. Alexandrov. The meeting was also addressed by M. Zimyanin, Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

As a result of the voting by secret ballot Academician A. Alexandrov was re-elected President of the USSR Academy of Sciences. He has been its President for about 10 years already. An outstanding scientist, organiser of Soviet science, and public figure Academician A. Alexandrov has received broad recognition in this country and abroad.

On March 15 elections were held to the Presidium of the Academy. Academicians V. Kotelnikov, E. Velikhov, Yu. Ovchinnikov, A. Yanshin, P. Fedoseyev, A. Logunov, elected K. Frolov Vicewere Presidents of the Academy. Academician V. Koptyug was elected Vice-President and President of the Siberian Division of the Academy. Academician G. Skryabin was elected the Chief Academic Secretary of the Presidium of the Academy. The Presidium also includes 16 academicians-secretaries of the Academy's departments, and also 16 academicians representing various fields of science.

On March 18, 1985, a special meeting of the Academy was held devoted to the 40th anniversary of the Soviet people's victory in the Great Patriotic War and the active participation of scientists in the defence of the socialist Motherland.

The meeting was opened by the President of the Academy, Academician A. Alexandrov. Soviet scientists, he said, had made a great contribution to the strengthening of the country's defences, the military and

technical equipment of the Soviet Armed Forces, the creation of new types of weapons and their serial production in quantities that ultimately ensured the Soviet Army's superiority over the armies of nazi Germany. Our country had many highly qualified scientists among whom there were quite a number whose works had received worldwide recognition. The Academy of Sciences, its institutes and laboratories successfully conducted research of military significance in diverse fields.

Today, the President emphasised, the development level of Soviet science has a direct impact on the country's defence potential, precluding the military superiority of the imperialist forces.

A report, "The World Historic Significance of the Victory of the Soviet People in the Great Patriotic War of 1941-1945", was made by the Head of the Institute of Military History of the USSR Ministry of Defence, P. Zhilin, Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences.

Participants | in the meeting adopted an address to scientists of the world in connection with the 40th anniversary of the Victory over fascism. On us scientists, the address says, rests special responsibility for the future of mankind. academic community should actively contribute to the peaceful uses of atomic energy, and not to the construction of new types of thermonuclear weapon, to increasing energy resources, to making space technology serve peace and progress, and not star wars.

Humanity is standing on the threshold of the 21st century. Scien-

tists can and must do everything in their power to help solve such urgent global problems as ending hunger and poverty, combating diseases, lengthening the lifespan, and the rational utilisation of natural resources. Resolutely to oppose chauvinism and the fanning of distrust between peoples, to educate people in the spirit of international cooperation—this is the noble task of the scientists of the world.

On the eve of the 40th anniversary of the Victory over fascism, the Soviet scientists declare, the truth of our times appears before the whole world with particular conviction, namely, that mankind has enough wisdom to prevent its own destruction. The human creative mind is stronger than nuclear insanity.

At an evening session on March 18, G. Skryabin Academician ported on the works awarded the Lomonosov Gold Medals in 1984. This highest Academy award presented Academician to N. Bogolyubov and to foreign member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, Professor R. Mössbauer (the Federal Republic of Germany). According to tradition the Lomonosov Medal winners delivered scientific papers (for greater detail about the winners of the award see "Chronicle" in this issue of the journal).

Gold medals and prizes named after outstanding scientists were also presented to scientists for their works in 1984.

Congresses • Conferences • Symposiums

THE PROBLEM OF MAN IN HISTORICAL MATERIALISM

An all-Union conference on the problem of man was held at the Institute of Philosophy of the USSR Academy of Sciences in December 1984. It was attended by philosophers specialising in historical and dialectical materialism and scientific communism, by representatives of economic and historical sciences, teachers and practical workers.

The need to examine this problem has arisen out of the development requirements of the individual under socialism, his professional moulding and conceptual maturity, which is connected with the implementation of the school reform in this country and the implementation of the tasks in the field of upbringing and education.

The paper presented by Professor L. Buyeva, Head of the Section of Problems of Social Consciousness at the Institute of Philosophy, described the present stage of the cognition of man as being the comprehension of him as an entity. Such a comprehension can be attained only by an allround examination of the problem. The speaker discussed the questions of man's individual traits; his subjectivity; the role of subjectivity in social development

which in socialist society means that each person becomes a subject of history, an active worker drawn into social creation. The perfection of socialist social relations, in the speaker's view, should be accompanied by the growth of the individual traits in personality and an enrichment of his or her subjective world.

L. Buyeva posed the question of the methods of cognition of man's subjective world. What are the specific features of a philosophical approach as such (in contrast to artistic) to the examination of the individual, the subjective strengths and abilities of man? It is known that the comprehension of man's creative nature is connected precisely with his subjective world. Are creative forces inherent in every individual, how are they expressed, can creative abilities be formed? All these problems, the speaker emphasised, require a comprehensive approach and the efforts of representatives of many sciences.

Participants in the conference spoke about the topicality of the problems posed, and said that concreteness and realism in the study of man are an indispensable condition for the moulding of an individual of the socialist type. An integral approach to man requires a uniform theoretical basis. A number of speakers (V. Orlov, I. Gobozov) regarded dialectical materialism as such a basis, and maintained that historical materialism did not have a uniform theoretical basis inasmuch as it analyses the problem of man only in the context of the particular, and not the general. Another view was also expressed at the conference—that of the unity of dialectical and historical materialism. Marxism has an integral, monistic approach to man, which is determined by the fact that man is both a natural and social creature (V. Mezhuyev, A. Myslivchenko, S. Goncharov).

Some speakers expressed the view about the possibility of singling out philosophical anthropology within the framework of historical materialism. In his elaboration of this, B. Grigoryan said that society as a whole is not identical with concrete subjects inasmuch as their social traits are individualised. This individuality cannot be studied by methods of historical materialism, other methods are necessary, which should be worked out within the framework of philosophical anthropology.

The problem of man's activity and self-regulation took up a considerable part of the discussion. It was noted that man's specificity is connected with his subjectivity, his ability to set aims, i.e., the activity of the individual in the transformation of the world.

A great role in the formation of man's integrity is played by his world outlook which takes shape, above all, under the influence of social relations. Speakers emphasised the importance of concretely studying the mechanism of the determination of social consciousness and the consciousness of the individual by social

being. Historical materialism makes it possible to explain how people, in the process of their practical activity, are changing their social relations and themselves; to ascertain the role of man's world outlook and culture in this process.

Special attention at the conference was devoted to the problem of the efficiency of the process of communist education. Speakers noted that a harmoniously developed individual actively transforms social relations. The moulding of such a personality takes place under the impact of a host of factors and conditions, including the institutions of planning and management (shortcomings in this sphere tell primarily on man's development). Yet, philosophers do not analyse the problem of planning, including economic planning, do not study the subject of production and its structure. The questions of production and consumption and their interrelationship and influence on individual are insufficiently elaborated (I. Vernikova, O. Volgin. A. Kuznetsova, P. Godin, N. Okonskaya).

Speakers noted that the upbringing and education of man is inseparable from the collective. Collective activity is richer than individual, it is the basis of the development of personality. Man is a contradictory entity, and some of his features, including biological, can retard the development of his social nature. But education cannot be based on the simple elimination of what is bad in man. What is necessary is the dialectics of education, which includes a whole range of methods (M. Kazakina, V. Razin).

The independent activity of the individual plays the decisive role in the formation of his or her integrity. In this context, the conference discussed the question of man's interre-

lationship with the environment (V. Kutyrev).

Stressing the integrity of man, V. Sagatovsky pointed out that the philosophical view is an integral concept, and not a sum total of information about man. Man is multistructural and his development is connected with solving the contradictions of life.

Participants in the conference emphasised that man's integrity is a

process based on the social labour activity of the individual. A comprehensive approach to the study of man should reveal his integrity as a subject of history. Marxist-Leninist philosophy's attitude to man as an entity reveals both the unbreakable unity and the definite specificity of this philosophy's parts—dialectical and historical materialism.

E. Tkachev

SOCIAL AND METHODOLOGICAL QUESTIONS OF SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNICAL PROGRESS

An All-Union Conference "Social and Methodological Problems of Scientific and Technical Progress" sponsored by the Scientific Council on Social and Philosophical Problems of Science and Technology, under the auspices of the Presidium of the USSR Academy of Sciences, the Academy's Institute of Philosophy the Central Council Philosophical (Methodological) Seminars affiliated to the Academy's Presidium, was held in Moscow in November 1984. The conference was attended by more than 500 scientists from a majority of the Union republics representing the country's leading research centres.

The conference was opened by P. Fedoseyev, Vice-Academician President of the Academy. In his speech he analysed the social and philosophical aspects of scientific and technical progress. P. Fedoseyev noted that one of the major features of the present stage of scientific and technical progress was the tumultuous growth and the practical use of the latest technologies—robot technology, electronics and biotechnology. The ever greater application of these technologies in material production makes it possible to speak of the acceleration and deepening of the process of turning science into a direct productive force.

At the same time, P. Fedoseyev emphasised that the scientific and technological revolution exerts a most profound influence not only on technology, but also on social relations, on man himself and his habitat, on the international situation and the entire development of the world. The progress of the scientific and technological revolution, its forms of expression and social consequences are principally different in the opposing socio-economic systems, he said.

Rapid scientific and technical progress has called forth over the past ten years an intensive growth of research into such subjects as science itself, scientific knowledge and the interrelationship of science and society. The character of this research is also different, as it is ultimately determined by the conditions prevailing in a society within whose framework it is conducted. This has led to the emergence today of various theoretical concepts and approaches in the non-Marxist sociology of science, a testament to its methodological crisis.

The main task facing Soviet researchers is to analyse the prospects and aims of scientific and technical in socialist progress society. P. Fedoseyev suggested in this context the following three aspects of the analysis: the maintenance of the progress being made in the main fields of fundamental science resulting from mathematical modelling on electronic computers and the creation of a new structure and organisation of research activity; the discovery of new opportunities to control all types of labour and material resources; guaranteeing the realisation of man's creative potential in the material and cultural spheres.

In his introductory speech Academician P. Fedoseyev outlined the range of problems posed by the present stage of scientific and technical progress and the main approaches to their solution.

The papers submitted to the plenary sessions contained a concrete analysis of these approaches, which are aimed at solving the main task, namely, the use of the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution for the development of socialism and in the interests of peace on our planet.

Strictly speaking, the range of problems posed by the present stage of scientific and technical progress can be subsumed under two headings, those of a theoretico-cognitive nature and those of a practical nature. Accordingly, the papers presented at the plenary sessions were devoted to an analysis of the theoretico-cognitive and practical tasks faced by science and society today as a result of scientific and technical progress.

The paper submitted by Academician Yu. Ovchinnikov, Vice-President of the USSR Academy of Sciences, "Scientific and Technical Progress and Biotechnology", analysed the various aspects of the use of new technologies for tackling practi-

cal tasks facing society. In particular, he mentioned the possibilities the application of biotechnology opened up for fulfilling the USSR's Food Programme.

Academician A. Yanshin, also a --Vice-President of the USSR Academy of Sciences, analysed the ways of solving another crucial problem facing mankind today, that of material resources. In his paper "The Role of Scientific and Technical Progress in the Expansion of the Raw Material Base of the USSR" he dwelt on its solution under conditions of socialism.

In his paper "The Present-Day Power Industry—Scientific and Practical Aspects" Academician V. Kirillin spoke about ways of solving the energy problem in the Soviet Union.

Interesting papers analysing practical matters were presented by Academician V. Rzhevsky ("Engineering Activity and Technical Sciences") and Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences I. Makarov ("Modern Methods for the Comprehensive Mechanisation of Production Processes").

Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences N. Moiseyev in his paper "The Man-Biosphere System: Experience of Cybernetico-Mathematical Modelling" dwelt on new opportunities opening up before scientists engaged in research into the global problems of our time resulting from the use of methods of mathematical modelling.

A feature of the conference was the fact that representatives of natural sciences posed and examined social problems that were put forward by scientific and technical progress. Naturally, the most comprehensive analysis of methodological and conceptual problems posed by scientific and technical progress was to be found in the papers presented by social scientists.

Academician B. Kedrov's paper "Mastering the Process of Scientifico-Technical Creation" discussed the laws inherent in the process of scientifico-technical creation; the author dwelt in particular on the dialectics of the whole and noted the general and the particular inherent in this process.

The paper delivered by Academician J. Gvishiani was devoted to forecasting scientific and technical progress. He dwelt, among other things, on some methodological aspects and on the experience gained in the elaboration of the USSR's Comprehensive Programme of Scientific and Technical Progress.

The paper presented by Academi-A. Egorov—"Marxism-Leninthe Laws of Scientific and Technical Progress" underlined the point that a forecast of the future of one or another phenomenon should be based on a knowledge of the objective laws of its development. He emphasised the significance of undertaking a Marxist-Leninist analysis of those problems posed by today's scientific and technological revolution, for such an analysis would allow a researcher to comprehend the dialectical nature of the processes going on in science and society.

A number of papers discussed the humanistic aspects of the present stage of scientific and technical progress.

The paper read by Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences G. Smirnov was devoted to an examination of the moulding of the socialist type of personality under the conditions of the scientific and technological revolution. Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences B. Lomov spoke in his paper about the prob-

lems the present stage of scientific and technical progress posed before psychological science. The paper presented by R. Yanovsky, Rector of the Academy of Social Sciences under the Central Committee of the emphasised the tional function of Soviet science. Yu. Babansky, member of the USSR Academy of Pedagogical Sciences, devoted his paper "The Theoretical and Methodological Significance of the Main Trends of the School Reform in the USSR" to the problems associated with the upbringing and education of the rising generation in this country.

The attention of the conference participants was drawn by the paper delivered by Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences I. Frolov "Man and Society in the Age of New Technology" (the main premises of that paper are discussed in I. Frolov's article published in this issue of the journal).

Following the plenary sessions the conference's work was conducted in five panels. They examined the following topics: "Social Determina-Knowledge". tion of Scientific "Socio-Methodological Problems of Interdisciplinary Research", "Sociological Aspects of Science". "Philosophical Problems of Technical Sciences" and "Education and Propaganda of Scientific and Technical Progress".

More than 150 papers were presented to the panel meetings. They discussed the dialectico-materialistic aspects of the processes going on in science and society in the conditions of scientific and technical progress and outlined forecasting trends. The entire range of questions discussed may be grouped under the following themes:

— the significance of Marxist-Leninist methodology for an analysis of modern processes going on in the "science - technology - productionsociety-nature" system, as well as its heuristic role in mapping out promising trends of scientific and technical progress;

- the ascertaining of ways of ensuring progress in the principal fields of modern scientific knowledge (biotechnology, microelectronics, etc.);
- an analysis of the specific character of the social consequences of new technical solutions in different social systems;
- the ensuring of intensive scientific and technical progress, while stepping up activity for the protection and rational use of nature;
- the growing significance of social sciences in providing adequate solutions to social problems;

— the moulding of the new man under conditions of mature socialism, a society which ensures the genuinely humanistic character of scientific and technical progress.

At the concluding plenary session the conference participants adopted recommendations aimed at the implementation of a wide range of measures which would contribute to the fundamental elaboration of the main trends of scientific and technical progress, to a fuller practical implementation of scientific and technical achievements and a more profound and intensive research into the social and methodological problems of scientific and technical progress.

V. Ignatyev

CRITIQUE OF ANTI-COMMUNIST IDEOLOGY IN LATIN AMERICA

A scientific conference was held in Moscow in November 1984 on "Anti-Communism and the Ideological Struggle in Latin America". The conference was sponsored by the Institute of Latin America of the USSR Academy of Sciences. It analvsed and denounced the anticommunist campaign which has assumed unprecedented dimensions in Latin America and is a major component part of the ideological "crusade" started by the Reagan Administration against the socialist countries and the world communist and liberation movements.

The conference was opened by V. Volsky, Director of the Institute. The speakers noted that the main strategic aim of the "psychological war" unleashed by the US imperialists and the right-wing reactionaries in Latin American countries is a massive onslaught against the liberation and anti-imperialist movements.

It combines the methods of direct military provocations and a largescale anti-communist campaign, aimed at discrediting the Communists and their allies.

The influence of conservative ideology is growing among the ruling circles of Latin American countries (A. Shulgovsky, A. Shestopal, N. Lavrov). Its essence is to try and build a "special model" of a state by fusing the most conservative features of "Anglo-Saxon democracy" with authoritarian corporativism. Simultaneously, anti-communist ideologues make use of the difficulties and setbacks of the left-reformist regimes and movements to discredit the socialist ideal.

One of the main aims of anticommunist propaganda, as emphasised by L. Veselovsky, Yu. Vizgunova and B. Merin, is to make an ideological impact on the workers' movement in Latin America, "integrate" it in the capitalist system, isolate it from the Communist parties, and undermine its alliance with progressive forces. other communism is trying to establish control over workers' organisations and depoliticise the trade-union movement by an ideological expansion of the American Federation of Labour-Congress of Industrial Organisations (AFL-CIO), which is out to plant a model of syndicalism that would help to achieve its strategic aim, i.e., the undermining of the progressive trade-union movement.

An important aspect of the work of the conference was an analysis of the struggle waged by the Communist parties of Latin America against anti-communist ideology (V. Davy-K. Obyden). dov. Taking due account of Latin America's widespread bourgeois-reformist, opportunistic and anti-communist theories, the Communists make every effort to thoroughly analyse, from Marxist positions, the problems of Latin American revolution. At the same time, while waging a relentless struggle against anti-communism, the Communists adopt a differentiated approach to non-Marxist political trends, and take note of the differences between the anti-communist and non-communist approaches to an analysis of the cardinal problems of Latin American realities.

Special attention was paid to the denunciation of the anti-communist campaigns masterminded by US imperialism and spearheaded against Cuba, Nicaragua and the revolutionary process in Central America. It was stressed that the broad range of anti-communist theories is specially characterised by concepts, which deny the applicability, under those conditions existing in Cuba, of the general laws of the building of socialism, laws which were elaborated by Marxism-Leninism and creatively

implemented by the Communist Party of Cuba in the specific conditions of that country (L. Poskonina). Many Western authors have a tendency to slanderously interpret Soviet-Cuban ties as a sort of Cuban "dependence" on the USSR, and attack the internationalist foreign policy of Cuba.

The conference also condemned the subversive ideological war of the United States against Nicaragua, designed to distort the essence of democratic transformations and the genuine character of the revolution (I. Bulychev).

Participants in the conference pointed out that the proponents of anti-communism, ignoring the genuine reasons for the growth of the national liberation movement in Latin America, explain them by an "export of revolution", allegedly organised by the Soviet Union and carried out with the help of Cuba and Nicaragua. The inventors of these theories are trying to connect them with the traditional concepts of the US imperialists in regard to their southern neighbours, as embodied in the notorious Monroe doctrine. Officials in the Reagan Administration directly referred to that doctrine when trying to substantiate their aggressive policy in Central America (Yu. Babich, T. Manayenkov, S. Obolensky).

The conference also dwelt on the illegal nature of international actions of anti-communism (M. Lazarev) and revealed its ties with the policy of zionism in Latin America (I. Pakhomov). The papers on the subject traced the specific features of anti-communism as displayed by representatives of bourgeois nationalism of various trends, the most aggressive type of anti-communism being characteristic of right-wing thoritarian nationalism (Ya. Shemykin, V. Nikitin, E. Litavrina).

Participants in the conference analysed the impact of anticommunist ideology and propaganda on the mass consciousness of the various strata of society, and on such institutions as the church and the army.

US imperialism is striving to use the religious-factor to step up the activity of counter-revolutionary forces (V. Andronova, T. Evgenyeva). In Nicaragua, despite the active participation of the humbler classes of believers and a section of the priesthood in the building of a new life, the episcopacy has sided with counter-revolution. The church reactionaries are striving to destabilise the revolutionary process, by means of waging an open struggle against the so-called popular church, which supports the Sandinista Government. At the same time, ideological differentiation is growing among the religious circles. Rank-and-file believers are increasingly deviating from the institutionalised church, are beginning to adhere to the "theology of liberation" and to side with the progressive forces.

In analysing the mechanism of the impact of anti-communist ideology on the army, the ideological and political essence of the "national security" doctrine was examined (S. Baburkin). Its characteristic feature is anti-communism in its most extreme form, and its initial premise—the thesis about the present confrontation between the "Christian West" and "international communism". The doctrine is interpreted and applied from geopolitical positions and in the pro-American, anti-Soviet spirit. It was emphasised in the course of the conference that while resolutely denouncing reactionary military-political concepts, the progressive forces also see as their task the elaboration of a patriotic doctrine of "national security" on the basis of the creative application of the Marxist-Leninist theory about the army.

The strategy of the bourgeois mass media in Latin American countries, which aims at creating and. anti-Soviet communist stereotypes, was examined (T. Vladimirskaya, V. Khalina, V. Sbruyev). The Latin American branches of information and propaganda transnational corporations stationed in industrialised capitalist countries are manipulating with ideological models in order to indoctrinate mass audiences, trying, at the same time, to keep social consciousness within the bounds of a bourgeois world outlook. In an attempt to influence the spiritual world of Latin Americans and mould public opinion in the continent, the anti-communist propaganda machine would like to oust Latin American cultural and intellectual values and replace them with samples of US "mass culture", establish the "superiority" of bourgeois culture and eradicate anti-imperialist and patriotic sentiments.

The conference also discussed the problems of the anti-imperialist struggle fought in Latin America (Yu. Korolev), the critique of non-Marxist historiography of Soviet-Latin American relations (A. Sizonenko). the revolutionary movement in Guatemala (V. Grishin, A. Kubyshkin), and the political development of Argentina (A. Gorbunov), as well as the concepts of "original national development" and "national (T. Goncharova) socialism" (V. Titov).

Participants in the conference stressed that in order to make the ideological struggle against anticommunism more efficient, the progressive circles of Latin America are combining their wellsubstantiated criticism of its concepts, which falsify the experience of real socialism and its peaceloving foreign policy and belittle the role of the working class and Communist parties in the revolutionary processes on the continent, with a comprehensive Marxist-Leninist analysis of such

key problems as the struggle for peace, against imperialism, the role of the Latin American peoples in the world revolutionary process, and the problems of the struggle for democracy in the countries of the continent.

L. Poskonina

TYPES OF LANGUAGE COMMUNITIES AND METHODS OF THEIR STUDY

The 3rd All-Union Conference on theoretical problems of linguistics— "Types of Language Communities and Methods of Their Study"sponsored by the Scientific Council "Theory of Soviet Linguistics" and the Institute of Linguistics of the USSR Academy of Sciences, was held in Moscow in November 1984. It was attended by linguists from institutes of the USSR Academy of Sciences and Soviet higher educational estab-The conference was lishments. opened by the Chairman of the Scientific Council, V. Yartseva, a Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences. The conference discussed a wide range of problems, among them: the determination of the characteristics of language communities; forms of their existence • and functioning; analysis of the principles methods of the study of language communities and the criteria for singling them out, taking due account of the numerous aspects of the concept "language community"; and the assessment of a comprehensive approach to the study of language communities. The accumulation of a wealth of factual material in describing different languages enables linguistic science to single out the most characteristic types of language communities, to ascertain the forms of their existence and the expediency of the use of different linguistic methods in their study.

Five papers were heard at the plenary session.

N. Tolstoi's paper "Language— Culture — Ethnos — Territory" (which forms the basis of an article published in this issue of our journal) assessed the position of linguistics in interpreting those concepts common to the study of culture (culturology), ethnography. thropology and geography and examined their common problems (isomorphism, multi-stage character, hierarchical connection and dependence) and the possibility of working out some uniform methodology of typological and historicoareal, genetic investigations of language. culture and ethnos.

L. Gertsenberg and V. Neroznak's paper—"Types of Language Communities. Problems of Theory"—was devoted to the questions of the characteristics of historico-linguistic types of languages and the expediency of elaborating a uniform type of language community. The authors pointed to the lack of theoretical comprehension of the concept of a language community in linguistics, as well as to the absence of isomorphism between ethnic and language communities. The singling out of genetic, typological and areal communities is a natural step in the classification of the world's lan-

It was pointed out in Yu. Marchuk's paper—"Overcoming Lan-

guage Barriers Under the Conditions of Language Communities of Modern Society"—that no artificial language can become a real means of overcoming language barriers; apparently, there can be no posibility of any natural language becoming a universal language of worldwide contact. The worldwide spreading of the means of written communication, the development of telecommunication, the penetration of audiovisual systems into everyday life, the internationalisation of political, economic and cultural life and the growing number of publications in rare languages make translations from one language into another the most efficient method of overcoming language barriers.

The paper presented by Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences A. Melnichuk, "Questions of Reconstruction of Lexical Composition of Parent Languages", singles out three types of language communities in diachronic the retrospective, on basis chronological and genetic criteria: a separate language with its dialects, a group of cognate languages and a parent language. Lexical reconstruction makes up the largest volume of reconstruction material among other reconstruction levels of a parent language.

N. Gajiyeva's paper, "The Correlation of Methods of Comparative-Historical and Real Investigations", noted that areal linguistics, from its very inception, had a diachronic trend and was closely connected with a detailed study of dialectal data. Areal linguistics enlarges the possibilities of contrastive linguistics and makes possible the disclosure of relics of ancient forms and an understanding of the causes of language changes.

The work of the conference was then conducted in panels, where about 100 papers were heard.

The panel "Methods of Comparative-Historical Investigations" discussed questions related to the use of contrastive linguistics methods in genetic constructions and examined problems of parent language communities in the light of the data of comparative-historical linguistics and typology, primarily historical typology. G. Klimov in his paper "On Parent Language Reality" compared the existing concepts of comprehending the state of language. The problems of verification of comparativehistorical reconstructions and criteria of such verification were analysed in the papers read by V. Martynov and G. Klychkov. Along with the data on Indo-European languages traditionally used in contrastive linguistics, various methods of nearer and farther reconstruction based on materials of other language families (Turkic and Afrasian) were revealed at the conference. The problem of the reconstruction of the Turkic parent language state at different levels, and the possibilities of its modelling on the example of the recreation of the ways of the formation of verbalities were expounded in D. Nasilov's paper. The paper presented by T. Pakhalina which dealt with the correlation of the retrospective and prospective methods in contrastive linguistics and the possibilities of using materials from unwritten languages and languages which have recently acquired a written form evoked considerable interest. The problems of using contrastive linguistics methods in solving problems of onomastics were examined in the paper delivered by N. Podolskaya and A. Superanskaya. The principles used in compiling comparativehistorical grammar in works of Russian contrastive linguists of the late 19th-early 20th centuries were discussed by O. Polyakov. A draft of a

description of parent languages of various types in the "Languages of the World" Encyclopaedia was also discussed.

The panel "Methods of Typological Research" analysed the possibilities of classification in typology. The papers presented to the panel's meetings reflected the search for new approaches to the various structural characteristics of languages aimed at using a more versatile typology of language material; in addition, new tasks of typological research were formulated. V. Khrapresented a classification of semantic types of a multitude of situations on the basis of a combination of the semantic characteristics chosen by him. The considerable opportunities for using particular structural classifications in describing languages of various types were demonstrated by T. Nikolayeva and A. Ogloblin with the aid of Slavonic and Malay-Javan materials. Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences V. Yartseva formulated the topical task of studying the typological characteristics of the Pidgin and Creole languages, and defined a whole programme for their study aimed at revealing their universal features. The problem of a whole-system language type was touched on in the papers presented V. Ivanov and V. Plotkin. V. Ivanov made an attempt to comprehend possessivity as a criterion of the singling out of a special language type. V. Plotkin analysed the role of the factors of the deep case structure and the thema-rhematic division, in a comprehension of the concept of an integral language type.

At the meetings of the panel "Methods of Dialectology and Areal Linguistics" important methodological problems were discussed connected with the concepts of "dialectology", "linguistic geography", "ar-

eal studies" and "areal linguistics" (M. Borodina, R. Udler). Much attention was paid to the principles of cartography, intermediate objects of cartography and the principles of the creation of micro- and macroatlases. The multiple and hierarchical character inherent in the dialectal and language division of the territory of a definite linguistic area, and the character of isoglossic phenomena were discussed in the papers presented bv S. Bromley A. Feoktistov. The latter's paper also established the nomenclature of the units of the dialectal division of a language.

The question of language contacts, important for areal studies, was raised in V. Solntsev's paper. He noted that under conditions characterised by intensive language interference and the acquisition of a considerable number of innovations at different levels of contacting languages it is possible that common typological features will appear, and that there may even be a typological evening of languages, that is, the typological drawing closer, right up to a complete similarity of language systems as a whole. The papers G. Tsykhun delivered by E. Tenishev were devoted to the problems of the theory of language unions. The latter's paper described the factors contributing to the creation of the Central Asian language union which is based on the convergence of neighbouring languages. which, in turn, gives rise to language interference. The diachronic aspect of areal linguistics was discussed in the papers presented by D. Edelman and Yu. Otkupshchikov.

The panel "Methods of Contrastive Linguistics" discussed the methods and principles used in a contrastive analysis of languages, the problems of choosing a basic language of description and a standard language. Universal laws manifested in a contrastive analysis of languages were examined in V. Gak's paper. The terms and concepts related to the thema-rhematic analysis of a sentence and its role in the contrastive study of languages at the level of discussed realisation were N. Slyusareva's paper. A discussion was launched on the question of the correlation of contrastive linguistics and comparative typology, and the principles of the contrastive study of languages at various levels of structure (I. Ulukhanov) were thoroughly analysed: the system of functionalsemantic fields as one of the foundations of contrastive research into the sphere of functional grammar was (A. Bondarko); considered A. Bragina touched on the question of the Russian language being a basis of contrastive analysis with orientation to spatial, time, and social parameters. The unbreakable unity of the contrastive and typological approaches in linguistics was also reaffirmed.

At the meetings of the panel "Methods of Applied Linguistics and Psycholinguistics" the questions relating to the singling out of language communities by objective criteria and

to the definition of the characterislanguage of collective (A. Leontyev) were discussed. The panel also examined an approach to the study of "language consciousness" and the "picture of the world" formed by the native speaker, a member of a language collective (E. Tarasov, Yu. Sorokin, N. Ufimtseva), as well as the specific features of the communicative behaviour of members of a language collective and communication levels (including questions of teaching foreign languages). Among other questions discussed were: the problems of the functioning of natural and artificial languages in the real communications of professional communities; the correlations between theoretical. experimental and applied investigations, the object and method in solving concrete tasks of informatics: the methods and choice of trends in research into the processing of text and speech; the construction of complex linguistic bases of data.

Scientists from Hungary (L.Dezsö and T. Kiefer) and the German Democratic Republic (R. Eckert) also took part in the work of the conference.

N. Fedoseyeva

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF SCIENTISTS FROM SOCIALIST COUNTRIES

In November 1984, an international conference of scientists from socialist countries sponsored by the Scientific Council for the Study of Problems of Peace and Disarmament was held in Moscow. It was convened in order to exchange views on the specific features of the present stage of development of international relations and the tasks facing scientists in the struggle for peace and disarmament. The conference's aim was also to discuss ways of further deepening

the cooperation between scientists and scholars of socialist countries in studying the problems of peace and disarmament and increasing their contribution to the prevention of a thermonuclear war.

The conference was attended by the Vice-Presidents of the academies of Sciences of Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic, Hungary, the Korean People's Democratic Republic, Mongolia, the USSR and Vietnam, as well as noted scientists and scholars from Laos, Poland and Rumania, and heads of scientific councils, committees, commissions and centres studying the problems of peace in the majority of the socialist countries.

The conference was opened by Academician Fedoseyev, Vice-President of the USSR Academy of Sciences and Chairman of the Scientific Council for the Study of Problems of Peace and Disarmament. He delivered a paper "The Present-Day Anti-War Movement and Its Development Prospects" (the main theses of the paper are published in this issue of our journal).

The paper "Sources of the Military Threat and the Struggle for Peace" was read by A. Yakovlev, Director of the Institute of the World Economy and International Relations of the USSR Academy of Sciences, and Deputy Chairman of the Scientific Council on Peace and Disarmament. He emphasised that the profound objective changes in the position of the USA in the present-day world and its declining role had caused the American ruling circles to step up their attempts to return to the positions they used to occupy in the world economy and politics, had resulted in an intensification of the aggressiveness of their imperialist strategy in all spheres of world development.

This strategy is being implemented by those right-wing conservative groupings that have come to power, groupings openly oriented towards militarism and chauvinism, to the use of force as a political means and to the revival of the USA's messianic role. Such a course, the speaker noted, is fraught with long-term consequences not only for American imperialism, but for imperialism as a whole; and as a process it is characteristic of the

present stage of the general crisis of capitalism.

Yakovlev qualified the striving of the US imperialists to regain military superiority, to violate the existing parity, including qualitative parity in the arms race, and to gain the opportunity of dealing a "first strike" at the USSR, as a source of military threat in the modern world. The most reactionary forces are seeking to more effectively use the quantitative and qualitative shifts in the system of the deployment of their military forces outside the borders of the USA for fighting socialism and the national liberation movement and for fanning regional and local conflicts. For this purpose they are intensifying the "psychological war" against the main forces of the world revolutionary process.

The speaker singled out the factors capable of deterring the development of militaristic tendencies in the USA and stressed the fact that the world was not fatally doomed to confrontation. "A new round of detente will sooner or later replace confrontation," Yakovlev said. In conclusion, he pointed to the great possibilities, that the socialist countries' scientists had, of making a weighty contribution to the struggle for peace and detente.

Noted Soviet and foreign scientists, specialising in social and natural sciences, also took part in the discussion of the papers submitted to the conference.

The conference was addressed by the scholars: the Vice-President of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences and Chairman of the Council on Problems of Peace, International Security and Disarmament of the Presidium of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, Academician P. Zarev; the Vice-President of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences Academician Z. P. Pach; the Deputy Chairman of

the Committee of Social Sciences of Vietnam, Deputy Chairman of the Peace Committee of Vietnam, Phan Duy Thong; the Vice-President of the Academy of Sciences of the GDR Academician W. Kalweit; the Chairman of the GDR Committee on Scientific Problems of Ensuring Peace and Security Academician H. Klare: the Vice-President of the Academy of Sciences of the Korean People's Democratic Republic Han Hi Ho: member of the Committee on the Study of Marxism-Leninism at the Central Committee of the People's Revolutionary Party of Laos, the writer Suvanthon Buhanuvong; the Vice-President of the Mongolian Academy of Sciences Academician S. Nazagdorzh; the Chairman of the Committee for Peace Studies of the Polish Academy of Sciences. Chairman of the Committee on Space Research, Corresponding Member of the Polish Academy of Sciences J. Rychlewski; the Chairman of the International Council of the Pugwash Movement, Chairman of the Polish Pugwash Committee, Director of the Institute of Biocybernetics and Biomedical Technology of the Polish Academy of Sciences Academician M. Nalecz; the Head of the Chair of International Political Relations of the Ştefan Gheorghiu Academy under the Central Committee of the Rumanian Communist Party Profes-M. Nicolaescu: the President of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences, Chairman of the Commission of the Presidium of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences on Coordination of Peace and Disarmament Research Academician Z. Snítil.

Scientists from socialist countries evaluated the present international situation and spoke about their countries' contribution to the scientific elaboration of the problems of peace and disarmament and the

struggle for peace.

The President of the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences Academician N. Blokhin, the Deputy Director of the Computing Centre of the USSR Academy of Sciences, Corresponding Member of the Academy N. Moiseyev, and the Head of the Sector of Climate Modelling of the Computing Centre of the Academy V. Alexandrov, analysed in their speeches the medical. climatic. biological and other consequences of nuclear war. They emphasised that such a war would lead to the destruction of modern civilisation and the annihilation of mankind.

Academician J. Gvishiani, Deputy Chairman of the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology, examined in his speech the interconnections between global problems and the problems of peace. He said that the arms race and the preparations for thermonuclear war being made by the imperialists hinder solution of the most crucial global problems.

Academician E. Primakov, Director of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the USSR Academy of Sciences, pointed to the fact that the arms race complicates the solution of economic, social and political problems facing the developing countries and prevents the strengthening of their sovereignty.

Despite the growing need to solve the global problems facing mankind, and the most crucial of them—that of the preservation of peace and prevention of a thermonuclear catastrophe—the arms race goes on, and the leading Western powers are continuing their effort to settle pressing international issues by means of use or threat of force or by means of open economic and political pressure and diktat. R. Bogdanov, Deputy Director of the Institute of the US and Canadian Studies of the USSR Academy of Sciences, described the specific features of the situation in the sphere of negotiations on arms limitation and disarmament. He mentioned the major political initiatives of the USSR and the other socialist states aimed at a return to detente and improved relations based on peaceful coexistence, and emphasised the crucial importance of concerted actions by the fraternal countries and peoples in the international arena.

Speaking about the tasks of scientists in the struggle for the preservation of peace and prevention of nuclear catastrophe, Academician M. Markov, Chairman of the Soviet Pugwash Committee, said that scientists could help the peoples realise the terrible danger looming over the world and organise a powerful popular movement which would give rise to that political will to solve the disarmament problem, which some Western statesmen were still lacking. The Deputy Chairman of the Scientific Council for the Study of Problems of Peace and Disarmament. department head of the Institute of the World Economy and Internaof tional Relations the USSR of Sciences Professor Academy G. Morozov, spoke about the activities of Soviet scientists in the elaboration of the problems of peace and disarmament and the role of the Scientific Council in this sphere.

CHRONICLE

* Presidium of the USSR Academy of Sciences awarded the Lomonosov Gold Medals for 1984 to Academician N. Bogolyubov for his outstanding achievements in mathematics and theoretical physics and to Prof. R. Mössbauer (FRG), foreign

The review covers the events of November 1984-January 1985.

The Vice-President of the Ukraiof Academy Sciences I. Lukinov, the Vice-President of the Georgian Academy of G. Jibladze, and the Academic Secretary of the Department of the Social Sciences of the Latvian Academy of Sciences. V. Šteinbergs, informed the conference about the work of scientists in their republics on the problems of peace and disarmament and their participation in the activities of public organisations of peace champions.

Academician Fedoseyev made the closing speech at the conference.

The participants in the conference unanimously adopted an "Appeal to the Scientists of the World".

The conference also discussed practical questions of multilateral cooperation of scientists in the socialist countries in elaborating the problems of peace and disarmament. The participants in the conference spoke in favour of broad participation in the celebrations of the 40th anniversary of the Victory over German fascism and Japanese militarism and exchanged information about the holding of International Peace Year.

They approved the idea of arranging regular meetings between those scientists from the socialist countries who were working on the problems of peace and disarmament.

L. Voronkov

member of the USSR AS, for his outstanding contribution to physics. The Lomonosov Gold Medal, the Academy's highest award, is granted annually to a Soviet and a foreign scientist for outstanding achievements in the natural sciences.

Academician N. Bogolyubov, twice Hero of Socialist Labour, Lenin and State Prize winner, is universally acknowledged for his pioneering fundamentally new scientific trends in mathematics, mechanics and physics. He is Member of the USSR AS Presidium, Academician-Secretary of the Division of Mathematics of the USSR AS, Director of the Steklov Institute of Mathematics of the USSR AS and Director of the Joint Nuclear Research Institute. He has been elected to many foreign academies and received honorary doctorates from the world's leading universities.

Nobel Prize winner Prof. R. Mössbauer is reputed worldwide for his fundamental research in experimental natural science. In 1958 he discovered the recoiless resonance absorption of gamma quanta by nuclei bound in crystals, later to be known as the Mössbauer effect, one of the greatest discoveries of our time. Prof. Mössbauer is Director of the E-15 Institute of Munich Technological University, member of many science academies, international organisations and societies, and Doctor honoris causa of a number of universities. In 1982 he was elected foreign member of the USSR AS.

* Dresden was the venue of the international conference "Main Problems of the Pre-Capitalist Social Development" (on the occasion of the centenary of Engels' "The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State"). It was sponsored by the GDR AS and its Central Institute of Ancient History and Archaeology together with the Scientific Council on Archaeology and Ancient History. The conference brought together scholars from 15 countries, including Cuba, Czechoslovakia, the GDR, Poland and the USSR. The Soviet participants spoke on: "Marx on the Asian Mode of Production and the Problem of the Genesis of State" (L. Vasilyev), "Problem of Military Democracy" (A. Pershits), "Economic and Social Prerequisites of the Emergence of Peasantry in the Light of Engels' Theoretical Legacy" (Yu. Krasnov), "The City and the Countryside in Russia in the 9th-13th Centuries" (N. Tolochko).

* Scholars from Austria, Czechoslovakia, the FRG, the GDR, Hungary, the Netherlands, Poland and the USSR arrived in Bautzen (GDR) to attend the international scientific conference "Smaller Towns in the Middle Ages and at the Beginning of the New Time". It was sponsored by the GDR Society of Historians (President Academician H. Scheel), the Working Society on the History of the Hanseatic League (Chairman E. Müller-Mertens), and the Specialised Commission on the Study of Urban History (Chairman-E. Uitz). A total of 18 papers were heard. The key reports "Essential Features and Functions of the Smaller Towns in the Middle Ages" and "The European Smaller Town as a Problem of the Comparative-Historical Study of Towns" were delivered by K. Fritze (GDR) A. Yastrebitskaya and (USSR), respectively. R. Pullat, a Soviet historian specialising in urban history, reported on the "Narva Population in the 18th Century".

* "The Centennial of the Berlin Conference" seminar was held in Havana. Sponsored by the Cuban Centre of African and Middle East Studies, it was attended by scholars from Cuba, the GDR, Hungary, Mexico, the USSR and a number of African countries. The African National Congress (ANC) and the South West People's Organisation Africa (SWAPO) sent their representatives. The seminar heard and discussed roughly 30 reports dealing with the consequences of the imperialist division of Africa. Soviet researcher A. Letnev from the Institute of Africa of the USSR AS spoke on "Africa a Century After the Berlin Conference".

* In October 1984, Rostock hosted a scientific colloquium on "Migration, Foreign Worker Employment and the Working-Class Movement in the 20th Century". It attracted scholars from Czechoslovakia, the FRG, the GDR. Japan, Poland, Sweden, West Berlin, Yugoslavia. the USSR and M. Semiryaga, sector head at the Institute of the International Working-Class Movement of the USSR AS, spoke on "'Eastern Workers' in Hitler Germany. Their Status and the Anti-Fascist Struggle". Another Soviet participant, A. Ovsyuk from the Institute of State and Law of the Ukrainian AS spoke on "Industrialised Capitalist Countries' Violations of International Legal Norms Regarding Migrant Workers".

* Halle (GDR) welcomed an international conference on "Crisis—Crisis Consciousness—Overcoming Crises (Ideology and the Spiritual Culture of the Roman Empire in the 3rd Century)". It brought together scholars Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, from France, the FRG, the GDR, Great Britain, Hungary, Poland, Rumania and the USSR. Soviet researchers delivered the following reports: "Religious Trends During the 3rd-Century Crisis" (E. Shtaerman) and "Crisis of the 3rd Century and Formation of the Senatorial Social Constantinople" Stratum in (A. Chekalova).

* The first meeting of the bilateral Commission of Historians of the USSR and the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan (DRA) took place in Moscow. From the Soviet side it was attended by Yu. Gankovsky, department head at the Institute of Oriental Studies of the USSR AS and

Soviet co-chairman of the Commis-V. Korgun, B. Litvinsky. sion. D. Saidmuradov B. Livshits. L. Teplinsky; from the Afghan side—by A. M. Zahma, Counsellor of the DRA AS and Afghan cochairman of the Commission. A. L. Jalali, Director of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the DRA AS, Mir Hussain Shah, Ghulam Sarwar Humayn and A. W. Karar. The meeting was attended by Suleiman Lack, President of the DRA AS, A. S. Ghafari, Chief Academic Secretary of the DRA AS, and G. Girs, department head at the Institute of Oriental Studies of the USSR AS. The meeting discussed future cooperation between Soviet and Afghan historians and coordination of its forms: bilateral symposiums, conferences and joint research, publications and scholar exchange.

* A Soviet-Afghan scientific conference dedicated to the 20th anniversary of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA) followed the Commismeeting. Academician E. Primakov, Director of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the USSR AS opened it and the guest participants delivered the following reports: "The PDPA Policy in Science and Culture" (A. S. Ghafari), "Progressive Movements in Afghanistan in the First Third of the 20th Centuiy and Their Influence on the National Liberation Struggle of the Peoples of British India" (Mir Hussain Shah), "Development of the Working-Class Movement in Afghanistan and the Leading Role of the PDPA" (A. W. Karar), and "The PDPA as the Leading and Guiding Force of the Afghan People" (Habib Mangal, DRA Ambassador to the USSR). Soviet reports dwelt on "The Cultural Revolution in the DRA and Specific Features of Its Realisation

Under PDPA Guidance" (G. Girs), "Formation of the PDPA as a Turning Point in Afghanistan's Political Development" (V. Korgun), "The Land and Water Reform—a Crucial Point of the PDPA Programme in the National-Democratic Revolution" (A. Davydov), "Tactics of the Af-Revolutionary-Democratic • Under M. Daoud" Forces (V. Basov), "The PDPA Struggle for Securing Favourable Foreign Political Conditions for the Development Revolution" April the (M. Arunova).

* A Soviet public gathering in Moscow marked the 95th birth anniversary of Jawaharlal Nehru. The meeting was G. Kotovsky, opened by President of the Soviet-Indian Friendship Society, department head at the Institute of Oriental Studies of the USSR AS. A. Lipman, researcher at the same institute, spoke on the life and activity of Jawaharlal Nehru. V. P. Singh spoke on behalf of the Indian Embassy in the USSR.

* The of Institute Marxism-Leninism under the CC CPSU. the Institute of Oriental Studies of the USSR AS, and the Union of Soviet Friendship Societies sponsored a meeting in Moscow in honour of the 125th birth anniversary of Sen Katayama, a prominent figure in Japanese and international working-class and communist movement. Academician A. Egorov, Director of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism, G. Shirokov, Deputy Director of the Institute of Oriental Studies, and Yasu Katayama, Sen Katayama's daughter were among the speakers.

* Academician S. Tikhvinsky chaired a meeting in Moscow of the National Committee of Historians of the Soviet Union commemorating the 40th anniversary of Albania's liberation from

fascist occupation and the victory of the people's revolution. Those present heard the following reports: "The Albanian People's Contribution to the Anti-Fascist Struggle in the Balkans" (N. Smirnova), "Soviet-Albanian Cooperation in the First Postwar Years" (S. Kuleshov), and "Albanian Foreign and Domestic Policy Today" (G. Mitkovich).

* Linowsee (near Berlin) played host to an international symposium "Economic Growth and Social Politics" which attracted scholars from Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, the FRG, the GDR and the USSR. The key report "On the Interconnection Between Economic Growth and Social Advance" was delivered by G. Winkler, Director of the Institute of Sociology and Social Policy of the GDR AS. The Soviet participants who represented the Institute of Economy of the World Socialist System of the USSR AS spoke on the following subjects: "The Role of Social Politics in Ensuring Greater Efficiency of the Socialist Society's Labour Potential" (L. Degtyar) and "Economic Growth and Social Problems of Environmental Protection in the CMEA Countries" (V. Gzovsky).

* An international symposium "The General and the Specific of Capitalist Development in Asia" took place in Berlin. Sponsored by the Section of Asian Studies at Berlin's Humboldt University, it was attended specialists from Afghanistan, the GDR, Hungary, and the USSR. The opening papers were delivered by Professors H. Grienig and K.-H. Domdey. Soviet researchers made the following reports: "Evolution of the Traditional Structures in the Turkish Republic's Economy" "Developing (P. Moiseyev) and Countries of Asia: Food Problem Under Capitalist Development" (V. Rastyannikov).

* In October 1984 Moscow hosted a Soviet-Vietnamese scientific symposium on "Economic Problems of Transition to Socialism" at the Institute of the Economy of the World Socialist System of the USSR AS. It was sponsored by the USSR AS and the Vietnamese Social Sciences Committee. Academician O. Bogomolov, Director of the Insittute, and Vu Khieu, Deputy Chairman of the Committee opened the ceremonies. The symposium discussed problems of the theory and practice of socialist construction in the economically less developed countries, problems of economic strategy and tactics, the specific features of socialist industrialisation and socialisation of production under socialism, problems of shaping the economic mechanism and the role of the external factor in creating the material and technical basis for socialism in these countries. In all, 27 papers were discussed, including those presented by the Soviet side: "Theoretical Problems of the Transition to Socialism of the Economically Less Developed Countries" (A. Butenko), "Problems of Regulating Commodity-Money Relations Under the New Economic Policy" (V. Dmitrenko), "The USSR's Agrarian Problems in the 1920s" (N. Figurovskaya), "On Problems of Developing an Efficient National Economic Structure in the Less Developed Socialist Countries" (O. Latsis), "Participation of the Less Developed Socialist Countries in the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance" (M. Trigubenko), "Agricultural Development of the Economically Less Developed Countries at the Initial Stage of Socialist Construction and Certain Theoretical Agriculture" Problems in The Vietnamese (G. Shmelev).

guests presented the following reports: "Establishment of the Collective Economy Regime and Overcoming Consequences of Small-Scale Production in the Process of Socialist Socialisation" (Vu Khieu), "Vietnamese Experience of the Transition to Socialism By-Passing Capitalism" (Pham Nhu Cuong), "The City of Ho Chi Minh in the Process of Socialist Transformation at the Initial Stage of the Transition to Socialism: Achievements and Experience" (Pham Van Khai), "Certain Problems of the Formation of the Economic Management Mechanism at the Initial Stage of the Transition to Socialism in Vietnam" (Dao Xuan Sam), "Economic Strategy of the Less Developed Countries in the Period of Transition to Socialism" (Le Vinh), "The International Situation and and Prerequisites for Building Socialism in the Economically Less Developed Countries" (Luu Van Dat).

* An All-Union scientific conference "Intensification and Efficiency of Socialist Production: Patterns and Management" was held in Moscow by the Institute of Economics of the USSR AS and the Scientific Council of the USSR AS on the Integrated Problem "Economic Regularities of Socialist Development and Competition of the Two Systems". It brought together economists from all over the country to discuss the concept of intensification and efficiency under developed socialism elaborated by the Institute of Economics. It settled a number of vital theoretical questions and paved the way to theoretical substantiation and practical recommendations for controlling intensification and efficiency. E. Kapustin, Corresponding Member of the USSR AS, Director of the Institute, announced the opening, The plenary sessions heard and discussed 18 reports, including "Problems of Intensification and Efficiency in the Period of Transition to the Primarily Intensive Type of Reproduction" (G. Sorokin, Corresponding Member of the USSR AS), "Intensification and Efficiency in the System of Economic Categories of Socialism" - (Academician "Economico-Mathemyantsev), matical Methods in the Study of Intensification of Social Production" (Academician N. Fedorenko), "Efficiency of Social Production" (Academician T. Khachaturov), "Intensification and the Balanced Strucof Social Production" ture (V. Kirichenko), "Intensification and Its Role in Raising Efficiency of Socialist Reproduction" (A. Baranova), "Specific Features of Intensification Based on the Scientific and Technological Achievements" (V. Le-"The Role of the All-Union Bank of Capital Investment in Increasing the Efficiency of the Investment Processes" (M. Zotov), "Regional Problems of Intensification and Greater Efficiency in the National Economy" (V. Mozhin), "The Territorial-Branch Aspect of Efficient Reproduction Management" (Academician T. Ashimbayev of the Kazakh AS), "Present-Day Problems of Intensification and Efficiency Under Capitalism" (V. Martynov). The conference then proceeded in panels: "Regularities of the Intensified Development of the Socialist Economy and Increasing Efficiency at the Present Stage", "Problems of Accelerating Scientific and Technical Progress and Increasing Its Efficiency", "Improved Methodology of Planning and Controlling Socio-Economic Efficiency and Intensification in the 12th Five-Year Plan Period" and "Perfection of the Management Mechanism and Accelerating the Shift to Intensive Development". A total of 112 papers were heard and discussed in panel meetings.

* Berlin was the venue of an international symposium "Major Problems of the Struggle Against Imperialism, For Peace and Social Progress in the Developing Countries". Sponsored by the Institute of the International Working-Class Movement at the Academy of Social Sciences under the CC SUPG, it was attended by social scientists from Bulgaria, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, the GDR, Hungary, Poland, Vietnam and the USSR. Soviet scholars submitted the following reports: "The Role of the Popular Masses in the Struggle for Peace and Social Progress in the Developing Countries" (B. Koval), "The Revolutionary and National Democracy of the Afro-Asian Countries at the Present Stage" (S. Agayev), "Major Changes in the Working Class and Socio-Class Structure in the Newly Free Asian States" (V. Gelbras), "The Role of Democratic Coalitions and Alliances in the Struggle Against Dictatorial Regimes, for Social Progress in the Latin American Countries" (E. Ierusalimskaya), "Decolonisation of Oceania and the Problem of Establishing a Nuclear-Free Zone in the Southern Pacific" (V. Nikolaev), "Certain Questions of Working-Class Conditions in the Developing Countries" (M. Ananyin), "Methodological Problems in the Study of the Newly Free African Countries" (I. Andreyev), "The National and the International Correlation in the Revolutionary Process in the Newly Free Countries" (Yu. Gavrilov).

* Leipzig hosted an international conference on "Forms of Transition to Socialism in Asian and African Countries at the Present Epoch: Driving and Leading Forces in the Revolutionary Process". It was sponsored by the

Interdisciplinary Centre for the Study of the Revolutionary Process of Karl Marx University in Leipzig, the GDR Central Council on Asia. Africa and Latin America Studies. The conference drew scholars from Czechoslovakia, the GDR, Sweden and the USSR, and also staffmembers of the World Marxist Review journal. The Soviet participants made the reports: "Topical Problems Socialist Orientation (G. Starushenko), "New Elements in the Concepts of Socio-Economic De-Socialistvelopment in African Oriented Countries" (V. Pavlova) and "Socialist-Oriented Countries: Problems of the Present Development Stage" (A. Kiva).

* Twenty countries sent their representatives to Cairo for a regional symposium of the Pan African Pugwash Group devoted to Africa's security in the light of the Namibian crisis. A. Vasilyev, Deputy Director of the Institute of Africa of the USSR AS, spoke on "Manoeuvres in Southern Africa as a Source of Instability and a Threat to Peace in the World". V. Kokorev. a researcher from the same institute, delivered a report "Frontline States and Regional Security in Southern Africa". The final document pointed out that the present international tension is fraught with grave consequences for Africa. It called on the nuclear powers to pledge not to use nuclear weapons against non-nuclear states, not having nuclear weapons stationed on their territories, not to extend military blocs to the African continent and to liquidate those bases already established there.

* The 11th Pugwash Workshop to curb the nuclear arms race was held in Geneva with representatives from 19 countries attending, among whom were Chinese, Polish and Soviet scholars. Academician M. Markov, Soviet Pugwash Committee Chairman, and V. Pavlichenko represented the USSR.

* The Pontifical Academy of Science hosted an international meeting in the Vatican City on "Weaponisation of Outer Space". Scientists arrived from Austria, Brazil, the FRG, France, Italy, Spain, the USA, the USSR and Vatican. The Soviet delegation included Academician R. Sagdeyev, Director of the Space Research Institute of the USSR AS, head of the delegation, Academician I. Gverdtsiteli of the Georgian AS, and A. Vasilyev and S. Kulik, researchers from the Institute of US and Canadian Studies of the USSR AS.

* The signing ceremony of the Göltingen Declaration on Preventing Space Arming by members of the Soviet Scientists' Peace Committee, Against the Nuclear Threat, was held in Moscow. Among the signatories were Academicians N. Bekhiereva. V. Goldansky, O. Reutov, ikhov. R. Sagdeyev, A. Fokin, Corresponding Members of the USSR AS G. Golitsyn, Yu. Kagan, K. Rebane, Academician I. Gverdtsiteli of the Georgian AS, and Academician N, Bykov of the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences. Soviet scientists have added their voices to the Göttingen Congress on the prevention of space militarisation.

* The 8th Conference of the World Future Studies Federation on the theme "The Futures of Peace—Cultural Perspectives" in San Jose (Costa Rica) was attended by scholars from 20-odd countries, including China, Hungary, Poland, Rumania, the USSR and Yugoslavia. F. Barahona, of the host country, delivered one of the key reports, "Education for Peace and the Future". I. Bestuzhev-Lada from

the USSR AS' Institute of Sociological Studies spoke on "Methodology of Historical Analogy in Social-Political Forecasting".

* The Institute of Sociology and Social Policy of the GDR AS together with the International Federation of Social Science Organisations (IFSSO) international symbosium held an "Sociology and Peace" in Linowsee under the aegis of the GDR Commission for UNESCO. It attracted sociologists from 13 countries, including Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, the GDR, Poland and the USSR. M. Dorogovtsev, of the Soviet Union, submitted two reports: "Deterrence Doctrines and the Culture of Political Thinking" and "Social Foundations of the Soviet Peace Policy".

* An international seminar "Data Analysis in the Social Sciences" sponsored by the Institute of Sociology and Sociological Policy of the GDR AS in Bad-Saaraw (near Berlin), gathered sociologists from Czechoslovakia, the GDR and the USSR. G. Tatarova from the Institute of Sociological Studies of the USSR AS spoke on "Problems of Application of Multivariant Analysis Methods for the Typological Research of Data Structures".

* A scientific-practical conference on promoting sociological research sponsored by the USSR AS, the Ukrainian AS, the Institute of Sociological Studies of the USSR AS, the Institute of Philosophy of the Ukrainian AS and the Soviet Sociological Association was welcomed in Kiev. The opening addresses were read by P. Fedoseyev, Vice-Academician President of the USSR AS, and A. Kapto, Secretary of the CC of the Communist Party of the Ukraine. The conference heard the following reports: "Topical Problems

Sociological Research in the Light of the Decisions of the June 1983 Plenary Meeting and the Subsequent of the CC CPSU" Meetings (V. Ivanov, Director of the Institute of Sociological Studies of the USSR AS), "Problems of Methodology and Practice of Studying Public Opinion" (G. Enukidze, Secretary of the CC of the Communist Party of Georgia), "On the Experience of Sociological Studies and Elaboration of the Project of Sociological Service in the Ukraine" (I. Lukinov, Vice-President of the Ukrainian AS), "Application of Sociological Findings in Party and Ideological Work" (J. Toshchenko, head of the chair of ideological work at the Academy of Social Sciences under the CC CPSU), and "Sociological Service of an Industrial Branch" (L. Kostin, Deputy Chairman of the State Labour and Wages Committee at the USSR Council of Ministers).

* The Soviet Jurists Association and the International Commission of Jurists organised an international meeting of legal experts in Moscow which was attended by jurists from Canada, Finland, the FRG, Great Britain, Ireland, Jordan, Kenya, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland, the USA, the USSR, and Zambia. The following themes came up for discussion: "Nuclear Weapons and International Law", "Human Rights: International Law and Domestic Legislation", "The Role of Jurists in Law Enforcement". The Soviet participants submitted the following reports: "The Nuclear Menace: Soviet Jurists on Ways of Averting It" (G. Tunkin, Corresponding Member of the USSR AS), "Illegality of First Use of Nuc-Weapons" (I. Blishchenko). lear "The Soviet Concept of Human Rights" (E. Lukashova), and "The Role of Soviet Jurists in Law Enforcement" (A. Filatov).

* The Scientific Council of the USSR AS "Law-Governed Development Patterns of the State, Administration and Law" and the Institute of State and Law of the USSR AS convened in Moscow an All-Union scientific-coordinating interdepartmental conference of legal experts and workers of law-enforcing agencies on the theme "Connections Between Legal Science and Practice". Academician P. Fedoseyev. Vice-President of the USSR AS, pronounced an opening address. The plenary session heard following reports: "Current Problems of Enhancing Legal Science's Role in Developing the State of the Whole People, the Law, and Connections with Practice" (V. Kudryavtsev, Corresponding Member of the USSR AS, Director of the Institute of State and Law of the USSR AS), "On Enhancing the Role of the Soviets of People's Deputies and Urgent Problems of Soviet Construction and (G. Menteshashvili, Secretary, Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet), "Current Problems of Strengthening Socialist Legal Practice" (A. Rekunkov, General Public Prosecutor of the USSR), "The Significance of Close Links Between Legal Science and Court Practices for the Further Strengthening of Socialist Legality" (E. Smolentsey, Deputy Chairman of the USSR Supreme Court), "On the Activity of the USSR Ministry of Justice in Perfecting Soviet Laws, Reinforcing Legality and the Public's Legal Knowledge" (B. Kravtsov, the USSR Minister of Justice), "Connected Activities of the Ministry of the Interior Bodies and Legal Science" (V. Fedorchuk, the USSR Minister of the Interior), "Problems of Strengthening Planned and Contracted Discipline in the Practice of State Arbitration and Its Connec-Science" Legal tions with (E. Anisimov, the USSR Chief State Arbiter). The conference then proceeded in panels: "Greater Role of Legal Science in the Development of the Socialist State of the Whole People, Law and Further Improvement in the Activity of the Soviets of People's Deputies", "Current Legal Problems of Economic Management and Perfecting Economic Mechanism", "Legal Science and Greater Efficiency of Law Enforcement Agencies in the Drive Against Offences".

* "Civil Law and Economy" was the theme of an all-Union scientific conference organised by the Scientific Council of the USSR AS "Law-Governed Development Patterns of the State, Administration and Law" and the Institute of State and Law of the USSR AS which took place in Zvenigorod, not far from Moscow. Some 150 scholars arrived from major study centres of Soviet civil law. They heard and discussed about 50 communications and the following reports: "The Role of Soviet Civil Legislation in Advancing the Socialist Economy at the Present (V. Mozolin, S. Alexevev. V. Yakovlev), "Embedding Democratic Principles of the Economic System Under Developed Socialism and Problems of Interaction of Economy and Law" (B. Rakitsky), "Perfecting Legal Regulation of the Economy" (T. Abova).

* The 225th birth anniversary of Friedrich Schiller was marked by an international scientific conference "Schiller in the World Revolutionary Movement" held in Jena (GDR). Convened by the Friedrich Schiller University in Jena and Weimar's National Centre for Research in German Classical Literature, it was attended by scholars from 14 countries, including Bulgaria, China, Hungary, the GDR, Poland, the USSR and

Yugoslavia. The Soviet delegates delivered the following reports: "The Significance of Schiller's Work Über naive und sentimentalische Dichtung for World Literary Progress (D. Zatonsky, Corresponding Member of the Ukrainian AS), "Schiller in Discussions on the Artistic Method" (A. Gulyga), and "Schiller on Russian Stage" (N. Pavlova).

* Smolenice (Czechoslovakia) hosted the 2nd International Conference "Cognitive Processes and the Individual" sponsored by the Institute of Experimental Psychology of the Slovak AS. Psychologists from Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, the GDR, Hungary, Poland, and the USSR occasion. arrived for the A. Kharitonov and A. Belyaeva from the Institute of Psychology of the USSR AS reported on "Cognitive Processes in Communication—the Problem of Comprehension".

* The Bulgarian-Soviet "Psychology and Practice" symposium in Sofia was opened by I. Kalaikov, Deputy Director of the United Centre for Philosophy and Sociology of the AS. Bulgarian Academician S. Ganovski (Bulgaria) presented the introductory speech "Psychology's Practical Significance". The Bulgarian side submitted 35 reports, including "Social and Psychological Practice" (G. Iolov), "The Unity of Theory and Practice in Psychology" (G. Piryov), "Adaptational Functions of Motivation" (A. Petkov), "On the Delimitation of the Cognitive and Regulating Functions of Psyche" (I. Kosev), "Psychological Problems of Professional Adaptation" (Z. Ivanova), "The **Psychological** Foundations of Intensifying Educational Activity" (D. Iordanov). "Specific Personality Features of the Workman in the Man-Machine System Under Automated Production"

(F. Genov). The Soviet side read the following papers: "The Socialist Way of Life and Human Psychology" (E. Shorokhova, Deputy Director of the Institute of Psychology of the USSR AS), "A Psychological Aspect of the Individual's Political Maturing" (S. Roshchin), "The Practical Aspect of the Self-Awareness Problem" "Socio-(I. Chesnokova), Psychological Investigation of Joint Work of Production Teams" (A. Zhuravlev) and "Psychological Assessment of Managerial Qualities" (E. Romanova).

* The Budapest international conference "The Role of Tradition in the Socialist Society" was conducted within the framework of multilateral cooperation of scientists from the socialist countries carried out by the International Committee for the Ethnographic Study of the Present Epoch. Savants from Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, the GDR, Hungary, Poland and the USSR were in attendence. The opening address was delivered by I. Kriza, Deputy Director of the Institute of Ethnography of the Hungarian AS. Twenty-odd papers were discussed, including "On the Role of Traditions in Con-Society" (A. Robek, temporary Czechoslovakia), "On the Cultural Traditions of the Contemporary Time" (M. Kasper, the GDR), "Approach to Folk Cultural Traditions. Theoretical and Practical Issues" (U. Mormann, the GDR), "The Role of Traditions in Economic Management Among the Cooperative Members of the Third Type" (P. Szabo, Hungary), "Some Results of the Study of Modern Folklore in Hungary" (I. Kriza, Hungary), "Tradition and Its Place in Contemporary Wedding Rites in Bulgaria" (D. Todorova, Bulgaria). L. Drobizheva, Deputy Director of the Institute of Ethnography of the USSR AS, spoke on "Ethnic Traditions in the Socio-Normative Culture and the Further Improvement of the Socialist Way of Life".

* The Institute of Ethnography and Folklore Studies of the Czechoslovak AS and the Local Lore Museum of Sumperk held in Sobotin an international conference "Ethnic Processes in the Border Region of Czechoslovakia After 1945: Society and Culture" which attracted scholars from Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, the GDR, Poland and the USSR. About 60 papers were heard. N. Gratsianskaya from the Institute of Ethnography of the USSR AS spoke on "Current Ethnic Processes Among the Czech Population of the South-Western Part of the USSR".

★ Helsinki was the meeting-place of the Finnish-Soviet interdisciplinary symposium on "Ethnocultural Ties of Finland with the Orient" sponsored by the Academy of Finland, the USSR AS and the Soviet-Finnish Commission on Scientific and Technical Cooperation. The hosts submitted following reports: "Ancient Greek and Latin Written Sources on the Silk Route" (T. Pekkanen), "Finnish Studies of the Great Silk Route" (P. Aalto), "The Central Asian Collection in the National Museum" (P. Variola), "Comparative Collections in the Archaeological Departof the Finnish **National** (L. Säyrinki-Harmo), "Cultural Contacts Between Finland and the Kama Region in the Early Iron Age (According to Ceramic Materials)" (A.-L. Hirviluoto), "The Origin of the Finnish Myth About the Creation of the World" (I. Pen-"Finnish Shaman Epic tikäinen), Poetry" (A.-L. Siikala), "Psychological Parallelisms in Folk Songs (of the Mongols—Bashkirs—and Maris). Comparative Typology" (L. Har-

vilahti), "Terminology of Siberian Shamanism" (J. Janhunen), man Costumes in Siberia" (B. Lönnqvist), "Problems of the Iron Age (According to Jewelry)" (L. Tomanterä), "Mari Jewelry as a Peripheral Phenomenon of the Central Asian Complex" (I. Lehtinen). Soviet researchers presented the following reports: "Ethnocultural Contacts" (Academician Yu. Bromley), "Early Chinese Sources on the Silk Route" (M. Kryukov), "The Saka of the Aral Region (Their Origin and Westward Connections)" (M. Itina), "Finns in Eastern Europe in the First Millennium B. C." (K. Smirnov), "The Genre Diversity of Shaman Folklore Siberia" (L. Kuzmina). Evolution of the Symbolics of the Shaman Tambourine" (V. Basilov), "Eastern Elements in the Burial Rites of North-Eastern Europe" "Some (E. Ryabinin), Komi-Samodian Ethnocultural Parallels" (A. Teryukov), "The Emergence of Reindeer-Herding in Eurasia" (S. Vainstein), and "Tradition and the Present Day in the Non-Material Culture of the Central Asian Peoples" (V. Kumanev).

* Brno (Czechoslovakia) was the scene of action for the international conference "Migration and Settlement in Socialist Countries" attended by sociologists from Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, the GDR, Hungary, Poland and the USSR. The following themes were discussed: "General Interconnections of the Migration Processes", "Geographical, Social and Territorial Aspects of Migration", "The Information System on Migration", "The Theories, Models and Forecasting of Migration", "Migration Policy in the Socialist Countries". The Soviet participants submitted the reports: "Sociological Method for Studying the Degree of Adaptability of Migrants" (T. Ivanova), "The Ways of

Raising Efficiency of Controlling Migration Processes" (K. Mamedov), "Methodological Foundations of Regulating Migration in Major Soviet Cities" (G. Romanenkova), "Geographical Peculiarities and Tendencies of Population Shaping in Newly Settled Regions of Siberia" (V. Chudnova).

* Addis Ababa played host to the 8th International Conference on Ethiopian Studies dedicated to the 25th anniversary of the 1st conference of Ethiopian specialists. It was sponsored by the International Organising Committee on Ethiopian Studies headed by its Chairman T. Tamrat, Director of the Institute of Ethiopian Studies at Addis Ababa University. Twenty-five countries sent representatives, including Czechoslovakia, the GDR, Hungary, the Korean People's Democratic Republic, Poland and the USSR. The Soviet delegates' reports concerned the following: "Soviet-Ethiopian Relations at the Present Stage" (An. Gromyko, Corresponding Member of the USSR AS, Director of the Institute of Africa of the USSR "Problems of the Socio-AS), Economic Development of Ethiopia: Shortcomings and Perspectives" (V. Vigand), "The Agrarian and Question in Ethiopia" Peasant (O. Dolgova), "Ethiopia on the Road of Socialist Orientation" (M. Rait and V. Yagya), "The Problem of the Formation of the Class of Peasantry in Ethiopia" (Yu. Kobishchanov), "Who Recorded the Emperor Sharsa-Dengel Chronicle?" (S. Chernetsov), "Dissemination of Marxism-Leninism in Ethiopia" (E. Sherr). It was decided to convene the next conference of Ethiopian studies in 1986 in Moscow.

* Scholars from 14 countries, including Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, the GDR, Hungary, Poland, Rumania and the USSR, travelled to Berlin to

attend the 5th International Demographic Seminar "Population Growth as a Global Problem", sponsored by the Demography Chair of the Department of Economics, Humboldt University of Berlin. The introductory report was delivered by P. Khalatbari (the GDR). The Soviet participants spoke on "Demography and the Global Problems of Our Age" (E. Arab-Ogly), "The Global Problem of Reproduction and Utilisation of Labour Resources of Developing Countries in Its Demographic As-Guzevaty), "Some pects" (Ya. Methodological Problems of Long-Demographic Forecasting Term Aspect)" (V. Steshenko), (Global "Global Problems of Population Size and Questions of International Cooperation" (A. Sudoplatov).

* A French-Soviet Seminar on comparative demographic studies in the postwar period in France and the USSR was held in Paris, at the National Institute of Demographic Studies (INED). The opening addresses were delivered by G. Calot, the INED Director, and V. Ivanov, Director of the Institute of Sociological Studies of the USSR AS. The French scholars covered the following in their reports: "Dynamics of Demographic Development in France in the Postwar Period" (G. Calot), "French Women and the Reproduction Cycle Beginning with 1946" (Ch. Blayo), "New Family Models: Present-Day Dynamics of Marriage, Divorce and Re-Marriage in France" (L. Roussel), "The Structure of France's Population" (R. Pressat), "Demographic Re-Differentiation gional and (D. Pumain), **Dynamics** Today" "Migrations Inside France, Beginning with 1954" (D. Courgeau), "Reduced Birth-Rates as of 1965: Less Desired Children and Smaller Number of Unwanted Pregnancies" (H. Leridon), "Economic Growth

and Demographic Development in France" (J.-C. Chesnais). The Soviet participants spoke on: "Dynamics and Factors of Soviet Demographic Development in the Second Half of the 20th Century" (L. Rybakovsky), "Evolution of Birth-Rates Procreation of the Soviet Population" (A. Antonov), "Evolution of the Marriage-and-Family Structure of Soviet Population Following the Second World War" (G. Kiselyova), "Changes in the Age Structure of the Soviet Population Between 1950 and 1980 and Their Consequences" (V. Shapiro), "Demographic Evolution of the Central Asian Population the Postwar (K. Khanazarov), "Migration Evolution in the USSR in the Postwar Period" (L. Makarova), "Application of Sociological Methods for Studying Demographic Problems USSR" (V. Ivanov), and "Demography and Ecology—Their Relations in the USSR" (I. Smirnov).

* "Economic and Socio-Political Consequences of the Capitalist World Crisis in Latin America and Argentina" was the theme of the Soviet-Argentine symbosium which was convened in Buenos Aires. The Soviet side submitted the following reports: "Objective Economic Laws, Present-Day Capitalist Crises and Specific Features of Their Manifestation in Latin America" and "Causes and Consequences of the Monetary Crisis" (V. Volsky, Director of the Institute of Latin America of the USSR AS), "Latin America and Problems of World Peace and Security" (P. Yakovley), "Social Effects of the Crisis and Current Tendencies of Socio-Political Movements" (B. Merin), Rela-"USSR-Argentina tions: Balance and Perspectives" (P. Boiko), "The Monetary Crisis in Latin America and Possibilities of Overcoming It" (L. Klochkovsky). (The Soviet delegation represented the Institute of Latin America of the USSR AS.) The host side submitted the following papers: "Specific Features of the Argentine Structure" "The (M. Isacovich), Structural Crisis of Argentine Society, Its Degree of Gravity and Interrelation with the Present Political and **Economic** Situation" (I. Fuchs), "The State on the Road to Revolutionary Transformations" "Some Considerations (F. Marcos), on the Perspectives of the Argentine Process" (E. Duschansky), "Ideological Trends and Debates in Argentina in the Last Decades" (A. Serrano), "The Aims of US Imperialism in the South of Latin America" (J. Laborde), "USSR-Argentina Relations: Balance and Perspectives" (E. Ballerini).

* The USSR AS, its Department of Philosophy and Law, the USSR Ministry of Public Health, the Lvov Regional Committee of the Communist Party of the Ukraine, the Western Scientific Centre of the Ukrainian AS, the Institute of Philosophy of the USSR AS, the Institute of Sociological Studies of the USSR AS and the Lvov Branch of the Institute of Economics of the Ukrainian AS organised an all-Union conference "Socio-Economic Problems of Human Health" which took place in Lvov. The following key reports were delivered: "On Forming a Wholesome Way of Life and the Development of Socialist Civilisation" (V. Ivanov), "The Role of Medicine as a Social Factor in Disease Prevention and Health Building" (O. Gavrilov), "Economic Development of Siberia and Socio-**Economic** Health Factors" (Yu. Borodin). "Demographic Health Factors" (V. Lupandin), and "Quality Components of Work-Capacity" (M. Dolishny and Yu. Savitsky).

- К. И. МИКУЛЬСКИЙ. Экономические законы социализма и социальная активность трудящихся. М., изд-во «Экономика», 1983, 256 с.
- K. 1. MIKULSKY, Economic Laws of Socialism and the Social Activity of Working People, Moscow, Ekonomika Publishers, 1983, 256 pp.

Mikulsky's monograph is a work devoted to the elaboration of the topical theoretical problems of raising the social and production activity of the working people.

The book emphasises the need to intensively accumulate knowledge about the social aspect of the process of social production, about the essence of social ties taking shape between individual groups of the working people and the motives and stimuli of their behaviour in the production process, about the levers at the disposal of society which can regulate that behaviour. That is why the author's efforts are concentrated on describing such elements and aspects of the system of the economic laws of socialism as are directly connected with the aims, conditions and mechanism of the development of the working people's social activity in the sphere of production.

The author notes the socio-class determination of economic laws and

their orientation to the objective social aims of socialist production stemming from the essence of socialist production relations. He shows that economic laws are realised through a social mechanism and through the interests and activities of society's members.

monograph examines categories, important for the political economy of socialism, categories connected with the motives, character and results of the working masses' activities. An analysis of categories as social activity and responsibility and the social stability of society, enriches the categorial apparatus of political economy and contributes to the elaboration of topical problems of the development of socialism. The book poses interesting problems, such as: the correlation between social satisfaction and discontent of society's members necessary for stable progress of socialism; the stimulating role of a definite degree of constructive social discontent; the policy of "positive orientation of the elements of social discontent caused by real, and not invented, problems, by socially justified, and not inflated, requirements, by political maturity, and not backward views and by a readiness to contribute to progress of society, and not by social passivity and parasitic titudes" (p. 91).

The theses about the character of social management under socialism,

expounded in the book, are timely and well substantiated. The essence of this management, in the view of the author, lies in the formation of conditions under which the collective and personal interests of working people can be satisfied only by means of the realisation of the interests of the entire people. Mikulsky does not confine himself to ascertaining the community of all interests in principal and decisive matters, but also shows the various contradictions between them, and points out ways to solve them. The author emphasises the significance of the coordination of interests not only at various levels οf the national economy, but also their coordination at one and the same level (for instance, the interests of the collectives of various enterprises, the interests of the workers in one and the same collective, and the interests of members of a definite territorial community).

Much attention is paid in the book to distribution relations. The author examines three levels of the distribution processes in society: the distribution of the means of production, the social product and the consumption fund. Interesting quesare formulated regarding socialism's trends of distribution of the means of production during the process of their direct utilisation between classes, social groups, enterprises and individual workers, presents certain interest, and the tasks of overcoming the elements of definite social inequality stemming from the different quantities of means of production at the disposal of different workers.

The author also discusses the shifts in and significance of the worker's material incentive for the motivation of his behaviour in production. Without belittling the role of the ideological, moral and creative

incentives in work, the author suggests that the possibilities of using material incentives are far from exhausted and that they may and should be expanded by society. He advises not to indentify individual facts of the lowering role of material incentives with the trend to decrease its role, resulting from the growing role of other incentives for work. This trend, in the author's view, has not yet developed to an extent which may call for a considerable reorientation of economic policy.

The book also deals with a search for ways to more harmoniously combine centralism and democratism in economic management, the enterprise manager's powers and the rights a labour collective and the social guarantees to and social responsibility of, working people. These questions have now come to the fore in economic management. The development of democratic principles in production management is the key not only to enhancing the contribution of each worker to the common cause, but also to developing him as a personality and enriching all social life. Simultaneously, it is important to enhance the control and organisational functions of central bodies.

In analysing the prospects of socio-economic development the author often examines various possible variants. Will development proceed along the road of further increasing the social functions of enterprises and enhancing the role of their public funds, or will the need for them disappear, thanks to an improvement in the generally accessible territorial social infrastructure? Should cooperative enterprises be developed for a better satisfaction of the population's requirements, or would it be more rational to restructure management of state enterprises producing consumer goods and rendering services to the population, in such a way that their independence, flexibility and interest in meeting the individual requirements of citizens might grow considerably? In discussing these and other questions, the author expresses his personal sometimes debatable views on the more preferable variant. The political economy of socialism has many accumulated problems which are in need of discussion, and each constructive contribution to such discussion is important for the progress of this science.

The practice of modern-day socialist construction shows that the main reserve of an accelerated upsurge of productive forces and the people's welfare lies in the creation of a more efficient social mechanism for using the economic laws of socialism. Mikulsky's book is an aid to the theoretical elaboration of the ways of solving this crucial task.

Academician A. Rumyantsev

- Н. А. РОЗАНЦЕВА. *Франция в ООН.* М., изд-во «Наука», 1984, 223 с.
- N. A. ROZANTSEVA, France in the UN, Moscow, Nauka Publishers, 1984, 223 pp.

The foreign policy of France has always been the focus of attention of Soviet historians, inasmuch as it has always exerted a serious influence on the international situation not only in Europe, but in the whole world.

However, one of the forms of France's foreign political activity during the postwar period—its participation in the work of the UN—has not yet received proper coverage in Soviet historiography. N. Rozantseva's monograph makes up, to a certain extent, for this omission. Chronologically, the book covers the period of France's activity in the UN up to the early 1950s. A study of this period is of definite importance, since it was precisely during the first years of activity of the UN that France's stand on many crucial problems, discussed by this organisation also in subsequent yearsdisarmament, the colonial problem

and various crisis situations—took shape.

The author traces the history of the events leading to the French provisional government under General de Gaulle joining the United Nations, from the emergence of the Free French movement onwards. As a result of the active fight put up by de Gaulle and his companions-inarms for the inclusion of their country in the composition of the future organisation called to ensure security and peace, and thanks to the support of the Soviet Union, which signed a treaty of alliance with the government provisional of French Republic, France became a permanent member of the UN Security Council and joined many of the UN specialised bodies.

The book describes France's approach to the elaboration of the UN Charter and the principles governing the activity of the UN's main bodies—the Security Council and the General Assembly.

Of the numerous problems examined by the UN, the author has chosen the most crucial ones, which revealed to the full the position of France. These are, namely, disarma-

ment, the preservation of colonial possessions, and also the Spanish and Greek questions, which were at the time heatedly debated in the UN. This selection is justified by the size of the book, which nevertheless clearly shows change that occurred in France's stand on these problems. In 1945-1**94**6. the country's progressive forces, particularly, the French Communist Party, exerted a considerable influence on the shaping of its foreign policy course. The efforts of French diplomacy were at the time largely aimed at enhancing the country's role in international affairs, and the French government pursued an independent course in the world arena. Beginning from the spring of 1947, when the Communists withdrew from the government, France began to reorientate itself towards a closer alliance with the countries of the Anglo-American bloc, a policy which culminated in the former joining the Atlantic Alliance in 1949. This event found its most vivid reflection within the problems of disarmament.

The book thoroughly outlines the stages of the UN's discussion of the question concerning the banning of atomic weapons and, notably, the struggle of the USSR and the other socialist countries against the adoption of the Baruch Plan, which was aimed at perpetuating the US atomic diktat. The representatives of France at first supported the Soviet draft on the basic principles determining the general regulation and reduction of armaments, including atomic ones. Subsequently, however, . France began to share the position of the USA and its other Western partners, although it acted very cautiously in this respect, trying not to cause displeasure among the democraticminded public of France who supported the Soviet proposals on disarmament and the ban of atomic weapons.

France's position in the UN on the question of the reduction of conventional armaments also underwent no less serious changes in the latter half of the 1940s. During the first postwar years. France which was at that time interested in a curtailment of military expenditures, supported Soviet proposals for a general and universal cut in armaments, tried to bring closer the positions of the USSR and the USA and often voted along with the Soviet Union, Poland, Yugoslavia, India and other countries. However, after the start of the cold war its position on the questions of disarmament changed. Giving up their policy of manoeuvring between the great powers and their search for compromises and concessions, the ruling circles of France turned to directly support the aggressive foreign policy course of the United States and Britain, one which was aimed at stepping up the arms race.

The book thoroughly examines France's position in the UN on problems. The colonial colonial peoples' struggle for emancipation, which had unfolded after the Second World War, particularly on the territory of France's colonial empire, provoked the strong opposition of the latter's imperialist circles. France objected in the UN to the draft of an international system of trusteeship. The author gives a graphic illustration of France's negative position on this question by citing as an example the fate of Togo and Cameroon-French mandate territories which should have been included in the system of UN trusteeship.

The ruling circles of France also took a colonialist stand on the question of non-self-governing territories, which included almost all French colonies, and opposed the establishment of any form of control by the UN over these territories. At the same time, on the floor of the UN, France denounced the Union of South Africa for its discrimination against the Indian population living on its territory. Subsequently, however, when the questions of the situation in Tunisia and Morocco were put on the agenda of the UN, the French representatives voted against the resolutions denouncing the South African regime.

The book thoroughly examines the course of discussions in the UN on the withdrawal of French troops from Syria and Lebanon, as well as France's attitude to the Indonesian problem. In this particular instance, France used its right to veto against the Soviet proposal for a settlement of the Indonesian-Dutch conflict. The French ruling circles feared that such tactics might also be used with regard to Indochina.

The French government adopted an obstructionist course also during the discussion on the future of the former Italian colonies in Africa, opposing the granting of national independence to them or their transfer under the collective trusteeship of the UN. In the UN France implemented a policy aimed at containing the collapse of its overseas empire, as well as of the entire colonial system.

France's activity in the UN had a bearing on a wide range of questions, among which the author singles out two of the most important ones, at issue during the period under review—the Spanish and the Greek questions. Using as an example of the policy pursued by France vis-à-vis the Spanish question,

N. Rozantseva thoroughly examines the positive experience of the interaction of two diplomacies—the Soviet and the French—and reveals its limits, beyond which France's position coincided with that of other Western powers.

France's stand on the Greek question most fully reflected the policy of mediation and equilibrium of forces, which the French representatives tried to pursue. During the discussion of this problem on the floor of the UN. French diplomats strove to find a compromise solution and supported a number of Soviet initiatives, aimed at the settlement of this question. Subsequently, however. France's stand on the Greek question drew closer to that of the United States and Britain.

The book shows that by pursuing an independent policy, France was able to exert a considerable influence on the international situation, contributing to the constructive activities of the UN. French influence was reaffirmed in the course of the 1960s and 1970s, when France was the first among the leading capitalist powers, to respond to the socialist countries' initiative aimed at reaching a detente.

This is the main conclusion which can be drawn from N. Rozantseva's book, the merit of which lies, among other things, in its use of a broad range of sources, monographic literature, the press and recorded conversations, which the author had with a number of leading French figures.

Academician

M. Nechkina,

K. Zuyeva

Современная внешняя політика США. Т. І, 464 с.; Т. ІІ, 480 с., М., изд-во «Наука», 1984.

The Present-Day Foreign Policy of the USA, Vol. I, 464 pp.; Vol. II, 480 pp., Moscow, Nauka Publishers, 1984.

The jointly authored work The Present-Day Foreign Policy of the USA, in two volumes, is a fundamental piece of research. It examines the main sources, motive forces, character, aims, specific features, traditions, strategy, tactics, methods and regional aspects of the foreign policy course of the biggest imperialist power of our time.

The main theme of the book, as its introduction emphasises, is an analysis of the deepening contradictions between the great-power imperial ambitions, that have their roots in the idea of a US global mission, and the steadily diminishing possibilities the USA has for implementing its imperialist policy in the world arena.

The authors disclose the class essence, internal sources and the motive forces of US foreign policy, and point to its main aims and directions. The book emphasises that the leading role in this process belongs to monopoly capital. Special attention is paid to two specific mighty forces which determine the country's foreign policy today: the "leading" or "Eastern establishment" and the military-industrial complex.

Disclosing the role of economic interests in US foreign policy, the authors point to the steady growth of the foreign economic expansion of individual "private" corporations and state-monopoly capital as a whole. Similar activity can also be observed in the USA's foreign policy organs which in every way work to

promote that expansion. Attention is drawn to what American literature has termed "the guaranteeing of economic security" of the country. In other words, the obtaining and guaranteeing of access to foreign sources of raw material and energy suppliers, and their delivery to the United States at minimum prices, that is, at prices guaranteeing maximum profits for the United States. The book emphasises that the thesis about a "threat to the security" of the USA, resulting from its dependence on the import of raw materials and energy suppliers from developing countries is basically propaganda. The point is to ascertain the character of relations between the USA and these countries in general: will they continue to be of a neocolonialist nature or will they be restructured on just, democratic and more equal lines? The book assesses the weighty, and sometimes sinister, role of transnational corporations in shaping and implementing the global imperialist policy of the United States.

Of speicial interest are the chapters dealing with "global problems" and "new instruments of the USA's foreign policy force" in the epoch of the scientific and technological revolution. They give a graphic presentation of the USA's economic and scientific-technical base and potential, and reveal how using methods ranging from food deliveries to the granting of nuclear and space research information and technology it is used for the attainment of US foreign political and military aims in the international arena. Despite growing opposition, the United States still succeeds, to a greater or lesser extent, in successfully manoeuvring and retains the ability to force on other states (belonging to the capitalist sphere of the world economy) the main trends of their scientific-technical, and consequently, economic development, their organisational forms of utilising technology, methods of management and access to information, etc.

The book devotes much attention to analysing the role of the ideological factor in US foreign policy, a factor which ensures the latter's expansionist character. It is repeatedly emphasised that the US ruling circles display a highly pragmatic attitude to different cultural and intellectual values, ideals, traditions, and beliefs. etc., ably adapting them to their current foreign policy requirements and tasks and ultimately reducing them to rabid anti-Sovietism and anti-communism, to a substantiation of and propaganda for American imperialism's claims to world domination. The authors note that another essential function of American ideology and propaganda is the substantiation and justification of the alleged right of the USA to use its armed forces to defend US interests and security all over the world, and even in outer space.

The book dwells in detail on the significance of military force as the main and ultimate instrument of US foreign policy. The principal thesis of the authors is, that although as a result of the development of military hardware, war and the use of armed forces are no longer a rational means of achieving foreign policy aims in the present-day world, nevertheless the US ruling circles, for a number of reasons (ranging from the pressure of the militaryindustrial complex to dogmatic adherence to the theory of force) are still unwilling to recognise this fact. Under various pretexts (especially the one about the "Soviet threat") they stubbornly continue the arms race and resort to the direct or indirect use of military force in various regions of the world. Of

especially dangerous character are the USA's plans detailing preparations for an attack on the Soviet Union, a course aimed at confrontation and war. The use of force, or threats to use it, the book notes, is a classical militaristic reply (which is extremely dangerous in our day) to those changes in the world which are not to capitalism's liking.

The ineffectiveness of military pressure for the realisation Washington's expansionist desires, forces the latter to turn to various political means in order to solve critical international situations and problems. This aspect of US foreign policy is analysed in the chapter entitled "Instruments of Diplomacy". A special chapter is devoted to the problem of using methods of social reformism in US foreign policy. A combination of the methods of violence and bribery, reprisals and reforms, pressure and concessions tactical manoeuvring, and maintaining an unchanged strategy, often makes it possible for Washington to reach some of its goals and achieve successes in its relations with its partners especially, when the latter are dependent on the American economy, the US "protection" or its political course.

The fourth chapter of the second volume of the book—"Regional Problems of US Foreign Policy"—is devoted to an examination of US policies towards individual countries, regions and groups of countries. It complements those chapters—in Volume I—which dealt with the foreign-policy factors influencing the behaviour of the United States in the world arena. with the dialectics of peaceful coexistence and the revolutionary transformation of the modern world and with the principles of the USA's approach to industrial capitalist states and to developing countries. Each of these chapters

briefly acquaints the reader with the USA's relations with the USSR, the socialist states of Eastern Europe, the West European countries, Canada, the Middle East, South-East Asia and China. The authors note, in particular, that the shifts in US foreign policy towards greater adaptation to existing international realities observed in the first half of the 1970s which were based on a recognition of the principles of peaceful coexistence, equality and equal security, improved relations with the USSR although such shifts were undertaken under the contradictory conditions of an unceasing struggle be-

tween the supporters and opponents of that course. The latter got the upper hand in the late 1970s and early 1980s, especially after the Reagan Administration came to power.

The authors have tried to deal with all topical questions and principal trends of the present foreign policy of the USA. They chose a politological approach to the subjects discussed, which made possible the writing of an interesting and useful work of a great scientific merit and practical significance.

Yu. Melnikov

Философия эпохи ранних буржуазных революций. М., изд-во «Наука», 1983, 583 с.

Philosophy of the Epoch of Early Bourgeois Revolutions, Moscow, Nauka Publishers, 1983, 583 pp.

This book is written in a clear and vivid language, and conveys the wide range of the subject discussed. Although the monograph is written by several authors, it is not a collection of separate articles; they are all united by common problems and show the complex and contradictory development process of philosophical thought in the epoch of early bourgeois revolutions.

The first part of the monograph discusses the principal social and cultural-historical prerequisites of socio-political problems characteristic of the epoch; the second looks into questions of the interaction of science and philosophy, and the formation of a new method examined on the basis of materials of the philosophy of natural science, epistemology, logic and anthropology.

The most timely and versatile of the problems touched upon in the first part of the book is that of the historico-philosophical significance of the Reformation. The book calls the 16th century the epoch of the Renaissance-Reformation. But it devotes the main attention to the Reformation, and not to the Renaissance. The anti-feudal character of the Renaissance, the author of the Introduction T. Oizerman writes. has been comprehensively disclosed in Marxist works, including in historico-philosophical works. As for the Reformation it still calls for further study, especially its historicophilosophical aspect. The significance of this question for comprehending the philosophy of the epoch of early bourgeois revolutions can hardly be overestimated. For the Reformation, as Engels put it, was actually a bourgeois religious revolu-

However, as is evident from the content of the book, its main attention to the Reformation is due not so much to purely historiographical considerations, as to historicophilosophical, methodological and concept ones. The authors of the first three chapters of the monog-

raph (D. Furman, V. Lazarev, E. Solovyov) maintain that it was precisely the Reformation doctrines that decisively influenced the development of philosophical thought in the 16th and 17th centuries.

The first chapter analyses the internal structure of the Reformation ideology, revealing in its contradictory and even paradoxical nature its historico-progressive essence, and precisely in its features hostile to the humanism of the Renaissance. Rejecting the presence of rational aspects in comprehending D. Furman writes, the Reformation also rejected the sacral content of scientific and philosophic knowledge and thus released it from subordination to theology and dogma. Similarly, the fatalism stemming from the Reformation doctrine about divine predestination actually leads to "unrestrained activity", and rejection of the sacral meaning of any actions (that is, Catholic rites, above all) turns into sacralisation of human activity as a whole. This is how, even if in inadequate forms, bourgeois social consciousness takes shape: Protestant ethics leads to justification of bourgeois enterprise, first of all by tearing the bond between wealth and pleasure, representing accumulation not as a means of achieving personal well-being, but as a moral duty.

The second chapter emphasises the qualitative gap between the philosophy of the Renaissance and the rationalism of the 17th century, which has already been noted in Soviet historico-philosophical literature, and shows that the "merits" of the Renaissance form of rationalism are inseparable from what seemed to be its "imperfections". It is the Reformation Protestantism that acts as a complex indirect link between the philosophy of the Renaissance and new times. The Reformation directed the development of social

thought into a different channel than that laid out by humanism, and it was religious thought that engendered, V. Lazarev emphasises, the mode of thinking of philosophers of the modern epoch.

In the third chapter the penetratanalysis of the political philosophy of Thomas Hobbes and John Locke is preceded by an examination of the political and legal gains of the Reformation which are opposed to the theological outlook of the Catholic Middle Ages. As a central problem, E. Solovyov brings forward proof of the contention that the new progressive philosophy of the state and law (the philosophy proclaimed the inalienable rights of "man and citizen") originates from the anti-authoritarian religious movement that engulfed Western Europe in the beginning of the 16th century. Opposing this new attitude to man as a being who became aware of his sinful nature to the mediaeval-Catholic attitude to man as a sinful creature by nature. Luther thus shifted the centre of gravity in the problem of salvation onto the consciousness of the individual. From a matter of the church hierarchy salvation became an individual matter of human conscience. Thus in the outer covering of a theological contention Luther gained the freedom of conscience as a universal principle of bourgeois legal consciousness.

One of the greatest merits of the book under review is that it reveals the historical and historico-philosophical role of the Reformation in shaping the main principles of the socio-political philosophy of the epoch of early bourgeois revolutions.

However, here we must make several important reservations. The first deals with the simplified and modernised characteristic given in the third

chapter to the mediaeval theological world outlook. The fact that the Catholic church assumed the exceptional function of the salvation of sinners and not only regarded itself as the Vicar of Christ on Earth, but also acted as the patron of people before God, actually meant a restriction of the personal responsibility of a layman, deprived of an opportunity to save his soul outside the church. But such a restriction of religious "legal capacity" rejected by the Reformation, nevertheless, does not give the right to maintain that mediaeval Catholic theology attributed behavioural features to man which in actual fact were characteristic only of a mentally unbalanced person. Ascribing the "interpretation of layman as an underdeveloped person" to the church, the author, in our view, simplifies and even distorts the real, much more complex structure and essence of the mediaeval theological world outlook. Mediaeval Catholic theology proceeded from the principle of the free will of a Christian and, consequently, from his personal responsibility for the choice between good and evil (of course, as the church saw it). This circumstance underlay the persecution of heretics by the Inquisition. We might note here that it was precisely the insane who were not liable to capital punishment for heresy by strict canonical rules (this was used by Campanella who simulated insanity). Even less historical is the characteristic of the "magic-fetishist actions" of the church as being insulting to the conscience of the Christian: this view is a result of the Reformation, later. not rationalistic, consciousness; for the man of the Middle Ages church rites retained their sacral character.

Having rightly noted that philosophers of the modern epoch rejected the Renaissance philosophical tradition, the authors manifestly belittle its influence on the formation of new European philosophy. In fact, the humanism rejected by the Reformation was not "removed" and repealed by the "religious revolution" of the 16th century. Denounced by militant Catholic reaction, persecuted by the official churches that came into being after the triumph of the Reformation, humanism still continued, though in forms, to influence other spiritual life of post-Reformation Europe. After noting that "the Reformation is not resumed in Protestantism" and thus acknowledging the role of its radical trends, the author continues his analysis of the material of Lutheranism. Meanwhile, it is the radical trends of the European Reformation that continued to develop humanistic free thinking. It is the heirs of the first form of bourgeois enlightenment that drew the decisive conclusions from the Reformation destruction of mediaeval authorities abolition of the spiritual monopoly of Catholicism. If the Lutherans and Calvinists restricted the freedom of conscience by asserting new dogmas, the representatives "philosophical heresy"—that humanistic movement in Europe in the throes of religious conflicts upheld a much broader programme of tolerance, the right to "heresy" equality of faiths and the possibility of salvation irrespective of confessional differences. They led the way to the philosophical culture of the Enlightenment.

Characteristically, the second chapter of the book deals not so much with the prerequisites as the results of the formation of New European philosophy. Emphasising the difference between the scepticism of the 16th-17th centuries and that of antiquity and its opposition to authoritarian thinking and speaking

about recognising the right of reason and the possibility to comprehend the truth and about criticism of réligious consciousness by sceptics, V. Boguslavsky shows the positive contribution made by the Renaissance philosophical tradition to the formation of the philosophy of new times.

The book presents the problem of the epistemological function of the concept of God as a most crucial problem of the study of philosophical systems of the "century of geniuses". Oizerman in the Introduction draws attention to its importance, noting, in particular, that the attempt of Descartes to renovate the ontological proof of God's being cannot be interpreted simply as a forced concession to the predominant religious consciousness. Just like the entire dualistic system of the philosopher, this attempt characterises contradictions in the philosophy of early bourgeois revolutions.

Examining the problem of God in the philosophy of thinkers of the 17th century, M. Kissel draws the conclusion that turning to the concept of God is not a "theological addition", but a "theoretical necessity", that the deification of nature is not a tribute to the conventionalities of time, but the "supporting structure" of the entire speculative system of Spinoza's rationalism. The deistic and panteistic concept of the universe in different shades inevitably followed from the mechanistic picture of the world. The fact that thinkers of the 17th century comprehended the necessity and the limited character of the mechanistic model of the universe, is regarded by the author as an essential distinctive feature of the philosophy of that epoch and the basis of its dualism. A number of philosophers

of the epoch of early bourgeois revolutions regarded God as the only guarantee of the rational structure of the universe, which made possible man's adequate cognition of the world.

Examining the function of God in the philosophy of the 17th century, V. Sokolov suggests that its mystifying (in religious philosophy) and intellectual functions be regarded separately, the latter belonging not much to religious, The philosophical consciousness. minimisation of the concept of God in deistic philosophy testifying to the naturalist-materialistic positions of thinkers, affords an opportunity to gain an adequate scientific knowledge of nature and convinces of the boundless vistas of human knowledge.

Analysing the process of freeing philosophical anthropology from theological notions, N. Motroshilova draws conclusions about the "desanthropomorphisation" not only of nature, but of man himself, who is now regarded as part of nature. The author argues against the simplified ideas about the opposition of Marxism to the very concept of "human essence" put forward in philosophy of the 17th century. It is quite another matter that this philosophy did not examine at all what Marx later called historical modifications of the human essence.

This monograph, written on a high methodological and scholarly level, is not only a summing-up work, it also poses new problems for historico-philosophical science to tackle.

The problems raised in the book merit further thorough analysis.

A. Gorfunkel

История первобытного общества. Общие вопросы. Проблемы антропосоциогенеза. М., изд-во «Наука», 1983, 432 с.

The History of Primitive Society. General Problems. Problems of Anthroposociogenesis, Moscow, Nauka Publishers, 1983, 432 pp.

The book under review is a significant work for historical science as a whole, and for the study of the early stages of the history of human society since there are no generalised works of this type in world literature. The book basing itself on contemporary ideas about primitive society examines the theoretical views of Soviet and foreign scientists.

The authors lay special stress on four cadinal problems: source study, historiography, the origin and evolution of man in the light of anthropological data, and the prerequisites and the formation of human society. The Introduction (written by A. Pershits) discusses complex aspects of these problems, the character and degree of their elaboration, points to debatable subjects and outlines the methodological positions of Soviet historians of primitive society. The Introduction also touches on the question of the name of the discipline—"primitive history" and the designation of the structure studied by it.

Several chapters examine debatable problems related to the division of periods of primitive history, archaeological divisions, in particular. We believe that with the acumulation of factual data about anthropogenesis and the history of material culture of primitive society, the correctness of the name "early and late palaeolithic", given to the time of the formation of man and the appearance of *Homo sapiens* will be more and more called into doubt. Such doubts were expressed in Yu. Semyonov's suggestion to replace the term "early palaeolithic" by "archaeolithic". He stresses that the epoch traditionally termed "palaeolithic" includes at least two radically different and principally distinct epochs: that of man under formation and that of man already formed.

No matter what attempts are made to draw these stages closer by references to their level of technology and social development, it remains an indisputable fact that the creators of early palaeolithic cultures were incapable of intensive social development, for there were too many zoological traits in their organisation. Only as a consequence of a further transformation of the species did man of the modern type come into being a man able to switch over from biological to social evolution to stop the course of natural selection and become the direct ancestor of the creators of modern civilisation. The term "late palaeolithic" terminologically draws that epoch closer to the time of the species preceding modern man and separates it from the mesolithic and the early neolithicepochs which had no principal distinctions from the late palaeolithic.

Source study of the history of primitive society has not in generalised form been reflected in world literature for the historiography of that society was examined in a fragmentary way, mainly in connection with individual questions pertaining to the primitive epoch. The authors of this book have consequently dwelt in detail on concepts used in primitive historical science: ethnographic, archaeological, anthropological, written and natural science sources. They have thoroughly examined the emergence of primitive history as a science, and the views of the classics of Marxism on primitive society.

They have analysed the concepts of foreign authors of the late 19th and the 20th centuries, and the problems of the development of science of primitive society in prerevolutionary Russia, the USSR and the other European socialist countries.

Fundamental problems of thropogenesis are examined V. Alexeyev, who deals in detail with the debatable questions of the initial forms of hominidae, the ecological circumstances of anthropogenesis, the facts relating to the formation, time and place of appearance of hominidae, their evolution, and the communicative aspects thropogenesis. basis of On the exhaustive factual material the author also studies in detail the problems of the time and place of the emergence of man and his hypothetical ancestors, and discusses the so far unresolved questions of anthropological systems. Apparently, one has to agree with his conclusion that vital role in anthropogenesis was played not only by natural selection but also sex selection, and that the evolution of hominidae proceeded as a multilinear process.

The author correctly elaborates Engels' labour theory, and his broad understanding of concept the "labour" as the joint activity of members of a collective aimed at obtaining the means of subsistence, merits the fullest support. Although this thesis differs from the view of researchers. who "labour" in a too narrow sense, i.e., mainly as an activity connected with instruments, one cannot but agree with V. Alexeyev's denial of the special role of the so-called biosocial or socio-labour selection. While defining in a clearcut manner his theoretical position in each instance, he at the same time dwells in detail on the concepts of other researchers.

Almost half the book is taken up

by Yu. Semyonov's research work on the prerequisites and formation of human society. The author attempts to define the philosophical essence of humanising and the essence character of that process. and Yu. Semyonov ascribes a special role in the emergence of human presociety and society, to the communalist distribution of food, of meat, above all. His interpretation of the concept "group marriage" is quite successful. Many of his conclusions are, in our view, well founded and can be accepted without reservation. however, part of his hypotheses requires further profound discussion. For instance, his explanation that anthropogenesis is predominantly the consequence of instrument activity is somewhat disputable. We have already said that labour is a considerably broader phenomenon, embracing all actions involved in the adaptation to the environment based on socio-collective experience and activity.

The use of the instruments of labour was a social perspective of the development of humanity. But at the first stages of humanising, labour was manifested in the emergence of a new social organisation of primitive collectives, an organisation that was distinct from zoological organisation; in the appearance of a division of labour as a way of social adaptation; in the emergence of social, nonhereditary and non-conditional reflex means of obtaining the means of subsistence; in the experience of using fire and instrument activity. Thus, humanising represented a transfer from an active conditionalreflex adaptation to the environment, to an active social adaptation on the basis of the use of collective experience.

The complex character of problems, the possibility of operating only with indirect data in a number of instances, combined with the debatable nature of using analogies and retrospections from the field of primatology, on the one hand, and examples from the life of the peoples on the periphery of class societies in the modern and contemporary epochs, on the other, gives rise to and apparently will continue to give rise to discussions on general and specific questions of the history of primitive society. The value of the work under review lies precisely in the fact that in summing up the results of investigations in this field, it at the same time makes a call for continuing scientific research.

G. Markov

- А. Р. ЛУРИЯ. Этапы пройденного пути. М., изд-во МГУ, 1983, 182 с.
- A. R. LURIA, The Path Traversed, Moscow University Press, 1983, 182 pp.

Alexander Luria (1902-1977), the outstanding Soviet psychologist and member of the USSR Academy of Pedagogical Sciences, who gained world renown in the early 1930s, was member of three foreign academies, a Doctor honoris causa of five universities, and a man who knew almost all famous scientistspsychologists of his time. A. Luria did much to popularise the achievements of Soviet psychological science and Marxist psychology. He devoted considerable effort to explaining to wide circles of the internatonal scientific community of psychologists the basic premises of the psychological theory of activity developed by his teacher L. Vygotsky.

In line with that general task he wrote, during the last year of his life, a scientific autobiography which he first entitled "The Last Book". It was intended primarily for foreign readers and its aim was to expound the methodological programme which had guided Luria all his life, and describe the concrete results he had achieved on the basis of that programme, during the 1920s-1970s period. If one takes into account the

fact that this methodological programme worked out by Vygotsky, Leontiev and Luria has served as the basis for one of the most outstanding schools of Soviet psychology, and is in its principal points accepted by all Soviet psychologists, then one will see that Luria's book is in great measure a discussion of the problems and achievements of Soviet psychological science as a whole.

What are the principal conclusions that the author comes to at the end of his life, when summing up his scientific career? Luria's scientific career was full of good fortune, first and foremost because his youth coincided with the emergence and development of a new society. "Life has offered me the unbelievably stimulating atmosphere of dynamic, rapidly changing society. My generation was permeated by the energy of revolutionary changes the liberating energy... of a society which was able, within a short period of time, to make an enormous step forward along the road of progress.' Furthermore, the 1920s was a time of "scientific revolution" in psychology. In its general meaning, that revolution, which had begun back in the 1900s, and which had reached its peak by the 1920s, involved the replacement of ideas about psycholoas a science studying the phenomena of the "onedimensional" consciousness of the

individual, by the idea that human psychology should be studied as a multi-stage, hierarchical system each level of which was, in turn, a system with its own structure. No wonder. these new ideas were quickly accepted by the generation of scientists to which Luria belonged. That generation (which included L. Vygotsky who was only six years older than his pupil and took up psychology after Luria) succeeded in solving the task prerevolutionary Russian which psychological science had been unable to cope with: to make up the 10 to 15-year lag behind world psychology and organically assimilate the latter's achievements and begin to construct a new and original psychological concept—Marxist psychology. Thanks to that, people who had not been trained in any psychological school (Vygotsky), or who had not received a "normal systematic education" (as A. Luria wrote about himself), found themselves at little more than 20 years of age in the position of being the leading psychologists in this country.

During the 1930s-1970s period, A. Luria repeatedly expounded his theoretical and methodological position. It remained practically unchanged, and its heuristic force was such that its immutability could be regarded as a concrete foundation for the creative development of psychology, and an explanation and forecast of all new results in this rapidly changing science. That is why it is easy to understand Luria's admiration for L. Vygotsky with whose name the former connected the formulation of the basic premises of their common methodological position. In his book, A. Luria describes this position in the following way. Under the influence of Mar-Vygotsky arrived at the conclusion that the origin of the higher conscious forms of human

psyche should be sought in the social relations of the individual with the surrounding world. But man is not only a product of his environment, he also takes an active part in the creation of the latter; the gap between physiological explanations of elementary acts and mentalistic descriptions of complex psychic processes will continue to exist until we understand in what way natural processes, such as, for example, physical maturing and sensor mechanisms, interact with the processes determined by culture; it is precisely this interaction that generates the psychic activity of an adult person. It was necessary to go beyond the confines of human organism in order to find the sources of human forms of psychic activity.

L. Vygotsky was wont to call his theory "instrumental", "cultural", or "historical". Each of these three terms emphasised the different sources of the common mechanism with whose help society and its history create the structure of the forms of activity which distinguish man from animals.

The term "instrumental" defined the indirect nature of all complex psychic functions. An adult person not only reacts to stimuli—either artificial (as presented by the experimenter) or natural—but also actively changes these stimuli and uses these changes to regulate his behaviour. Numerous examples of the operation of this principle have been found in the study of the structure of thinking of children in the three to ten age group.

The "historical" aspect combines with the "cultural". The instruments used by people for regulating their own behaviour have been invented and perfected in the course of social history. Language occupies a special place, for it is a means of summing up human knowledge. Special instru-

ments of culture, like writing and counting, enormously broaden man's possibilities.

Each of the three aspects of this theory are applicable to the development of a child.

At first, children's reactions are dominated by natural processes of an inborn character. But due to the influence of adults, more complex instrumental psychic processes begin to take shape. At first these processes can only be brought into operation in the course of children's interaction with adults. According to L. Vygotsky, these processes are "interpsychic", that is, various people take part in them. Gradually, however, the processes in which children participated together with adults begin to be staged by the former independently. This means that reactions become "intrapsychic". It is through this interiorisation of the historically determined and culturally organised ways of the operation of information that the social nature of men becomes also their psychological nature.

In this lies the key to understanding Luria's methodological position and, ultimately, to understanding all his concrete works. The simplicity of presentation—a most characteristic feature of the author's style—can create an illusion of the triviality of his ideas. But this is not so.

First of all, L. Vygotsky and A. Luria advocated the same approach to psychic processes as to activity. From this it follows that:

- psychic processes are multilevel ones;
- the social nature of the psyche is, first and foremost, the social nature of its basic structures. This is ensured by their origin in ontogenesis from the interpsychic interaction of a child with an adult, and in phylogenesis by the inclusion in these structures in the form of

invariants of sign systems above all language ones, as "instruments", or "indirect means" of the psyche.

Such was the "nuclear structure" of the theory of activity. Many varied concrete works were conducted on its basis. Leontiev, for example, elaborated the problem of correlation of object-practical and psychic activity. As for A. Luria, his interests were invariably centred around the problem of "language and consciousness", as he himself stressed in this book.

The main results of this work which was carried out over a period of almost 50 years, were expounded in more than 20 monographs and 300 articles which are summed up in the book under review. They can be summarised thus.

In the field of studying the sociocultural formation of the mechanisms of higher psychic functions, A. Luria was one of the founders of experimental (in contrast to descriptive) ethnopsychology. His famous expedition to Uzbekistan and Kirghizia in the early 1930s was one of the world's first special scientific investigations applying corresponding methods (for instance, in investigating the formation of syllogisms) in the field of cross-cultural comparisons (in distinction to the very interesting but rather speculative ideas which had been predominant in this field up until the late 1920s). In the course of that work it was demonstrated that the function of language intellectual processes changes along with a rise in the educational level, that critical self-awareness is a product of socially determined psychological development, and not its point of departure and that changes in outward social activity led to qualitative changes in thinking. That work opened up promising prospects and although it was sharply and sometimes unjustly criticised

in the 1930s, it was continued later by Luria's pupils and followers both in this country and abroad.

The best known field of Luria's work is his investigations of the (rehabilitation) disintegration higher psychic functions (particularly an analysis of aphasias) and the study of the problems of the brain's organisation of psychic functions. He is known to have been one of the founders of the new science of neuropsychology. This work, begun back in the 1930s, played a big practical role during the last war in the treatment of cranial and brain injuries, and was continued right to the last days of Luria's life. The initial and central idea, namely, that a change in the structure of psychical activity meant a change in the brain organisation of that activity, was Vygotsky's. Here, L. Vygotsky's idea about a multilevel, hierarchical structure of psychic activity was combined with the idea of "functional systems" put forward by P. Anokhin and the theory of movement as a system of hierarchical structures developed by N. Bernstein. All this enabled A. Luria to elaborate new ideas about the localisation psychic functions (in fact the very concept about function as a product

of any tissue was radically reviewed; function began to be regarded as a subtype of activity—a process with its own complex hierarchical structure).

Summing up his scientific activity, A. Luria briefly described three mutually complementary aspects of one problem: the analysis of the phylo-, onto- and pathogenesis of psychic activities. All these trends were based on one and the same idea formulated back in the 1920s by Vygotsky, Leontiev and psychic processes are hierarchical activities, the main structure of which was formed on the basis of the interiorisation of outward, objectival, social and inter-individual activity. One may say that Luria's entire scientific work was the elaboration of a uniform, at first abstract, principle which gradually acquired a concrete meaning. In this sense the "path traversed" by him can be regarded as stages of an ascent from the abstract to the concrete. A wonderful, integral and purposeful scientific career in which chronological stages of creation were subordinated to the logic of progress is so clear to the scientist.

L. Radzikhovsky

Образ человека и индивидуальность художника в западном искусстве XX века. М., изд-во «Наука», 1984, 216 с.

The Image of Man and the Personality of the Artist in Western Art of the 20th Century, Moscow, Nauka Publishers, 1984, 216 pp.

A distinctive feature of this collection is the synchronous study of the cultural process on the material of various arts. A comprehensive approach, which presupposes a comparative analysis of different works of one and the same historical period, and close interest in the personality of the artist or writer enable the authors of the book to reveal certain essential features and laws of the cultural situation of the 1920s-1930s and arrive at profound conclusions concerning the modern artistic process as a whole.

The work of artists and writers of the time, despite the difference in their civic and artistic positions, was distinguished by the common desire to protect the eternal value of the human personality and establish the humanistic foundations of life. This applies to such different artists and writers as Picasso and Brecht, Hemingway and Lorca, whose creative life and work are discussed in the collection.

The drama of the disintegrating personality is inseparable from the struggle for its preservation. Penetration into human emotions and inner passions, which was manifested in a different manner by poets, artists and playwrights, is their common feature and shows their persistent desire to express something dim and barely perceptible. The book shows the artistic means used by these figures in order to give adequate expression to their artistic tasks, and explains their innovations.

The fine arts of our epoch, in contrast to the Renaissance tradition, are permeated by the strong literary impulses. The need to transfer creative experience accumulated by literature to plastic arts was determined by the fact that the reality of the times prompted not to trust the apparent, whereas the art of the word could penetrate into the inner world of the individual. The search for ways to perceive the "concealed" is examined by N. Dmitriyeva in an rather miniature article—or a monograph—about the attempts of self-knowledge of outstanding artists of the century.

Literature was transformed into the fine arts, and vice versa, being not simply an object of borrowing, but the essence of the method of organisation of plastic means and modes of thinking. The poetry of Eluard or Aragon, with its nonlinear logics of words and expression, with a whimsical and free combination of realities had its direct analogue in the fine arts which violated the regimented "order" of portrait painting. Such a transformation of man—consciousness—image was a consequence, on the one hand, of the most profound socio-political upheavals and crises, and on the other, of the need and desire to oppose violence and non-freedom and to protect the personality as something integral and inviolable.

The image of man in contemporary Western art often disintegrates. is divided, concealed behind a mask. This is how one of the leading subjects of the collection emerges the subject of the theatre, reincarnations, somebody's doubles. The artist's orientation to the perception of the ability of man to imagine, and not only "to be", revealed the possibility replace a consistent to psychological description of characters by something like a "theatrical" depiction of more fragile, but quite definite personal structures. A convincing example of that was Charlie Chaplin's art, which is described by B. Zingerman in a broad context of literary comparisons.

The elaboration of the leit-motif of tense unity or, on the contrary, a split between the spiritual world of the individual and the outward forms of its expression is made on materials of Spanish art. V. Siliūnas, turning to little known works, presented an analysis of the very complex play by García Lorca El Publico whose problems and style are discussed by the researcher in the context of artistic, philosophical and ethical processes in Spain during the period between the two world wars and in the intertwining of their historical and culturological originality. The absence of the "inner foundation of personality" in the heroes of that play and demonstration of the moving springs of human nature result in their agonising non-freedom. Similar themes can be seen on Salvador Dalie's pictures on which man loses his outlines and spreads into something monstrously shapeless. Unbelievable transformations of the personality opened to and ready for everything receive a complete reinterpretation in García Lorca's works of the 1930s. In his peasant tragedies the heroes are no longer able to change masks, they are afraid of "betraying themselves". They tempered their will and recognised the need to adopt the only decision in the face of life suppressing the individual.

Many representatives of different arts, telling about the elastic and divided nature of the human "ego" which is subject to the influence of chance circumstances of life, pose the question about man's ability to oppose them and preserve the integrity of his nature.

The problem of man's contradiction with his inner self was revealed especially clearly by Bertolt Brecht in those years. He created the image of an unruly man torn to pieces, who was an integral part of the capitalist city. A combination of contradictory desires and actions of man leads to disastrous consequences, when he easily changes from a sufferer to a rapist, from the aggressor to the persecuted.

In the dark epoch of fascism association with any forms of social life turned into a source of alienaand, conversely, escapism seemed to be an opportunity to preserve one's "ego". This is the conclusion drawn by S. Bushuyeva in her article "The Problem of Personality in Italian Art of the 1920s-1930s". An able literary and artistic analysis combined with thoroughness of the concepts advanced enables the researcher to disclose the powerful and tragic image of a country which was most vividly embodied in three persons:

the writer (Svevo), the artist (Morandi) and the actor (Petrolini). Interest in spiritual self-absorption is contraposed in their work to spiritless activity. This can be seen in Italo Svevo's novel La Conscienza di Zeno, and in the "hermetic" art of Morandi, and in the near-absurd "cretinadas" of Petrolini. It is in this anaemic and deformed light that the surrounding world is presented in Italian artists' works, the connection with which, that passed through their closed inner world, was hopelessly violated.

The tragic perception of the world was also inherent in the strong heroes of Hemingway. Their consciousness, Zingerman notes, is split in several directions, just like faces on Picasso's cubist portraits.

The tragedy of an artist or writer who has reached the peak of mastery and is afraid to "outlive his talent" cuts across the gloomy perception of the world of his heroes who are full of bitterness born of their worldly successes.

A combination of different strivings and means of self-expression of personality, a quest for "classical" integrity in the epoch of a "nonclassical" picture of the world are manifested, in the view of the researcher, in a clash and interplay of contrasts and contradictions complementing one another. It is not accidental that Picasso felt a quite definite aesthetic meaning of the "principle of complementariness". While creating works in a totally different manner during one and the same period, he expressed himself as an artist-innovator, without breaking with the classical heritage.

S. Batrakova's article thoroughly examines the connections of literature (Rilke) and art (Sezanne) of the time with the preceding tradition. Stark truth and breakthrough to the inner meaning of the word (Rilke)

and object (Sézanne), the author of the article stresses, were aimed at preserving the classical foundation of art in the period of aesthetic dissension, finding a way to "objectivity" and adding one's creative work to the humanistic tradition.

The book under review recreates, as it were, the image of Europe in the 1920s-1930s reflected in literature, the fine arts and the theatre, and penetrates into its contradictions. The book describes man who has lived through tragedy, is constantly feeling it, but at the same

time is seeking an opportunity to strengthen his faith in his own vitality, his ability to withstand the forces of destruction, which is the main aim of the creative work of writers and artists themselves. The authors of the collection carefully look into the relationships between the heroes and their creators and how the turbulent events and anxieties of the epoch are reflected in poems, plays, novels, pictures and actors' improvisations.

Z. Abdullayeva

Культура Византии. IV— перван половина VII вв. М., изд-во «Наука», 1984, 725 с.

The Culture of Byzantium. The Fourth-First Half of the Seventh Century, Moscow, Nauka Publishers, 1984, 725 pp.

This first fundamental work in Marxist Byzantine studies examines the formation process of Byzantine culture connected, on the one hand, with Graeco-Roman ancient culture, and on the other, with the Orient. The book shows how the early Byzantine society evolved its culture and ideology as a result of a synthesis of different elements, which retained their specific original features throughout the history of culture in mediaeval Europe.

Foreign works on the history of Byzantine culture usually look like reviews of a fragmentary character and consist mostly of essays on individual subjects. The authors of this book treated it as an integral work which examines various superstructural phenomena of mediaeval Byzantine society in their direct connections with the phenomena of the basic nature and factors of the socioeconomic history of the Byzantine

Empire. The authors' attention is centred around the problem of the formation and development of mediaeval feudal society and its ideology and culture in Byzantium. Accordingly, the main emphasis in the work is laid on the chapters examining the crisis and breakdown of the slave-owner ideology, the cultural heritage of the ancient epoch and its role in the development of Byzantine ideology and culture.

book discusses theories in early Byzantium, which at first largely depended on ancient political thought, but later acquired their own character. The development of historical thought and early Byzantine historiography and their connections with the epoch of antiquity, the philosophical, religious and ethical views of early Byzantine historians, the emergence of new genres in historiography attesting to the appearance of historical thinking as such, are also examined. The latter makes it possible to give Byzantine historiography a special place and role in the development of historical thought in general. The work discloses the evolution thought philosophical in Byzantium in the light of the development of West European

philosophical thought in the fourthseventh centuries; early Byzantine aesthetics and literature of the fourth-seventh centuries rhetoric which was closely connected with literature, political thought and law; the state of legal science in early Byzantium. The book describes at length the development of science and education, the schools and the mode of life; a special chapter is devoted to the mores and morals of Byzantium. The evolution of Byzantine geographical knowledge, military-theoretical thought and diplomacy is traced from an interesting aspect — Byzantine diplomacy as seen by its contemporaries. The characteristic of early Byzantine culture is concluded by a review of the fine arts, architecture, the applied arts and music.

The manifestations of direct continuity in the cultural life of the Empire, which is in contrast with discontinuity in the sphere of socioeconomic relations, are explained in the book by the preservation of the apparatus of central power inherited from the late Roman Empire, as well, as by corresponding ancient and Hellenistic traditions, which were especially viable in the Eastern Mediterranean.

The authors disclose a dialectical interconnection between the elements of ancient education and the ancient perception of the world, on the one hand, and the ideology of Christianity gradually establishing itself as the dominating form of perception and explanation of reality, on the other. In examining the "transition" epoch in the history of Byzantine culture as a legitimate and independent period, the authors show the "dual nature" of Byzantine civilisation against a broad background of the social and political life of the Empire.

An in-depth theoretical introduction by Udaltsova about the specific typological features of the development of Byzantine culture as compared with the cultures of Western and Eastern countries defines the place of the culture of the Empire in the development of world civilisation in the early Middle Ages. Udaltsova points to the three main features of Byzantine culture: (1) influence of the culture of the Orient; (2) stable preservation of ancient traditions; (3) domination of the state doctrine, and centralisation and canonisation of culture. These scientifically backed theoretical premises are elaborated in the book on concrete material.

Based on the most diverse sources, with due account of the latest achievements of Soviet and foreign Byzantine studies, the book is the result of many years' work by a large group of Soviet scholars headed by Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences Z. Udaltsova. The team of authors includes A. Bank, E. Lipshits, S. Averintsev, V. Bychkov, G. Kurbatov, V. Kuchma, Z. Samodurova, A. Chekalova, V. Ukolova, O. Popova, I. Komech, E. Gerzman, and O. Borodin.

The wealth of material presented in the book, including translations of ancient texts of early Byzantine literature, gives a clear idea about early Byzantine culture, its originality and place in European culture.

The authors succeeded in showing the independent nature and multiformity of genres of early Byzantine culture which reflected the intellectual life of early Byzantine society.

The book is richly illustrated, contains a geographical map and indices. The publication is intended not only for specialists, but for a wide circle of educated readers interested in the history of European culture. It is the first volume of a

three-volume work The Culture of Byzantium. The second and third volumes will examine the culture of

Byzantine society of later centuries, up to the fall of the Empire in 1453.

T. Borodai

- М. Е. ОРЛОВА. Рабочий класс Великобритании и освободительная борьба ирландского народа. М., изд-во «Наука», 1983, 256 с.
- M. E. ORLOVA, The Working Class of Great Britain and the Liberation Struggle of the Irish People, Moscow, Nauka Publishers, 1983, 256 pp.

The founders of scientific communism were the first to reveal the interdependence between the working-class movement in Great Britain and the national liberation movement in Ireland. They noted that the suppression of the forces of national liberation in Ireland strengthened and fed reaction in England (K. Marx and F. Engels, Selected Correspondence, Moscow, 1955, p. 277). Its policy in relation to Ireland was used by the founders of scientific socialism to analyse the nationalcolonial question in general.

The Irish national movement is known to have always been an integral part of the political life of Great Britain. Drawing on rich factual material the author exposes the root causes of the traditional estrangement, indifference and prejudices of British society with regard to the Irish and their aspirations. These prejudices could not but affect a part of the British working class. The author points out that the absence of a progressive union of Irish democrats with British workers encouraged the spread of the national bourgeoisie's influence in Ireland.

The community of interests of the working-class movement in England and Ireland for national liberation of the latter was an idea that had to

overcome the powerful opposition of traditional forces—Irish bourgeois nationalism, on the one hand, and British imperial chauvinism, on the other. Orlova emphasises that in many respects the problem remains unsolved even today.

The author cites examples of successful and fruitful interaction between the mass working-class movement in England and the national liberation struggle in Ireland. A characteristic example is the Chartist movement's approach to the Irish problem in the 1830s-1840s. The movement's documents contain evidence of a profound understanding of the close ties between the goals and aims of the struggle for democracy in England and the Irish people's struggle for liberation.

The movement's defeat and the ebbing of the revolutionary wave, emphasises the book, radically changed the situation. The former leaders of the working class' political struggle were replaced by new people—trade union leaders. The emergence of the trade unionist ideology and the spread of the narrow reformist view of political struggle within the British working class brought about chauvinist views on the Irish question propagated by the bourgeoisie.

Examining the history of the Irish socialist and working-class movement in Ireland at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries, Orlova shows that the most progressive socialist organisations of England and Scotland in the 1880s—the Socialist League and the Social Democratic Federation (which, as the British Communists recognise, were

at the sources of the British communist movement and the upsurge of the British working-class movement related to the "new" trade unionism) became the universities that gave Ireland its eminent Marxist, and organiser of the working-class movement and national hero James Connolly. Connolly was convinced that the two streams of the revolutionary thought in Ireland—the national and the socialist—supplemented rather than contradicted each other.

The 1918-1923 national liberation and anti-imperialist revolution wrote glorious pages in the history of the British working-class movement which in the early 1920s supported fighting Ireland demanding that it be granted the right to self-determination and that the British troops be withdrawn. But it was at that very time, in 1921, that London carried out its plan of splitting the country, and its tragic consequences are still felt today.

As for Northern Ireland, the author notes that almost every historian or publicist who has ever examined or interpreted the events in Ulster touched upon the reaction of British public opinion which was amazingly in contrast to the scale and nature of the events and the actual involvement of British politics and society.

The anti-Irish propaganda in Britain attempts to brainwash the country's public, presenting the developments in Northern Ireland as merely a product of religious conflicts and not relating them to the archreactionary regime of unionism, the discrimination against the Catholic minority or acute socio-economic problems of this backward province.

The author also examines the attitude of British trade unions and the Labour Party to the Ulster crisis.

On the basis of her analysis of records of trade union congresses and annual conferences of the Labour Party as well as the British press, Orlova arrives at the conclusion that violations of democracy, acts of violence, problems of Northern Ireland's economic backwardness are divorced in these materials from the British Government's policy in the past and the present and from the policy of unionists.

A considerable portion of the book is devoted to an analysis of the British Communists' position on the Irish question. Their statements consistently emphasise the idea that the Ulster crisis is related to the Irish problem as a whole. The author stresses that the Communist Party of Great Britain actively uses every opportunity to cooperate with the left forces in the British working-class movement, including the Labour Party, on the Irish question in particular.

A welcome addition to the theme under review would be retrospective analysis of the interdependence of the two peoples' historical destinies from the middle of the 17th century onwards, as well as to examine in greater detail the relation between the problem under consideration and the general aggravation of the national question in Great Britain and other developed capitalist countries in the second half of the 20th century since, despite the many and varied complex aspects, the subject is dominated by the national question. It would be interesting to pay greater attention to the role of the religious factor in the Ulster crisis and examine economic problems of the interdependence of the two neighbouring countries as a basis for the study of the interaction between their working-class movements.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

NEW BOOKS ON INTERNATIONAL ORGANISATIONS

From the Editors: Below we review some of the works by Soviet experts in the field of international organisations, published during the 1974-1984 period. The list has been compiled by A. Sharova, a research associate of the Institute of the World Economy and International Relations of the USSR Academy of Sciences.

Topical Problems in the Work of International Organisations, Moscow, Mezhdunarodniye otnoshenia Publishers, 1982, 351 pp.

The book undertakes a comprehensive examination of the work of inter-governmental and nongovernmental international organisations in the political, economic and scientifico-technical spheres their efforts directed at resolving the global problems facing mankind. The authors show how the Soviet state, at all its development stages, has been working to make use of international organisations in the interests of peace, international security and the expansion of international cooperation.

E. S. Alexandrova, The UN: Joint Actions for the Maintenance of Peace, Moscow, Mezhdunarodniye otnoshenia Publishers, 1978, 192 pp.

The book analyses the UN mechanism for the settlement of international conflicts and crisis-prone situations in cases of threats to or breaches of the peace and acts of aggression. Much attention is paid to the trends and prospects of raising

the efficiency of the UN in the maintenance of peace.

Yu. G. Barsegov, The World Ocean: Law, Politics, Diplomacy, Moscow, Mezhdunarodniye otnoshenia Publishers, 1983, 240 pp.

The book describes the changes occurring in international law of the sea aimed at ensuring the optimum and just utilisation of the enormous biological, mineral and energy resources of the World Ocean, the preservation of the marine environment, the regulation of navigation and other types of marine activity. The author examines the positions adopted by various groups of states on these questions and the diplomatic negotiations at the 3rd UN Conference on the Law of the Sea.

A. P. Baryshev, Thirty Years of the United Nations Organisation, Moscow, Znaniye Publishers, 1975, 64 pp.

Summing up the results of the 30 years of work of the UN in the maintenance of peace, the author analyses its role in the establishment of the principles of peaceful coexistence, the settlement of crisis-prone

situations and conflicts and in the solution of the disarmament problems.

K. A. Bekyashev, V. V. Serebryakov, *International Maritime Organisations*, Leningrad, Gidrometeoizdat Publishers, 1979, 607 pp.

The book examines the structure of international inter-governmental and non-governmental organisations, their work in the fields of navigation and fishing, as well as their participation in scientific studies of the World Ocean.

O. V. Bogdanov, The UN Headquarters in New York. International Legal Aspects, Moscow, Mezhdunarodniye otnoshenia Publishers, 1976, 125 pp.

The author analyses the political and legal aspects of the work of the UN apparatus, the problems of ensuring normal working conditions for the missions of the member states, and first and foremost, the socialist states' missions at the UN.

S. A. Vladimirov, L. B. Teplov, The Warsaw Treaty and NATO: Two Policies, Moscow, Mezhdunarodniye otnoshenia Publishers, 1979, 296 pp.

The book recounts the history and describes the structure and practical work of both the Warsaw Treaty Organisation and NATO. It points to the totally opposed nature and military-strategic aims of the policies of the two organisations. The monograph contains a wealth of factual material demonstrating the invariable and consistent policy pursued by the socialist community countries and aimed at maintaining and strengthening peace.

S. D. Voitovich, The UN and the Socialist Countries. (Problems of Peace and Security of Nations), Minsk, Nauka i tekhnika Publishers, 1983, 270 pp.

The author examines the stances taken up by the socialist community countries in the UN, during the period 1945-1980, on the most crucial problems of our time: the struggle of the socialist states for the preservation and strengthening of peace, against the arms race, for disarmament, in defence of the sovereignty and independence of states, against colonialism, racism and apartheid.

A. N. Glinkin, A. S. Kovalskaya, UNESCO and Latin America, Moscow, the Institute of Latin America Press, 1975, 131 pp.

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The work examines the aims and principles of the Council, its role in the development of socialist integration and the significance of the legal acts it has adopted. The book also deals with the relations of the CMEA with states outside its framework and with international organisations, above all, the UN. A chapter of the book is specially devoted to criticising Western conceptions of the CMEA and socialist economic integration.

The Soviet Union and the United Nations Organisation. 1966-1970,

Moscow, Nauka Publishers, 1975, 535 pp.

The book pays special attention to the struggle waged by the USSR and the other socialist states, within the framework of the UN, for peace, international security, disarmament and the abolition of the remnants of colonialism.

The Soviet Union and the United Nations Organisation. 1971-1975, Moscow, Nauka Publishers, 1981, 471 pp.

The book describes the struggle of the USSR for the strengthening of international peace and security, for a solution of the disarmament problem and the abolition of conflict situations in Asia and the Middle East. The book also deals with the economic, social and international legal aspects of the Soviet Union's activity within the UN.

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The work discusses the legal aspects of the relations between the CMEA and UN organisations and bodies, the EEC and other international organisations. The international status of the CMEA as a legal entity, its functions and the competence of its organs in the relations with international organisations are also examined.

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The book describes the activity of the UN in settling the Middle East conflict and the struggle of the USSR for ensuring a just and stable peace in that region.

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The book sums up and systematises the entire range of UN publications, which are an important source for the study of international relations, world economy and international law, as well as the history, economy, law and policies of individual countries over the 1945-1975 period.

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The author examines the key problems of this category of organisations, their essence and purport. E. A. Shibayeva, M. Potochny, Legal Questions Concerning the Structure and Work of International Organisations, Moscow University Press, 1980, 168 pp.

Written by Soviet and Czech lawyers, this work discusses the theoretical legal aspects of international organisations: the concept of international organisations, their legal nature and the specific features of the Charters, their competence and international status as legal entities, their functions, etc. The book describes many world and regional inter-governmental international organisations: the UN, its specialised agencies, and the international organisations of the socialist countries.

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OUR GLOSSARY

A DISTRICT AGRO-INDUSTRIAL CORPORATION (DAIC, Russ, abbreviation RAPO) is an interbranch body of state economic management, a unified production and socio-economic association formed from the collective, state and inter-farm units, as well as those enterprises and organisations dealing with their servicing and the processing of agricultural produce, which are part of the district's agro-industrial complex.

The work of a DAIC is aimed at increasing the output of food products, at ensuring that all enterprises fulfil state assignments, at raising production efficiency and quality and at improving the services rendered to collective and state farms and other enterprises. It directs its activity towards strengthening the material and technical base of these enterprises, towards improving the housing and cultural standards of rural dwellers, and creating a modern social infrastructure in the countryside. A DAIC's are involved in the perfecting of the economic mechanism and interbranch production and economic ties which contribute to the technological and organisational unity of the agro-industrial complex and the creation of stable economic conditions for the profitable operation, on a cost-accounting basis, of each work collective. DAIC's seek to raise accountability for profitable economic management, they carry out measures for the development of personal household economies of citizens and subsidiary economies of industrial enterprises as a component part of the food complex of the country. At the moment DAICs are involved in a programme of introducing a computer information service system to enterprises based on a uniform system of computers for collective use, and automated systems and economico-mathematical methods of management.

The highest body of DAIC management is its Council which is vested with the following basic powers:

— to determine, on the basis of target figures, planned indices fixed for collective and state farms and submit drafts of state plans

for the purchases of agricultural produce for approval by the District Soviet of People's Deputies; to examine draft plans of other enterprises and organisations included in agro-industrial corporations and submit suggestions based on them to appropriate higher bodies;

- to distribute capital investments, budget allocations and credits earmarked for collective and state farms and other agricultural enterprises, as well as material and technical resources—tractors, combine harvesters, trucks and lorries, agricultural machinery, mineral fertilisers, building and other materials;
- to centralise, on the suggestion of collective and state farms and other enterprises and organisations, the performance of individual production and economic functions; to delegate the carrying out of such functions to individual enterprises (organisations), irrespective of their departmental subordination, or create specialised units for this purpose based on economic cooperation;
- to fix, on the basis of standards, price norms (tariffs) payment for services rendered and work performed by enterprises and organisations within the association and fix the prices of cattle, fodder, materials and other resources supplied by collective and state farms to one another;
- to work out, on the basis of suggestions of collective and state farms and other enterprises and organisations included in the agro-industrial complex, long-term plans for the specialisation and distribution of agricultural production, and also of enterprises for collecting and processing agricultural produce, of repair and maintenance shops and of storing facilities;
- to redistribute, in agreement with higher departmental bodies, when necessary, capital investments, which remain unused by individual state enterprises and organisations within the association;
- to set up centralised material incentive funds, funds for socio-cultural measures, for housing construction and the development of production, and determine the direction method of their use in accordance with appropriate directives.

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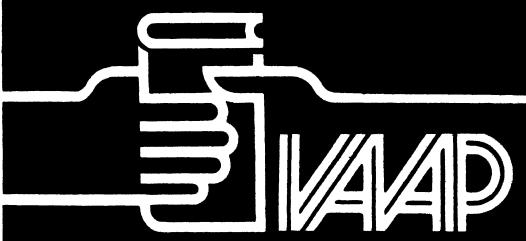
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